

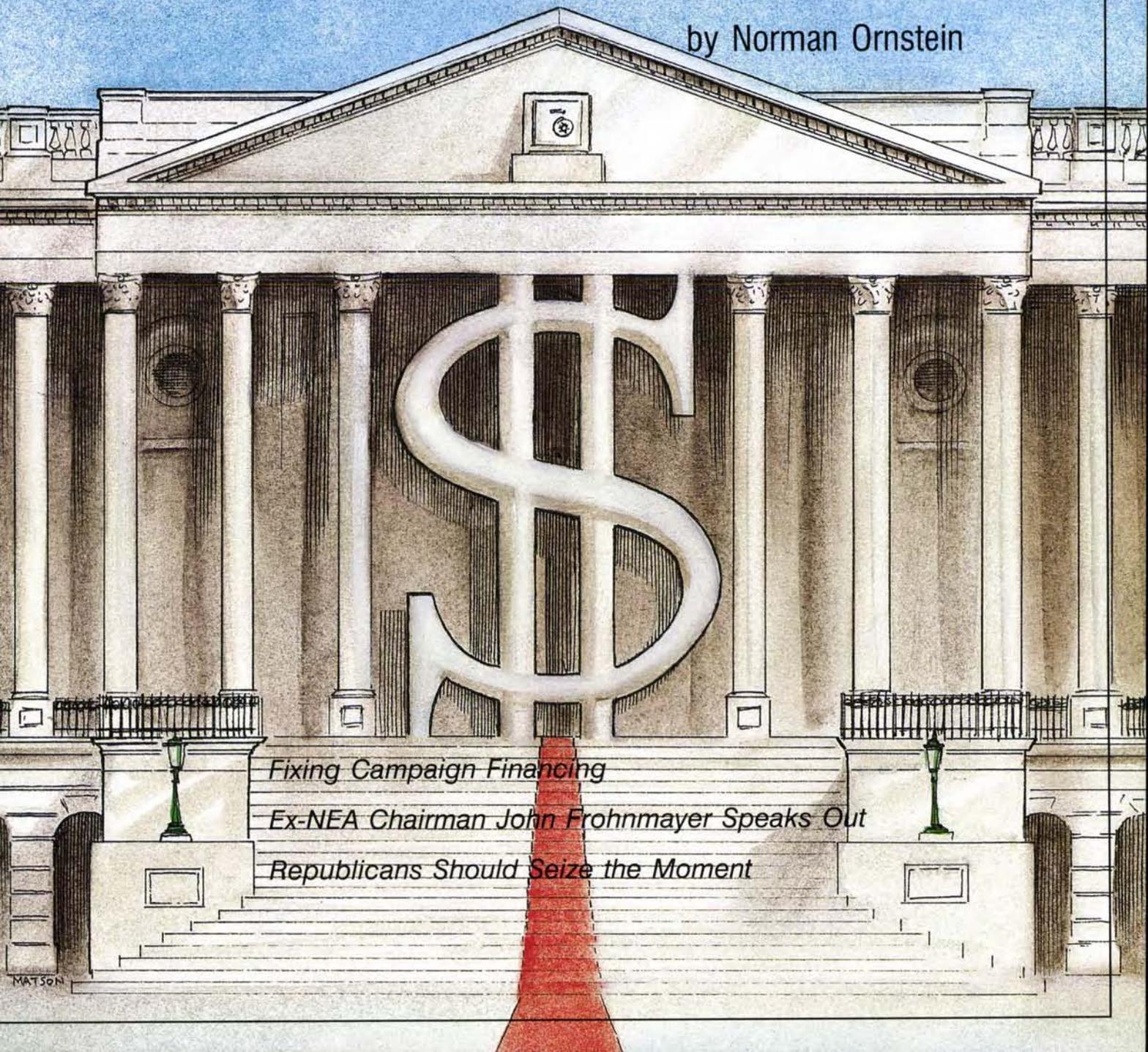
The RIPON FORUM

Vol. XXVIII, No. 2

July/August 1992

MONEY IN POLITICS

by Norman Ornstein



Fixing Campaign Financing

Ex-NEA Chairman John Frohnmyer Speaks Out

Republicans Should Seize the Moment

Pro-choice Republicans

Recently, 300 Republicans stood outside a hotel in Salt Lake City, Utah, protesting their Party's position on abortion. They were not radical feminists or militant activists fighting for their rights. They were mostly suburbanites, often parents themselves, who realize that a woman's constitutional right to an abortion may soon be gone.

What is so unusual about the Republicans' pro-life platform, is that it is a departure from the logic Republicans normally use in other issues. The GOP is the Party of choice, freedom and minimal government intervention. But on this one issue, the conservative portion of the Party has chosen not to acknowledge the large percentage of Republicans who are pro-choice. In fact, their hostile reactions are typical of single issue voters and right wing politicians. It is sad that they cannot accept a diversity of opinion within our Party and acknowledge the large numbers of pro-choice voters within the GOP. Sen. Don Nickles, R-Okla., put it quite succinctly at the platform hearings when he said "I don't see the two sides coming together on this issue."

The intransigence of the pro-life movement is legendary and, unfortunately, it hurts Republicans on many levels. For example, the staunch pro-life position of the Bush Administration should allow the GOP to strongly support increased aid for birth control and reproductive educational services; after all stopping unwanted pregnancies is one way to cut the number of abortions. This position would have also played well for Republicans as part of the President's riot inspired urban policy plan because it advocates that families should be held accountable for their actions.

For example, recent statistics reveal that since 1980, funding for family planning centers plummeted from \$162 million in 1981 to a low of \$124 million in 1983, and then went back up to a pre-1980 level of \$141 million in 1991. Before 1988, administrative costs came from a separate budget which is now lumped into the overall pot of money. In other words, family planning centers now receive close to what they did *back in 1979*. Ellen Battistelli from Planned Parenthood has said that this minimal level of funding does not take into account the escalating costs of care for AIDS or sexually transmitted

See **PRO-CHOICE** on page 28

Seize the Moment

Jack Kemp has got it right. If the President and congressional Republicans don't seize the second chance on civil rights, economic policy and poverty generated by the Los Angeles riots, they forfeit their responsibility to govern the country.

America is in the early stages of a profound political realignment. As a governed society, we are caught between yesterday's answers and tomorrow's questions. The riot and rebellion in Los Angeles is one symptom of the need to realign.

In a country changing as rapidly as ours, Republican leaders must open the Party to new ideas and a commitment to act on issues of critical importance to a majority of Americans: economic despair, civil rights and racism, gender discrimination and choice, housing, health care, better schools and the environment.

Law and order must be maintained in Los Angeles and across the country. But punishing the offenders won't change the conditions which caused the problem. Only new policy, rigorously implemented with heart and caring, will do that.

Many Americans suspect that Republicans, the Party of Lincoln, simply don't care enough about people to act. The President and Party leaders must mesh our historic commitment to a strong economy, a balanced budget, and individual rights with a sweeping, people-oriented, community-based attack on domestic problems. We need smarter government which meets people at their point of need and takes them

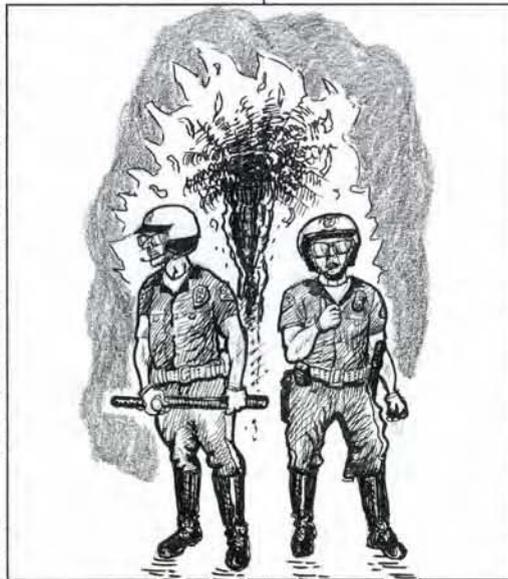
towards a future they want for themselves.

The stakes are far greater than political control or victory. This realignment is about hope for the future. Democracy's skin and bones are found in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the separation of powers and due process. They are legal beacons against the dark night of tyranny. But our heart and soul, the glue which binds us together, is the promise of opportunity and the hope for a better future. Without hope, there is no American dream. Is it too much to ask for a decent job, fair treatment of others, reasonable health care and housing, and a good school down the street?

The promise of American democracy is a table of opportunity where every person has a place. The Ripon Society and other realignment Republicans are committed to politics and policies which make that promise real.

As devastating and frightening as it was, the Los Angeles explosion gives us all a second chance to lead a political realignment for economic and social opportunity -- for jobs, and choice, and civil rights. We must seize the moment and lead.

by Peter Smith ■



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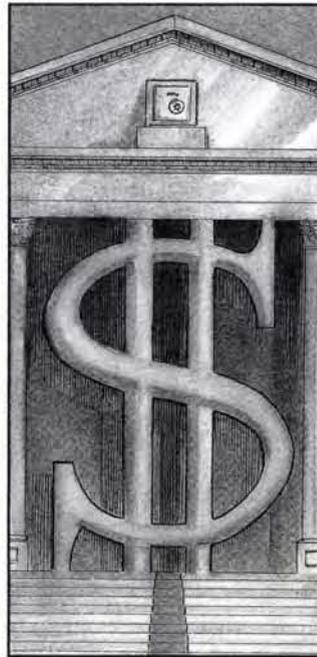
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**The RIPON
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EDITOR
David A. Fuscus

ASSOCIATE EDITOR
Mimi Carter

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Michael Cheek

CONTRIBUTING EDITOR
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ORIGINAL COVER ART
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A Conversation with John Frohnmayer

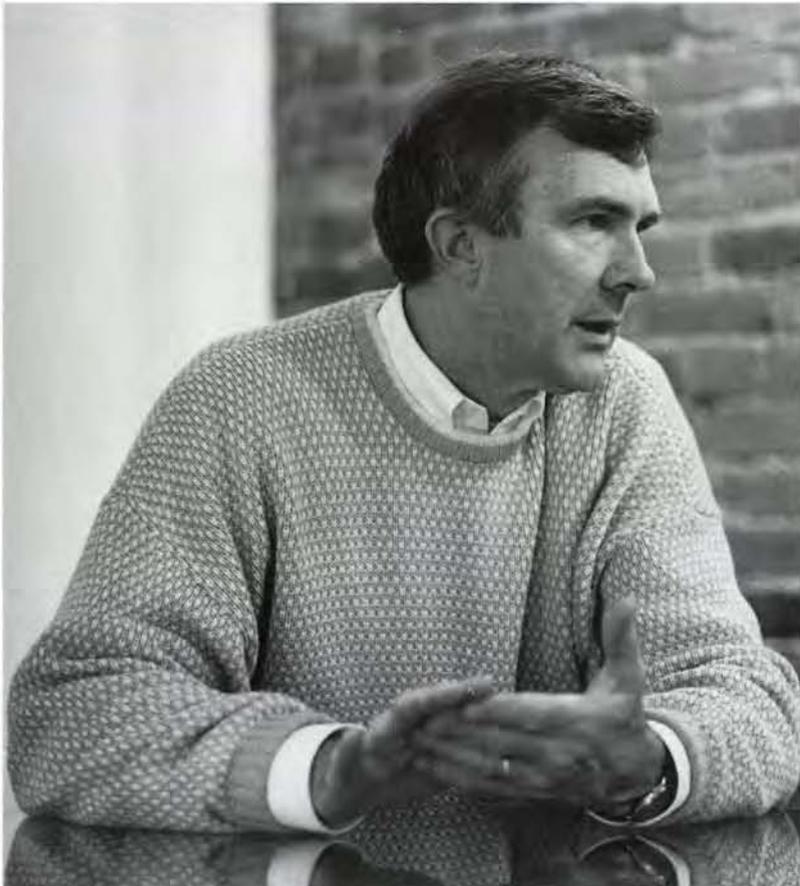
Former NEA Chair Listens to the Fringes of Society

John Frohnmayer was recently ousted as chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) after a tumultuous and high profile two-and-one-half year tenure. Much of the controversy over the NEA stemmed from a relatively small number of grants that funded art with sexual themes. Conservatives, especially members of the religious right, took up the issue as a battle cry and forced this relatively small federal agency to the front page of the nation's newspapers.

Frohnmayer came to Washington after a law career in Portland, Ore., and a four-year stint as chairman of the Oregon Arts Commission. During his stay in D.C., he drew a great deal of criticism from both artists and critics of federal art policy like Pat Robertson and the Rev. Donald Wildmon, head of the American Family Association. However, his supporters say that he brought a realistic point of view to the NEA and that the events which forced him from office were politically motivated and had little to do with his stewardship.

Frohnmayer talked with editors of the Ripon Forum in his Washington home about his tenure at the NEA, his thoughts on the right wing of the Republican Party, and what art means to American culture. Since his departure, he has been hitting the speaking circuit and recently signed a contract to write a book about his years in the Bush Administration.

Photos by
Kevin R. Fuscus



RIPON FORUM: You led the National Endowment for the Arts through the most tumultuous time in its history, probably like nothing it will experience in the future.

Were you surprised by the degree of the political battles that you ran into and the frequency of them?

MR. FROHNMAYER: Yes, I was. I really thought that within a fairly short period of time we could put the lid on those political battles and start moving the agency toward our own agenda, and it just never stopped. There was a slight lull after reauthorization in the late fall of 1990, and then it started back up again in the spring of '91, and it has continued unabated.

RIPON FORUM: I noticed in the *Washington Times* recently that your successor, Anne-Imelda Radice, said that she thought the NEA might very well go down the tubes. That was what she said. If that did happen, what would the cultural costs to the United States be?

MR. FROHNMAYER: Immense. Because one of the great successes of the arts endowment has been to create state arts agencies in every state and every territory, and there are almost 4,000 local arts agencies now, a whole bunch of presenters and a network of touring organizations and performers. It would be devastating to that

network because all of those states receive support from the endowment, many of the locals receive support, Dance on Tour receives support. So it would be, in my view, a step backwards just when America should be asserting itself as a leader in the realm of ideas.

RIPON FORUM: Do you think there is a possibility of the NEA ceasing to exist?

MR. FROHNMAYER: Of course. If those people who see ideas as dangerous, who think that the United States ought not to be doing anything other than spending money on the military, if those who are looking for a homogenous America keep getting the attention of the White House and the political leaders, it would be very easy to see a situation in which the arts did not survive that kind of political beating.

RIPON FORUM: You mentioned the 1990 Congressional funding reauthorization earlier. During that reauthorization, Phil Crane of Illinois put forth an amendment to abolish the NEA, saying that it was just not a function of government to be funding the arts. Do you agree with that on any level?

MR. FROHNMAYER: No, I don't. And incidentally, that motion got only 64 votes out of 435, so it wasn't particularly popular in the House then, or the following year when he made the same motion and it got 66 votes.

But I think it's very definitely a function of government for the support of the spirit of the people. The government doesn't exist, in my view, just to keep us safe from external invasion; government ought to be more than that. It ought to inspire us to higher goals in the life of the mind and in something which helps expand the knowledge and significance of society, and that's what the arts do. That's why the government ought to be involved.

RIPON FORUM: What do you think the motivation of NEA opponents, like Phil Crane and Dana Rohrabacher, is? Are they just using this as a political club to get attention for themselves?

MR. FROHNMAYER: Well, I think that different people differ on that. Phil Crane, in my view, is sort of an anti-government person and has what I would consider to be not very realistic ideas about government. Dana Rohrabacher I think used the issue to get publicity for himself, and then he opted out of the issue very abruptly, I think, because he felt it was hurting him politically.

RIPON FORUM: Certainly there's a whole constituency on the right wing of the Republican

Party, especially on the religious right, who oppose the NEA. Again, what would you think their motivation is for these attacks?

MR. FROHNMAYER: Well, it again depends upon whom you're talking about. Some people who have written in are legitimately concerned because they believe that tax money is being used inappropriately. Usually those people are motivated to write because some other group, like the American Family Association or Pat

MY VIEW IS THAT THE HARD RIGHT IS NOT AN APPEASEABLE ENTITY. THEY CONTINUE TO WANT MORE AND MORE AND MORE...

Robertson or someone like that, has riled them up, usually with information that's either false or is only partly true. And so in my view, those people are being used, both to contribute their funds to those organizations or individuals, and to write Congress about issues on which they are ill-informed or misinformed, and that doesn't do anybody any good.

In terms of some others, I think that the campaign against the arts endowment is really a campaign for a homogenous America, a campaign to just not want to hear the voices from the edge of the society. And those voices, while they might not please us and while you or I may not agree with them, are extraordinarily important in a democracy because they give that kind of balance and they let ideas sort of go through the cycle. And those ideas that have value pop out, and those that don't, drop out. And that's what democracy is about. So to say you can't have those ideas, it seems to me to be a very anti-American idea.

RIPON FORUM: There has been a lot of material, fundraising material, centered on the NEA. Direct-mail pieces. For example, Pat Buchanan had an infamous spot that he ran using a clip from a film partially funded by the NEA. Is that a partial motivation for attacks on the NEA? That some people can boil down issues to a very simple, often incorrect, message and pump it out for fundraising?

MR. FROHNMAYER: Oh, yes. It's the soundbite mentality, which plays to fear and hate

FROHNMAYER continued on next page

To understand art, one must confront it

FROHNMAYER *from previous page*

and self-interest and all of the human failings which we so need to get past in order to try to heal the society. It's really shameless in my view, and I am more than a little embarrassed that many of those people call themselves Republicans.

RIPON FORUM: You took over the NEA right after the Robert Mapplethorpe exhibition which got an enormous amount of publicity all across the country. When you got on board, was one of your first goals to try to lower the profile of the NEA a bit?

MR. FROHNMAYER: Yes. We were really trying to get some breathing room, to let the hullabaloo settle down, and it never really did. I

mean, we were unsuccessful in getting that breathing room.

RIPON FORUM: When you first came in, or throughout your tenure, did the White House put you under a lot of pressure to try and lower the profile of the NEA or did they let you handle it in a way you saw fit?

MR. FROHNMAYER: That ebbed and flowed.

RIPON FORUM: When you first came in, did you see your role as a spokesman for the arts or as a political appointee coming in to manage the organization for the Bush Administration?

MR. FROHNMAYER: Well, it's hard to say that you are one or the other because at times you're both of those. I have always considered myself a spokesperson for the arts and for what they can bring to society and also as cheerleader for the arts endowment and for the artists that it helps support. But realistically one is part of an administration and not an island.

RIPON FORUM: One of the big issues that surrounded this whole controversy is the issue of political censorship. Do you feel that with this issue developed, that we're moving closer towards a form of governmental censorship over the arts simply by excluding people who are on the fringe?

MR. FROHNMAYER: That could happen. I hope it didn't happen during my tenure there because I fought very hard to assure that it didn't. I think that there are those within the administration who would like to extend government control wherever the government is involved. Very bad idea.

RIPON FORUM: Last year, you held a news conference and came out in support of the film "Poison," which brought you a great deal of criticism, as well as the NEA. Do you think that was a correct move? Did that news conference bring your agency back into the headlines?

MR. FROHNMAYER: No, it was absolutely the right thing to do then. And the reason is that the film was getting criticism from Reverend Wildmon and others, none of whom had seen it. I mean, it was one of the instances in which we could actually put the art there and let people decide for themselves whether that film had artistic merit. And so we actually showed it and said make up your own mind. And lots of people from the Hill, staffers from various congresspersons' or senators' offices, came down



and watched it, and none of them were critical thereafter. I mean, all of them agreed that the film had artistic merit. The whole idea of art is that you have to confront it in order to really understand it.

RIPON FORUM: But did you find that really set off the firestorm again?

MR. FROHNMAYER: Well, it did and it didn't. Actually, we got far less mail on "Poison" than we did on many of the others that we had taken a less aggressive posture on. So my view is that it helped nip that controversy in the bud. But since there are still those who criticize "Poison" and use it as an example of bad judgment, I guess I would have to say that the issue is still around; we clearly didn't kill it.

RIPON FORUM: Certainly the media has put an enormous amount of attention on you and the NEA, some of which just isn't factual. One example is Annie Sprinkle who staged a quasi pornographic stage show. Did she get funding from the NEA?

MR. FROHNMAYER: No, none, zero. And as a matter of fact, Annie Sprinkle was the subject of some discussion at a congressional hearing held in 1990, and the committee agreed in its entirety that it was persuaded that Annie Sprinkle had received no NEA money. Yet we continued to be excoriated for that as if we had funded it. I mean, people get this all confused. And I was talking to one congressperson who had two or three artists amalgamated into one image in his mind, and it took me about 10 minutes to sort them out for him, and he apologized afterwards. Now, I don't know whether he continues to go on and criticize us, but...

RIPON FORUM: Where does society draw the line, or where does the government draw the line, between artistic free expression and society's right to determine where public funding is spent? Do you think the system has to change?

MR. FROHNMAYER: My view is that the system is pretty good, that it's very democratic, that the people who make recommendations to the arts endowment are all citizens -- and there are over 1,200 of them over the course of a year who come in and sit on our panels -- that those recommendations go to the National Council on the Arts, which is 26 citizens again, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, who are some of the best artists in the world, and then that recommendation goes to me as the chair, or did when I was chair.

But then there is another step in that democratic process, and that is that those grants go back to the community from which they were proposed and they're matched by dollars on the

local level on at least a one-to-one, and usually something closer to 10-to-one, and so that every level in that there is citizen participation, either that they actually sit on the panels or that they participate with their dollars. And that, in my view, is the way the government should work. And for some citizen in Florida to say some citizen in Washington can't have an arts project there, that doesn't make any sense at all because we are such a diverse nation.

RIPON FORUM: Your successor, Ms. Radice, said that she is going to change the way grants are given out and break the country up into seven segments to give a little more geographic distribution to funding. Is that whole proposal something that has been well thought



out by the NEA?

MR. FROHNMAYER: Certainly not. I mean, to do it by quota is to ignore the fact that artists have traditionally congregated in some areas of the country. What is fair is to make sure that the arts are accessible around the country, but you don't give cotton subsidies to Vermont, and to suggest that you can just sort of, by formula, dole out the money by state or by locality sounds more like a political pork barrel than it does like a real attempt to try to find the best artists in the country and give them support.

RIPON FORUM: Of course, this year we're in an election year, a presidential as well as a congressional election year, and many people, especially in the moderate section of the Republican Party, think that the Administration and the President presented you as a kind of sacrificial lamb to the hard right in order to bring them back into the fold for this fall's campaign. Do you

See FROHNMAYER on page 21

A
SECOND
OPINION

NEA & "Private Parts Art"

FRED
KELLOGG
SUGGESTS
ELIMINATING
NEW ART
FUNDING

Shortly, Congress will again confront the issue whether the National Endowment for the Arts should continue to exist. So let's invite the Honorable Members to take a look at what the NEA actually does, and what will happen when it's gone.

We begin with one ugly fact that no one will admit and does not appear even in the pages of that revered beacon, *The Washington Post*. If the NEA is disbanded, federal arts funding will not end; the channels through which lobbyists get Congress to provide money to "save" worthy programs and organizations will not be shut down. If anything, closing the NEA will sound the official starting gun for a rush by the nation's

financially pres-sed museums, orchestras, universities, consortia, and non-profit spinoffs to *openly* seek special appropriations and earmarks. The total will quickly outpace the NEA's current budget, and the money will go to those who have "access."

So we start with a fundamental NEA purpose: it is the "United Way" of arts funding. It gives Congress an excuse to say no to the firms of Arnold & Porter,

Hill & Knowlton, and all the folks that don't use cabs to get around the District. Unlike them, the NEA spreads the wealth to regions and income levels that don't, or can't, lobby effectively.

Funding the organizational side of American art is by far the biggest piece of the NEA's budget, not pictures of private parts. These infrastructure grants are generally about six figures, and are obtained through tough scrutiny and competition. But they are also subject to multiples of nonfederal matching funds. For the past 25 years, the NEA has been building a national arts infrastructure with steadily increasing budgets, until a series of relatively small grants involving new art threatened the agency's very existence.

If the NEA had simply suspended grants for new art right after the Reverend Wildmon heard about Andres Serrano's NEA-funded "Piss Christ" in 1989, there would have been much less irreparable damage. The "arts community" would have been displeased by a suspension, but

not as much as they are now by "censorship." Most new American art is funded by the nonfederal network anyway. The small NEA input is largely honorific, or at least it was until recently.

The Endowment's new head, Anne-Imelda Radice, influenced we assume by the firing of John Frohnmayer, has felt obliged to take a harder line on new art. Her vetoes of stuff, such as relatively tame private-parts-wallpaper, may trigger a succession of grant boycotts, resignation from NEA panels, and refusals (like that of Steven Sondheim) to accept the National Medal of Art.

OK, the author is going to abandon objectivity here and ask: at this cost, why does the NEA have to be deciding whether to fund projects like private-parts-wallpaper?

It is much more difficult to say what art does for the United States than, say, what the federal government does. You can look up all federal business in the budget, which is now \$3.8 trillion. Federal arts funding comes to less than \$176 million, which is 0.00005 of the whole, and is also a small fraction (probably 0.04) of all the money spent in America on "art."

It is easier to identify what the National Endowment for the Arts does. America has always had art, and always will. The idea for federal funding for it came in with the New Deal -- and went out again before World War II with Congressional concern over "un-American" art and artists. The NEA was founded in 1965 and recently passed its 25th anniversary and its role has changed over time. It was proposed by John F. Kennedy to move America toward cultural stature commensurate with its postwar power. It emerged under Richard Nixon as the core of a national arts funding network, leveraging a growing nonfederal sector, vastly bigger than itself, through matching grants.

If the NEA were dismantled today, the network would largely remain. Its funding policies in the 70s and 80s encouraged the "cloning" of mini-NEAs in every state and in thousands of American cities and towns. These state and local agencies coordinate artistic activities locally in much the same way the NEA does nationally and often have controversial grants as well. But while an objectionable -- or merely ugly -- work can threaten funding, local art politics is closer to real life than the histrionics on Capitol Hill. It tends to take into account things like the effect on



Fred Kellogg was NEA general counsel from 1986-89. Recently, 24 of Kellogg's oil paintings were shown at the Carega Foxley Leach Gallery in Washington, D.C.

tourism and recreation from an active city or state arts program.

Republicans prefer this kind of reality, but they will tolerate a federal program if it makes sense for another reason -- like doing something essential the states simply can't or won't do. When the NEA was founded, national arts funding was unorganized and haphazard. Increasingly, emerging artists can find financial and other support from a state or local arts council. So why does the NEA need to continue funding new art if that is what is causing all the trouble?

The reason usually given is that it is difficult, legally, to dissociate the NEA organizational funding from new art funding. This is tricky, but it can be done. The reason lying behind that reason is that too many people are unwilling to relinquish the notion that there is, or that there needs to be, something akin to a consensual national standard for artistic excellence. That notion was crucial to the NEA's building years (and it is reflected in John Frohnmayer's comments to the *Forum*) but I don't think it is necessary any more -- and I also don't think it is true.

The NEA is an impressive place. Its "bureaucrats" are among the least bureaucratic and best-informed in any federal agency. For a quarter-century they have been drawn from, and are in daily contact with, the best-known artists and arts administrators throughout the United States. The staff then recruits these people for the NEA panels that review grant applications. The panels and staff serve not only the Chair of the NEA, but report to the National Council on the Arts, a 26-member body that meets four times a year. The Council advises the Chair, but does not have final say in the grants.

This defined community has, in essence, been the nation's art growers from 1965 until now. It had to be small to be efficient, and it had to be efficient to develop a national arts network around a relatively small annual federal appropriation. Congressional oversight has properly, although incompletely, encouraged geographic diversity. While most of the funds have gone to build infrastructure, the fraction for new art has been carefully screened by a small, but growing network of committed professionals. It is this privilege that has kept them and their expanding constituency involved. I do not think an arts infrastructure could have been built as well or as quickly without a federal program, or indeed this particular program -- even if it was run by a privileged few. For years, the NEA was the only place that important new art forms, wholly ac-

cepted today, could get funding.

What has been occurring since the late 1980s has brought aspects of the NEA system into question. First, the decentralization of structure while heavily favoring the wealthier urban and suburban areas, now provides vastly more resources for artistic careers than existed in 1960. More and more, art is independent of the traditional centers of criticism and evaluation. The infrastructure the NEA has built has multiplied its constituency and created more voices and new demands.

This incipient pluralization has reinforced a second development, the fracturing and decline of the cultural avant-garde. The modernist movement was decidedly, and purposefully apolitical -- in reaction to an era of Western art charged by politics. A new cycle is underway and art is becoming political again.

The current politicization of art is reinforced by a growing perception among artists that two traditional critics of political wisdom, academia and the news media, have lost their objectivity, in part, through ties to and contacts with the Washington establishment. There is a feeling that only art is left to tell the truth.

I do not think it would be a tragedy if the NEA got out of the business of funding new art. Killing NEA funding would, however, devastate the smallest and least known arts organizations, inhibit the creation of new ones and abruptly end the "democratization" of the American arts funding system. That is why an arts endowment is most valuable, and why the NEA should be reauthorized.

So is America's "leadership in the realm of ideas" really threatened by the attacks on the

NEA Quick Facts

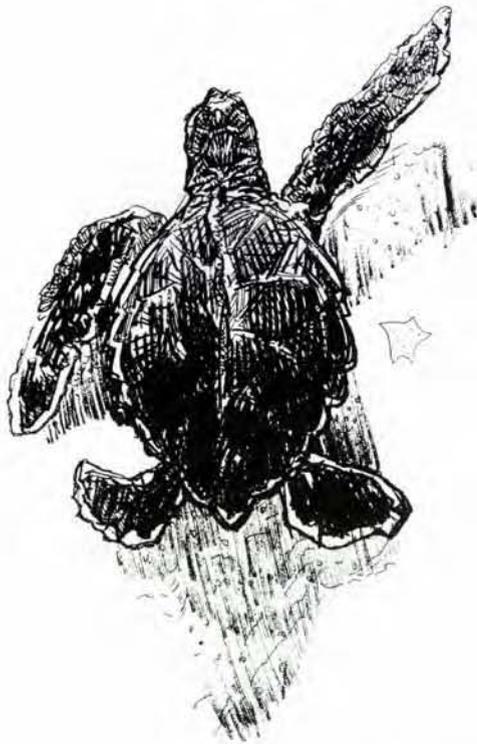
Recently, the American Arts Alliance sent 3M Post-it notes to every member of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives. At the bottom of each note, a fact about the NEA was printed in an attempt to get their message posted on the desks of legislators and Hill staffers. Some of the interesting facts are:

- ❖ **Every year, individual taxpayers pay \$1,137.28 for the military, \$201 for education and 68 cents for the arts.**
- ❖ **More tickets are sold every year to dance performances than to National Football League games.**
- ❖ **In 1989, the NEA awarded \$119 million in grants for the arts which leveraged \$1.36 billion in private funding.**
- ❖ **America's military bands receive \$203 million a year in funding, \$28 million more than the entire budget for the NEA.**

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Not Saving the Endangered

BENJAMIN W. PATTON ASKS: COULD THE ENDANGERED SPECIES ACT HAVE WORKED?



This session, members of Congress will have to decide on the reauthorization of the Endangered Species Act. Being an election year, conventional wisdom has been that lawmakers may do an end-around and simply re-appropriate funding through November elections and then examine it more seriously at a later date. Judging from Congressional hearings which have already taken place, we can expect debate over the Act to reach historic levels before all is said and done.

Not surprisingly, debate over the Act has been controversial and has focused on its impact on jobs, taxes and private property rights. In the

public's perception there are two sides debating the issue: one hoping to protect, strengthen and reaffirm the Act as the crown jewel of environmental legislation and as a "safety net" for those species being lost as an unintended consequence of economic activity. The other side hopes to reform the Act in order to defend private property rights, jobs and economic activity. Supporters of the Act are often billed as being anti-progress and anti-growth. Reformers, on the other hand, are often derided as being greedy and wasteful for not simply dropping everything, including

and livelihood, to preserve the environment at any cost.

As we approach the twentieth anniversary of the law, perhaps we should be asking a much more basic question about the ESA which many seem to have overlooked. That is simply, "does it work and does the Endangered Species Act recover species?" After all, recovering species is what the Act was ostensibly intended to do. So, if Americans truly care about nature, and if they care to know exactly how their tax dollars are

being spent to enhance it, they deserve an answer to this most fundamental question.

The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service's July '91 issue of *Endangered and Threatened Wildlife and Plants* states that "the principle goal of Fish and Wildlife Service and National Marine Fisheries Service is to return listed species to a point at which protection under the Act is no longer required."

The concept seems simple enough. A plant or animal is in danger of extinction, it is listed, recovered, and then removed from the list. Most Americans probably assume this is how the Act works. After all, the Endangered Species Act must be good for endangered species, right?

Not necessarily.

A look at the recovery record reveals perhaps the most significant but least understood fact about the ESA; so far, it has not accomplished what Congress designed it to do back in 1973 -- not even once. Since the Act's passage, only four species have been officially delisted as "recovered." However, three of these are birds, which are limited to the U.S. Trust Territory of Palau Island about 500 miles east of the Philippines; and a 1989 GAO report states that "according to Fish & Wildlife officials, although listed as "recovered," the three Palau species owe their recovery more to the discovery of additional birds than to successful recovery efforts."

This leaves only the Rydberg milk-vetch. Although this plant, found in Utah, was also officially delisted as a "recovery," "data error" would have been more appropriate grounds for its delisting. As the Federal Register stated upon delisting of the milk-vetch, "From 1984 through 1987 the majority of potential habitat was inventories. Twelve major population centers were located and mapped. These populations cover over 2,000 acres ...indicat[ing] population numbers well over 300,000 individuals." Although the American alligator remains on the list only by similarity of appearance to the crocodile, some claim it as a success. However, it too probably does not qualify as a bona fide recovery since it most likely did not originally merit protection according to Florida game officials, a state where there may be as many as a million gators. All of which means that after nearly two decades, there is no unquestionable case in which the Endangered Species Act has achieved its stated goal.

Benjamin W. Patton is Deputy Director and co-founder of the National Wilderness Institute.

The National Wilderness Institute has expressed this criticism on several occasions only to have it dismissed as "unscientific." In spite of compelling evidence to the contrary, defenders of the Act still claim that "We know best. You just don't understand," though this is precisely the attitude of which folks outside the Beltway are tiring. Many supporters of the ESA argue that the Act functions as a "safety net," and that even though there may be few, if any, recoveries, undeniable progress is being made. Based on all currently available data, not even the "safety net" theory can be substantiated. Based on careful review, both independently and through meetings with ranking Fish & Wildlife officials, the National Wilderness Institute (NWI), an environmental policy and research group in Washington, has determined that the Service's statement in its 1990 Report to Congress on the Endangered and Threatened Species Recovery Program that, "those species listed longer appear to have a better chance of becoming stable or improving" cannot be backed up statistically. In other words, there is no available data proving that a species under federal protection is necessarily better off than one left unprotected.

There is more to this already disturbing story. Using the same figures and methodology of the 1990 Audit by the Department of Interior's Inspector General, NWI has calculated that the projected cost to American taxpayers to implement recovery of all those candidate and listed endangered and threatened species under current approaches would require from \$6.6 billion to \$8.1 billion. Also, it is important to note that these figures do not include costs of listing, delisting, enforcement, permits, consultation or social and economic costs as a result of listings.

Not only is the current approach failing taxpayers and property owners, but also wildlife. And if something is not working, throwing millions more at the problem will not solve it. Instead, perhaps it is time to demand a greater emphasis on recovering not just listing species, careful scrutiny of proposed listees to ensure their biological uniqueness, and a role for the private sector in recovering those species which are truly endangered.

Remember, Congress can name a piece of legislation whatever it pleases. But the fact that in this case legislators chose the name, "Endangered Species Act" should in no way suggest that the government's endangered species program has or will ever work in its current form. Common sense solutions do exist, but the current approach may only be taking us farther from them. ■

Jerry Brown's Simpler Flat Tax

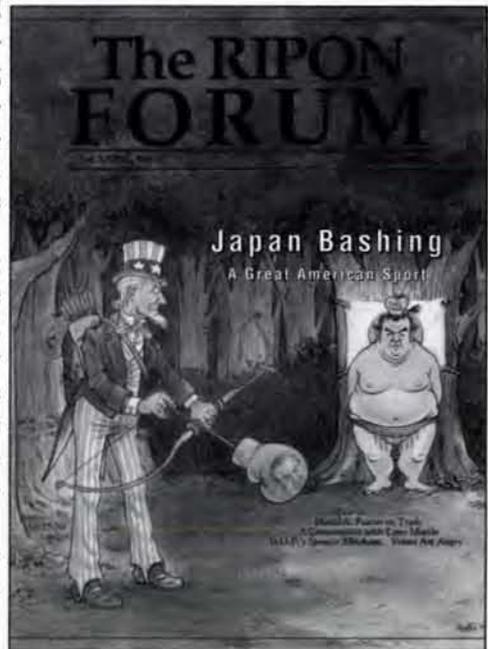
The Editor:

The flat tax concept is not generic to Jerry Brown. While the double-tier rate by Governor Brown's admission is not flawless, instead of losing the message by "shooting the messenger," let the American taxpayer, for the first time, take center stage, and engage in constructive investigation and debate on bringing about a fairer and simpler system. Hong Kong has a 15 percent flat tax rate on individual income, and it appears to be working.

While critics may attack Gov. Brown's message, is there anyone willing to stand up and defend the system we have now as fair, equitable and adequate to meet our revenue needs? We cannot have true spending reform without refining our revenue needs.

Dan R. Ritchie
Director of Development
Somerset House, Inc.
Chevy Chase, Md.

LETTERS
TO THE
EDITOR



Good Balance

The Editor:

I read your recent article on Japan Bashing. It was very balanced and thoughtful. Perhaps these qualities are not always in vogue but they do represent good journalism.

Keep it up!

Joseph Zemke
President and COO
Amdahl Corporation
Sunnyvale, Calif.

Thanks for the Boost

The Editor:

Congratulations! To a person struggling to be rational, *The Ripon Forum* is like AA to a recovering alcoholic. It is nice to know you are not alone.

Bob DeLong
Acorn Manufacturing Company
Mansfield, Mass.

Letters to
The Ripon Forum are
welcome. Please
address them to
The Ripon Forum
709 Second Street N.E.,
Washington, D.C.
20002

Money in Politics

Campaign finance reform is once again teetering at the edge of failure. Both houses of Congress managed to pass a bill and send it to the president, but, just as he had warned, President Bush quickly vetoed the bill, with no chance of an override and little climate for a compromise. This is a shame.

NORMAN
ORNSTEIN
SUGGESTS
HOW
CONGRESS
SHOULD
REFORM
CAMPAIGN
FINANCING

There are few areas of political reform where change is more desirable and action can clearly make more of a difference. And there are few areas where both parties, overcoming their myopia, should more directly be able to come to a common understanding of how to reform the system for the better.

While real reform has remained elusive, there is general consensus on the major deficiencies of the system. First of all, campaigns have become outrageously expensive; as a result, politicians have become obsessed with money. Without money, challengers cannot run effectively and incumbents cannot be assured of keeping their seats. Today's politicians spend enormous amounts of time raising money for campaigns, plotting ways to raise money, and thinking about how much money they need to raise. This time would surely be better spent tending to constituents needs or working on public policy.

Another major problem with the system is that special interests have gained an inordinate amount of influence. The general public is particularly sensitive about this issue; people feel that they have been squeezed out by monied interests and no longer have access to their representatives in Congress. Washington is a wash in

lobbyists, and the most observable, reportable, and quantifiable evidence of their influence is campaign contributions. These donations may be legal, but their growing size and role in campaigns has led to an overwhelming desire to change the laws, to reduce this special interest presence.

Finally, there is general agreement that in a world of big-money campaigns, challengers are left out, and incumbents have unfair advantages. Few challengers have the wherewithal or the access to resources to raise anywhere near the amount of money needed to wage a competitive campaign these days. Incumbents increasingly have monopolized PAC contributions, thus worsening the financing problems of challengers. In addition, incumbents have built-in advantages, such as mailing privileges and staff, which only add to the obstacles faced by challengers. All of this helps to explain the unbelievably high reelection rates for incumbent members of Congress in 1986, 1988 and 1990.

Real reform can be achieved by taking moderate steps to improve the system from within, without starving incumbents and challengers and undermining the public discourse. Nearly everyone connected with the political process

Norman Ornstein is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

understands the shortcomings of the current system. But most move from them to a fatal misconception about their roots and to faulty assumptions about what would cure them.

The fatal misconception is that the problem is too much money. Few assertions about politics are as widely and readily believed; few are as flat-out wrong. But to start from that assumption leads inevitably to a set of reforms to cure it. The most common solution offered by reformers is to remove as much money as possible from the system. Some would accomplish this by eliminating PACs; others by putting spending caps on campaigns. Each solution solves the wrong problem and creates a bigger one.

WE NEED MORE CAMPAIGN MONEY

The reality is we need *more* money, not less, in our campaigns. In a vast and heterogeneous society like the United States, elections are expensive, and have to be. We happen to have a lot of voters, spread out over huge geographical expanses. Candidates need to raise lots of money to run effective campaigns -- campaigns, in other words, that adequately reach voters. A political campaign is a crucial forum in a democracy for raising issues, debating differences and showcasing problems of governance. But it exists not in a vacuum but surrounded by a literal blizzard of other information and noise -- 50 or more cable TV channels, newspaper and radio advertising, computer information systems, direct mail and so on-- that all makes it difficult to get any messages across. As any commercial advertiser could attest, to do so costs considerable sums of money. The trick is to make it the right kind, and make it more accessible.

Unfortunately the current system, designed in considerable part by the same reformers who decry it, makes raising money in any form especially difficult. For example, the single largest reason for the sharp growth in PACs has been previous "reforms" that cut the amount of money in campaigns and made it more difficult for candidates to raise money from small individual donors. For candidates needing to raise the \$400,000 or so required for an average competitive House campaign, or the several million necessary for a Senate race, PACS-- easily accessible in Washington, in business specifically to give money, and with much higher limits than individuals -- have become increasingly attractive.

Eliminating or sharply reducing the role of PACs may well be desirable, given our concern with special interest influence. But to eliminate

PACs without freeing up other sources of money would create a bigger problem, without solving the old one. All candidates, not just incumbents would have an increased burden raising the large sums of money needed to communicate effectively with voters. Either they would become even more preoccupied with raising money, spending more time and energy on it than they do now, or they would raise and spend less money, narrowing the ability of candidates to reach voters.

Neither would eliminating PACs erase special interest influence. Long before the creation

of PACs, interest groups had access and influence in Washington, indeed, much greater influence than they have now. But that was in a pre-reform era, before disclosure of contributions enabled us to detail systematically and quantitatively their cash contributions to Washington. Even if PACs were eliminated, special interests would continue to exert their influence. As James Madison noted in Federalist 10, special interests are a part of American democracy's genetic code.

That is not to argue that we should simply throw up our hands and accept any system of overt influence peddling. It is to say that since we cannot erase the influence or role of special interests, reforms must be designed with a different goal in mind. We need to channel that influence in a more balanced way, creating more avenues for rank-and-file voters and broader interests to tilt the playing field away from an over-reliance on narrow special interests and their money.

But simply eliminating PACs without creating compensating changes to loosen restrictions on other kinds of money will be counterproductive. The compelling need candidates have for



REFORM *continues on next page*

PACs Not the Problem

REFORM *from previous page*

campaign resources would increase, not abate.

Rather than eliminating PACs, some reformers would prefer to place caps on campaign spending. Advocates of this approach believe it would reduce the obsession with money, give challengers more opportunity by reducing the huge leads that well-off incumbents have, and trim special interest influence by cutting the overall money in the process.

A cap on spending might reduce a candidate's ability to communicate with voters, but it would not reduce special interest influence, merely re-channel it. And it would have the opposite effect of its intentions on incumbents and challengers. The problem for most challengers has not been how much an incumbent has, but rather how little the challenger can raise to overcome the overwhelming threshold of name recognition and issue communication required to reach a huge constituency.

Five Steps To Cleaning Up Campaigns

❖ **FULL TAX CREDIT FOR SMALL, IN STATE CONTRIBUTIONS:** Would make it easy to solicit money from individual citizens and would give people a much needed incentive to get involved in the political process.

❖ **ESTABLISH A MATCHING FUND FOR IN STATE CONTRIBUTIONS:** This would be a major incentive for candidates to raise funds from the people they would be representing and not from special interests. A threshold could weed out non-serious candidates.

❖ **CUT THE LEVEL OF PAC CONTRIBUTIONS:** Cutting the limit on PAC donations from \$5,000 to \$2,000. This would reduce the influence of special interests but keep their participation in observable and legitimate routes.

❖ **ESTABLISH A "SEED MONEY" MECHANISM:** Raise individual contribution limits to \$10,000 for a certain number of donations. To avoid abuse, require extensive disclosure of donors and limit large donations to early in the campaign to avoid "sandbagging" late in the game.

❖ **REFORM POLITICAL ADVERTISING RATES:** Require radio and television stations to offer the lowest cost commercial rates for political advertisements. This would significantly reduce the cost of federal campaigns.

How then can we achieve genuine campaign finance reform, that is, reform that would reduce special interest influence, reduce the intense preoccupation with raising money, and open the doors to quality challengers to make elections more competitive?

What we need to do is provide easier paths to the "right" kind of money (the kind that no reasonable person would call tainted) for all candidates, easier access to "seed money" for new candidates to get a Congressional campaign under way, and methods to reduce the cost burdens of campaigns without restricting the communications vital to democratic elections. The plan outlined below would achieve all of those goals with a few simple steps.

REFORMING THE SYSTEM

First, a full tax credit for small, in-state contributions should be enacted. The best kind of money to have in campaigns is small contributions from individual citizens from a candidate's state. A 100 percent tax credit for in-state contributions of \$200 or less would make it easy for candidates to solicit money from average citizens, and would add considerably to the incentive for citizens to contribute to campaigns -- a nice way to get them involved in democracy.

In addition to enacting a tax credit, a matching fund process should be established for these in-state contributions. This would serve as a major incentive for candidates to raise "good" money. A threshold could be set, at say \$25,000, in order to weed out non-serious candidates. Once over that limit, candidates would get federal matching funds for every contribution of this sort.

With these two reforms, Congressional candidates would suddenly have a major incentive to raise money in small individual contributions from their own state's voters, tilting the playing field sharply away from PACs and toward "average" people.

A third element of the plan would be to cut allowable PAC contributions. PACs can currently contribute up to \$5,000 per election (primary or general) to a candidate. Cutting the limit to \$2,000 would greatly alter incentives for candidates and open up a major new flow of funds into campaigns.

Reducing PAC contributions to individual campaigns would not eliminate PAC influence;

no doubt, many interests would try to find other ways to enhance their clout in politics, perhaps through the soft money or "bundling" of contributions from different sources. But enhanced disclosure would help to counter that tendency, as would a beefed-up enforcement arm for the now-toothless Federal Election Commission.

More importantly, keeping PACs alive but reducing their clout would keep most interest involvement in campaigns channeled into observable and legitimate routes, but routes with a much lower volume of traffic.

The fourth component of the plan would be to install a "seed money" mechanism. This would be accomplished by raising individual contribution limits to \$10,000, with some restrictions and allowing candidates to raise up to \$100,000 in early contributions of \$1,000 or more.

One of the goals of campaign finance reform has to be to enable challengers to "get over the hump," i.e. to raise start-up funds to create an organization, do some polling and advertising, and build some momentum. That is very hard to do without a seed money mechanism.

Under current law, individuals are limited to \$1,000 contributions. Candidates have been unable to finance more than a small portion of their campaigns with \$1,000 individual contributions; realistically, few individuals have the means to write \$1,000 checks to political candidates (most who do could easily add a zero). Sharply raising the limit would enable challengers, especially, to turn to a small number of well-heeled individuals to get campaigns under way.

This change could only be effected with several safeguards. The overall sum that a candidate could raise in this fashion would be limited, to keep the "seed money" principle in place. Every contribution of more than \$1,000 would be accompanied by extensive disclosure from the donor, including name, address, job positions, corporate and other board memberships, and any direct legislative interests, released within 48 hours of the contribution to both the Federal Election Commission and to major journalistic organizations in the state. Furthermore, to prevent a candidate from sand-bagging an opponent, contributions over \$1,000 would be restricted to the early stages of a campaign.

There is a danger here, of course, in letting a cadre of wealthy people have overwhelming influence on campaigns. But with the limits in place and with the extensive publicity the disclosure provisions would ensure, the public would

have a full opportunity to weigh the appropriateness and impact of the contributions during the campaign. In fact, these contributions would have the ironic benefit of providing non-wealthy candidates with a counter to the unlimited spending allowed by independently wealthy candidates.

THERE IS A GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT IN A WORLD OF BIG MONEY CAMPAIGNS, CHALLENGERS ARE LEFT OUT AND INCUMBENTS HAVE UNFAIR ADVANTAGES.

REFORM TELEVISION COSTS

Finally, the plan includes a provision which would require television and radio stations to provide the lowest-cost commercial rates for political advertisements of at least one minute in length for qualified Congressional candidates. The largest and fastest growing expense in House and Senate campaigns is TV advertising. This is one area where we can find a reform to reduce the costs of campaigning for candidates and parties. Doing so simply by requiring free time would be a mistake. Deciding how to allocate television time to thousands of congressional candidates would become a bureaucratic nightmare. Consider what the implications would be in areas, like New York, where television stations reach as many as thirty or forty congressional districts in three states. Would every candidate get free time -- all districts, every party -- in equal amounts, even for seats that are uncontested or barely contested? Who would watch hour after hour of political commercials, and how would confused voters sort out their own candidates' messages from the hundreds of others being broadcast? Under what authority would cable stations, unlicensed by the federal government, be required to give time? If cable stations are left alone, what is the rationale for the competitive damage done to commercial broadcast stations vis a vis their cable competitors? These and other questions, including the role of the parties and of the candidates, cannot be answered without one realizing the Pandora's Box created by the concept of free time for congressional campaigns,

However, there is no reason why stations,

REFORM *continues on next page*

Cut Broadcast Advertising Costs

REFORM *from previous page*

granted valuable licenses by the government to dominate public airwaves, should be able to take advantage of democracy by charging higher prices to candidates than they do to commercial advertisers. At the same time, by targeting the lowest rates to commercials of one minute or more, we would discourage campaigns from relying ever more heavily on the 15- or 30-second "hit-and-run" spots that have become so popular, and so negative.

This series of reforms would improve the lot of candidates and generally create a more healthy

THE REALITY THAT NO GOOD REFORM CAN WORK WITHOUT PUBLIC MONEY ... OUGHT TO BE ACCEPTED BY REPUBLICANS.

political and campaign process. It does not address the role and health of the political parties. There have been proposals to inject more life into the parties by making them the conduits for money and the allocators of television time into congressional campaigns. Given the widely disparate strength and sophistication of local parties around the country, this would have uneven and perhaps destructive effects. The campaign finance system cannot turn a system with weak and decentralized parties into one with strong, vibrant and unified parties, and it would be a mistake to try to use reform as a vehicle to accomplish that goal.

At the same time, it would be an equal mistake to rush to reform "soft money" out of existence, without considering the unintended consequences of such a change for the parties. To many erstwhile reformers, the problem is in fact soft money. *The New York Times* calls soft money "sewer money" in its editorials calling for more campaign finance reform.

THE ROLE OF SOFT MONEY

What is soft money? Federal election laws do not regulate the states and thus do not control the state and local parties. Contributions to them are not limited or disclosed -- and big givers, the so-called "fat cats" of American politics, have

made their big contributions here. This is what is generally meant by soft money. In 1988, there was at least one contribution that exceeded \$500,000. That went, via state parties, to the Republican Party; in 1986, Joan Kroc, the widow of the founder of the McDonald's Hamburger franchise, gave \$1,000,000 in soft money to the Democratic Party. In all, fundraisers for both presidential candidates in 1988 raised around \$25 million each in soft money. The recent and controversial "President's Dinner" in Washington is the latest example of big soft money contributions.

The money to state and local parties is ostensibly for state and local purposes. But get-out-the-vote and voter registration drives, polling efforts and party advertisements are all ways in which this money can be used to benefit federal candidates -- congressmen, senators, and presidential hopefuls -- at the same time. The soft money loophole is also one that enables corporations, unions and foreign nationals to contribute in many states, usually without any extensive disclosure.

Current campaign finance laws were designed to limit the size of individual donations in order to prevent individuals from buying access or influence. However, the soft money loophole has enabled the parties to solicit millions of dollars from wealthy individuals and powerful interests. Senate reformers are willing to limit soft money contributions, while House members have been reluctant to do so. This may be due in part to the fact that House members, because they run for office more frequently, have more to gain from coordinated campaigns run by the state party and designed to benefit the entire party ticket. As it stands now, the laws vary from state to state and are, on the whole, extremely lenient.

There is a dilemma inherent in the debate over soft money. Any serious limitations on this type of fundraising would likely have the effect of weakening parties on every level. What many critics of soft money do not realize is that most of the money flowing into parties these days comes from the unlimited contributions made at the state and local level. Those who advocate the elimination of soft money would also like to see the parties strengthened. The former is not likely to lead to the latter. If we are interested in keeping our parties from going out of existence altogether, more prudent reforms in this area, includ-

ing some limits on contributions, some changes in the definition of coordinated campaign activities between local and congressional parties and candidates, and fuller disclosure of soft money contributions, makes more sense than the wholesale change recommended by the *New York Times* and Common Cause.

USING THE PUBLIC'S MONEY

Enacting this series of reforms would address each of the major concerns we now have about the campaign finance system. We would tilt the system away from an increasingly heavy reliance on special interest money, restoring more balance to the policy process and more of a role for rank-and-file voters. We would make it easier for politicians, incumbents and challengers alike, to raise the money necessary to run effective campaigns in our large and diverse democracy, without having to demean or prostitute themselves in the process, or to turn their attention unduly away from policy making concerns.

In addition, we would break the logjam of non-competitiveness in campaigns by giving solid and promising challengers more opportunities to raise the money necessary to get their messages across while avoiding the creation of the kinds of restrictions on incumbents that are unrealistic or counter-productive.

Of course, all of this would require a good deal of public money, perhaps as much as \$150 million to \$300 million a year. This seems a small price to pay for cleaning up the campaign mess, especially when we consider that \$150 million constitutes a mere one-seventy fifth of one percent of the federal budget. Nonetheless, given today's fiscal environment and the current public mood, finding any public money will be more difficult now than ever.

The task before us then is to find some realistic and reasonable sources of funds that will pay for real and positive reform without enraging the public. Two sources come to mind. The first would be a tax on PACs. Instead of abolishing PACs, why not make the special interests they represent pay for improving the campaign system? The procedure would be simple and straightforward. For every contribution a PAC makes to a House or Senate candidate, it would be required to make an equal contribution to the US Treasury, earmarked for a campaign finance trust fund. The trust fund would reimburse the Treasury for revenues lost by giving tax credits for small, individual, in-state contributions.

How much money might this generate? PAC contributions to Congressional candidates in the

1990 election cycle were \$150 million. Assuming some dropoff in contributions caused by the tax, it is still reasonable to expect that a 100 percent tax on PAC donations could raise \$100 to \$120 million. That in and of itself would pay for a \$50 to \$100 tax credit per American and might even make it politically feasible to have a \$200 credit.

Of course PACs won't welcome such a proposal, nor will campaign reform purists, who would prefer to see PACs eliminated altogether. PACs may try to scuttle any efforts at campaign finance reform. However, given the current pressure for reform, from inside and outside of Congress, PACs would be better off accepting this type of compromise than risking their total demise.

A second source of money could come from a user fee on television advertising. Television advertising represents the single biggest and fastest rising cost of campaigning today. Television stations and outlets have garnered huge sums of revenue from political campaigns. Recently many observers have suggested that TV stations be required to provide free time to candidates and parties. Obviously, forcing the stations and networks to allocate time to thousands of candidates in hundreds of districts would be a bureaucratic mess.

However, there is a better way to tap into the resources of TV stations for the good of the campaign process. A "user" fee based on advertising revenues would raise tens of millions of dollars which could then be put into a trust fund to help pay for the proposed tax credit. The fee could be charged once every five years, when television stations are required to apply to the FCC for license renewal. In 1991, total revenues for spot and local television advertising are projected at over \$16 billion. A fee of one-half of one percent of a year's advertising revenue would raise perhaps \$75 million per election cycle.

Of course broadcasters would resist any such measure. They have already voiced their total opposition to any license fee, and are now feeling the effects of the recession on their ad revenues.

Nonetheless, the idea of having those who benefit from the current campaign funding system pay some realistic and reasonable price for making it better ought to have enough logic and momentum to overcome these objections. If not, we may need to turn to another, non-connected source of revenue; perhaps a modest filing fee on tax returns for corporations and partnerships, on

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BOOK REVIEWS

A New Feminism Emerges

Review by Karen Barnes

Pulitzer Prize-winning author Susan Faludi asks why the word "feminism" carries so many negative connotations in contemporary society. The answer is men feel threatened by women's progress. So through powerful positions in government, media and corporate

America, men create a popular backlash psychology. The insidious nature of any backlash movement is grounded in its ability to portray newly-gained strengths as weaknesses and sources of anxiety.

She exposes the almost-Apartheid magnitude of the current backlash -- the domination of the majority by the heavily-armed minority. While the white South Africans are eliminating repressive laws from the books, the American government is stripping away equal opportunity laws and reducing rights, most notably the right to an abortion. Like the native blacks in South Africa, American women comprise over half the U.S. popula-

tion. There are more women than men enrolled in colleges and universities, registered to vote, and in front of the television.

In *Backlash*, Faludi carefully examines why popular psychology, politics and the media are following their own agendas rather than recognizing the wants and needs of contemporary

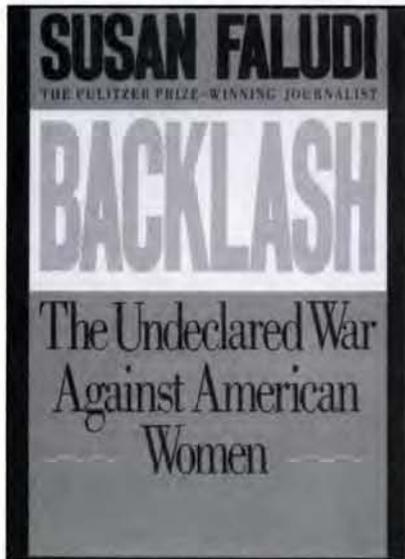
being told that their professional careers are contributing to their mental instability, decreased chances of getting married, and higher infertility rates. At the same time, women are pushed to be old-fashioned wives and mothers, causing them to wring their hands when they read the latest "scientific" study revealing that the institution of marriage is nearing extinction due to an apparent man shortage.

In a chapter on the history of backlash, Faludi says these themes and scare tactics surface repeatedly during each wave of female repression. She questions and discredits the reliability of current scientific studies and counters each with statistics on men's mental health, marriage opportunities and fertility.

Faludi then moves from the gender-based arena to the political environment and analyzes the growing gender gap in federal and state elections, the New Right/conservative Republican movement, the state of women in politics and the possibility of a third party. Here she says both Republican and Democratic women need a support system for women candidates within the boundaries of the two political parties. Clear cut examples are the creation and success of fund-raising networks such as the Republican WISH (Women in the Senate and House) List and the Democrats' counterpart EMILY's (Early Money Is Like Yeast.) List.

The government is full of contradictions, Faludi says. At a time when women are told that their chief responsibility is to bear healthy children, government has cut funding for prenatal care. She complements this argument by discussing the contradictory lives of many leading anti-feminists. An example Faludi uses is George Gilder, former Ripon Forum editor, who was ousted from the moderate Ripon Society after writing an anti-feminist piece on child care. In most cases, anti-feminists and their spouses hold demanding jobs so domestic responsibilities must be shared. But Faludi remains objective and claims leading female anti-feminist often put their careers before family obligations.

The weakest point of the book is Faludi's claim that many outspoken anti-feminists are motivated by "simple spite." This reasoning seems weak and speculative. No individual woman can deny she's experienced the effects of back-



Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women
By Susan Faludi.
Crown Publishers,
\$24.00.

**BACKLASH IS A BENCHMARK IN
WOMEN'S STUDIES AND A
MANIFESTO ON CURRENT SOCIAL
CONDITIONS THAT MOVES
BEYOND THE GENDER QUESTION.**

women. In fact, it is these three influences which have been promoting a "neotraditionalism," as Faludi labels it, that encourages the return of the submissive female and the man as the sole breadwinner and unquestioned head of the household.

Through the derivatives of these influences, such as "studies" and talk shows, women are

See **BACKLASH** on page 21

Illuminating the Future

BOOK
REVIEWS

Review by Bill Tate

In the front of my grandmother's Bible is "A Chronological Table of Jewish and Contemporary History." The first date listed is 4004 B.C. and the event in history given beside it is "Creation of the World." The fact that the chronology could be found in most Bibles of the time is illustrative of the peculiar preoccupation Americans have with history.

Opening with the words "in the beginning" and concluding with the vision of the new Jerusalem "coming down out of heaven" at the end of time in Revelation 21, the Bible is unique among major religious holy books in purporting to be an account of the whole of history. Here, God sets history in motion, guides its course, and will bring it to a preordained conclusion.

From this biblical tradition we inherited an innate sense of history as linear, rather than cyclical as it was for the ancient Greeks and the religious traditions of the East. Moreover, history is of vital concern because of our sense it is the arena in which the meaning of existence is worked out. For us, history remains the ultimate reality, and not merely the flickering shadows of ideas on the wall of Plato's cave or the essentially illusory realm revealing the "dharma," or ultimate law of all things of Buddhism and Hinduism.

As long as the Bible was read as a literal account of the acts of God, the meaning of present events was understandable in terms of their place along the time line of the Bible. For most, however, by the midpoint of the twentieth century any sense of meaningful continuity in history was lost.

This loss occurred in stages. In the first, archeology and linguistics raised questions about the sources of the biblical texts as well as about the information they contained. This took place in a larger context in which the rise of science revolutionized the way in which we think about the world and our place in it. Human reason and not Scripture became the ultimate authority.

The direction in which meaning is sought was reversed. History no longer took its meaning by extrapolation from scripture. Rather, the Bible was seen as a historical artifact the meaning of which was to be determined in the same way the meaning of any other such artifact would be: by human reason employing the scientific method.

This revolution was initially greeted as a

liberating victory over superstition. By the end of the nineteenth century, the West was filled with the confidence that it had, if not all the answers, at least the means to discover them, both with regard to nature and to human history.

It is not necessary to have climbed out of the trenches that first morning on the Somme, or had a sister whose ashes were shoveled out of an oven at Buchenwald, a brother who went down with the Arizona or a mother incinerated at Hiroshima, to recognize how naive that confidence was. In the wake of these events, the West was left nostalgic for a biblical vision of history as linear and purposeful; at the same time, it found itself bereft of any hope of extracting any larger meaning from the course of its experience.

The result, Francis Fukuyama writes, is that "our deepest thinkers have concluded that there is no such thing as History -- that is, a meaningful order to the broad sweep of human events." And it is this conclusion he sets out to challenge in *The End of History and the Last Man*.

The book had its inception in a much debated article entitled "The End of History?" published in 1989. In it, Fukuyama argued that liberal democracy may represent "the end point of mankind's ideological evolution" and the "final form of human government," and thus could be

Francis Fukuyama
THE END
OF HISTORY
AND
THE
LAST
MAN

*The End of History
and the Last Man*
By Francis Fukuyama.
The Free Press,
\$24.95

THE IMPORTANT QUESTION TO
ASK IS WHETHER THIS BOOK
CLARIFIES THE PRESENT AND
ILLUMINATES THE FUTURE.
THE ANSWER IS YES.

said to mark "the end of history." His current book attempts to describe what would have to be the case about history and human nature for this to be true.

Modern natural science provides Fukuyama with the first of the concepts he will need. Of the

LAST MAN *continued on next page*

Human Nature is Desire and Reason

LAST MAN *continued from previous page*

entire range of human endeavor, he writes, it is "the only one that is by common consensus unequivocally cumulative and directional." Thus it is the "Mechanism" creating historical change that is both directional and universal, first because it confers "a decisive military advantage on those societies that can develop, produce, and deploy technology most effectively." The real or perceived need for nations to arm themselves with the latest weaponry has the effect of creating a universal social structure. That is, over time the so-called arms race can be seen to be producing a world-wide culture in which the differences between societies are gradually narrowing.

The second way in which modern science produces change and increased coherence is "through the progressive conquest of nature for

nature.

Fukuyama begins with Hobbes and Locke and the Anglo-Saxon tradition from which our founders drew much of their political philosophy. That tradition saw human nature as consisting of desire and reason. Reason made possible our entering into the social compact on which society is based and our motivation for doing so arose out of the desire for self-preservation. Fukuyama believes this understanding of human nature is inadequate because it cannot account for our freedom to choose more than the open-ended pursuit of increasingly meaningless wealth.

For what he believes is a more adequate understanding of human nature he turns to the German philosopher Hegel and his French interpreter Alexandre Kojève. According to these thinkers, human nature possesses a third element, that of "thymos," which Fukuyama variously describes as "that part of man which feels the need to place value on things -- himself in the first instance, but on the people, actions, or things around him as well;" as "an innate human sense of justice;" and ultimately settles on "the desire for recognition."

It is the struggle to satisfy this aspect of our nature, our "thymos" understood as "the desire for recognition," that Fukuyama identifies as the engine driving political change and thus as the counterpart of science in the economic realm. The historical movement "thymos" compels culminates in liberal democracy, he concludes, because the purest and therefore most desirable form of "recognition" is that freely given by other free individuals.

A brief sketch cannot do justice to the richness of Fukuyama's argument and upon a superficial reading *The End of History and the Last Man* would seem to have had its brief moment in the prideful aftermath of our foreign policy and military triumph in the Persian Gulf. Now, with the fate of the nascent free market democracies of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union very much in doubt, and particularly with the political institutions and claims to economic and racial equality of the United States in disrepute, Fukuyama's argument could be dismissed as at best inane and at worst simply silly.

To do so would be a mistake.

The book is neither an apologia for Reaganomics nor a justification of American foreign policy during the Cold War. In fact, it's

LAST MAN *continued on facing page*

THE END OF HISTORY AND THE LAST MAN IS NOT A JUSTIFICATION OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY DURING THE COLD WAR. IT'S A CRITIQUE.

the purpose of satisfying human desires, a project we otherwise call economic development." Whether by making possible increased crop yields or fast foods, vaccines or VCRs, here, too, the effect technology has had is one of moving its users in the direction of ever increasing cultural uniformity.

In other words, by freeing increasing numbers from the grip of necessity, science has created an incipient universal consumer culture. Fukuyama concludes science can thus be credited with setting in motion the development of a world-wide capitalist, free enterprise economic system, because that system has proven most effective in satisfying the ever-expanding needs of this emerging global society.

Fukuyama also concludes the logic of science only provides for an economic interpretation of history. Although there appears to be a propensity for capitalist consumerism to go hand in hand with democracy, he finds no necessary connection between the two. An understanding of history that includes its political dimension must involve a complementary examination of human

Understanding the Present

LAST MAN *from the facing page*

critique of the latter is among the most interesting parts of the book. Neither should the book be dismissed as irrelevant because it attempts to arrive at the abstract first principles on which being and acting might be said to rest, rather than addressing the life-and-death problems people are facing in real life.

In times of crisis like that which currently faces the United States, our propensity is to "shoot first and ask questions later." The inevitable result, as politicians perennially prove, is the self-perforation of our pedal extremities. Fukuyama suggests we reverse the order and ask again the sort of basic questions we have been either unwilling or afraid to

consider. Until we undertake the intellectual effort to which he challenges us, our foreign policy will continue to be chaotic and reactive and our domestic policy ineffectual or non-existent.

To ask in turn whether his answers to these basic questions are right or wrong, or the developments he singles out for examination good or bad, is to obscure the value of what Fukuyama has accomplished. The first and most important question to ask of this sort of book is whether it is helpful in clarifying our understanding of the present and in illuminating new options for the future. The answer is definitely yes. *The End of History and the Last Man* deserves a wide and careful reading. ■

Backlash is a Benchmark

BACKLASH *from page 18*

lash, whether through inequitable salary ratios or nagging self-doubt. The few outspoken are probably less so because of anger but more so because of the pervasive need for justice and equality.

Her writing is clear and the author uses recent examples to illustrate her case. Even young women will relate with her references to "thirtysomething" and the now-discredited Harvard-Yale study claiming shrinking marriage opportunities for educated single women. Popular statistics reinforcing backlash ideas are discredited and Faludi is careful to document her assertions with independently-

conducted research.

Backlash is a benchmark in women's studies and a manifesto on current social conditions that moves beyond the gender question. It's not a "man-hating" book or a call to burn bras. The blame, according to the author, is shared by men and women alike -- men for perpetuating myths and resisting change and women for failing to wage a united front.

Overall, Faludi presents a non-apologetic argument with compelling evidence. The research is thorough and well-presented. It is refreshing that Faludi maintains a clear vision despite the sludge-filled waters created by the backlash waste plant. ■

Funding Controversial Art

VIEW *from page 9*

National Endowment for the Arts, as Mr. Frohnmayer asserts? As my creditability with the "arts community" is already shot, I will venture to suggest that it may not be healthy for creative artists to be looking to the federal government to play the central evaluative role as the NEA has for the past 25 years. There are certainly some important activities -- like

the preservation of American folk art, and international artistic exchange -- that Congress might find worthy of federal support. And insofar as infrastructure continues to receive federal funds, it should be done with equalization of access as a central objective.

But this is not a battle for the survival of artistic free expression. It is a battle over who gets to do the expressing. ■

Government Control Over Art Dangerous

FROHNMAYER *from page 7*

agree with that?

MR. FROHNMAYER: I think there is some truth to that, but my view is that the hard right is not an appeasable entity, that they continue to want more and more and more of their agenda, and it's an agenda which, I think, is extraordinarily harmful to the country.

And I, for one, am not prepared to cede the Republican Party to the hard right. I think that the moderate Republicans, those who are prepared to try to look out for someone else's interests, as well as their own, have been the great strength of this Party. And it would be a tragedy for the President and for the Party if the only voices that were paid attention to were those who screamed the loudest -- the hard right.

RIPON FORUM: Do you see some of the political pressure coming off the NEA after we get through this election in November?

MR. FROHNMAYER: It's possible. And I think that there may be some political pressure that comes off of it because of my departure because I have become a real lightning rod. But I think that as long as the agency acts politically -- and my sense is that it is now acting very politically upon my departure -- it's going to be in for political problems because you reap what you sow.

RIPON FORUM: What's next for John Frohnmayer?

MR. FROHNMAYER: What's next for me? I am going to write and I am going to do as much speaking as I can on these issues because I think the arts endowment has been a microcosm for the rest of the society and these issues are extraordinarily important. And what comes after that, I'm not sure. It's going to be nice to have a little time to take a deep breath and see. ■

LISTENING
IN

Whispers About Town

MIMI CARTER
EXAMINES
WHY THE
MEDIA PROBE
THE PRIVATE
LIVES OF
POLITICIANS

The New York Times did it four times. *The Wall Street Journal*, three. *The Washington Post*, 15. *TIME Magazine*, six. *Newsweek*, five, and *U.S. News & World Report* did it 10 times.

These are not the numbers of stories on Bill Clinton's "electability" or Ross Perot's rise in the polls, but the number of Washington gossip pieces each organization printed during February.

Such pieces included bits on presidential candidate Clinton's extramarital affairs, Sen. Chuck Robb and his escapades, and Sen. Brock Adams on whether he was or wasn't guilty of molesting a family friend and former employee.

Over the last few years, the number of columns which revolve around Washington personalities has increased dramatically. While some columns like *Newsweek's* "Periscope" and *U.S. News's* "Washington Whispers" have been around longer and have more creditability, new, less substantive columns keep emerging. Papers like *The Washington Times* and *USA Today*, always seem to have less copy and more graphs, so gossip columns are less of a surprise. But within the last year, the stuffy *Washington Post* dropped its "Personalities" column and replaced it with the flashier, less substantive one called the "Reliable Source." The *Post* also started a new gossipy agency section on the federal page called "Washington Works" detailing the comings and goings of key personnel.

The serious *Wall Street Journal* and *New York Times* have also admitted a change in their Washington coverage. Most recently, the *New York Times* did a front page story on high profile politicians, like the cross-party dating of the Republican National Committee's former chief of staff Mary Matalin and Clinton's campaign manager James Carville.

Is this gossip trend new to political journalism? Has the reader always wanted to know the intimate details of the men and women of Washington?

Lois Romano, author of "The Reliable Source," said real gossip doesn't exist in Washington. "Washington is a serious city ... so real gossip just doesn't make it into the established newspapers. It's more personality news, the private lives of politicians, vignettes or anecdotes."

Is this gossip? Many journalists say that Washington gossip has always been around, just not on the front page.

"Before, gossip was any information regarding the secret, financial or personal life of a political person," said Rudy Maxa, Washington bureau chief for *Spy Magazine* and former *Washington Post* reporter. "Outside of that was considered out of bounds."

Many reporters refer to the marital infidelities of the youngest elected president, John F. Kennedy, as the gossip story that never appeared. They said Kennedy's sexual antics, as well as other politicians' tete-a-tetes, were considered off limits. But it was a man's world then, Maxa said. "It was more like 'Hey, boys will be boys, James Bond is our hero, the more you get, the better a guy you are,'" he said.

It was the same thing for members of Congress, said Richard T. Kaplar, vice president of The Media Institute, a Washington media research and policy group. He said back in the days when reporters and politicians were part of the same old boy network, reporters used to use code words that sounded like one thing, but meant something else to those in the know.

"When a congressman arrived on the floor drunk, they would write that he was 'in high spirits' to let others know what was really going on," Kaplar said. "It wasn't judgmental, though. No one was out to expose the private lives of elected officials." The Washington gossip trend -- or "tell-all" news, as some journalists refer to it -- really began with the extra-curricular activities of Rep. Wilbur Mills, D-Ark., and Rep. Wayne Hayes, D-Ohio, in the mid 1970s. Mills is now legendary for antics which included a drunk

Mimi Carter is
Associate Editor of the
Ripon Forum



driving incident which landed him and a female friend in the reflecting pool. He is also famous for employing Elizabeth Raye, his secretary who could not type.

But what finally blew the lid off the tea kettle of political brotherhood between reporter and lawmaker was Sen. Ted Kennedy and Chappaquidick in 1969. There was no way the press could not write the story.

Stories, like Chappaquidick, gradually became difficult for newspapers to avoid, Goulden said. The former *Philadelphia Inquirer* reporter said that being a hard news journalist is a lot different now.

"I used to cover presidential candidate Lyndon Johnson back in his days and I never would have dreamed of asking Lyndy if he had an affair," said Joe Goulden, associate editor for Accuracy in the Media's bi-monthly report..

Diana McLellan, author of the former *Washington Times* and *Post* gossip column "The Ear" and a current *Washingtonian* columnist, said Washington *runs* on congressional gossip.

"We have made these people into the figures they are," McLellan said. "We *want* them to be larger than life." Washington gossip bits, she said, are like "notes from the Pantheon" where we find out that these people "have human under-bellies."

But according to those who write it, Washington gossip is rarely true "gossip." It is inside information. And any news that appears to be scandalous is checked out.

Thirty-year journalist Charles Fesyveni, writer of *U.S. News'* "Washington Whispers," said he gets tips from all levels of government and verifies everything.

"All whispers are doubled-checked and tripled-checked. Only about one in 50 is not and it's because it came from a very reliable source and someone whom I have probably known for many years who can be trusted," Fesyveni said.

Ron Shafer, "Washington Wire" reporter for the *Wall Street Journal*, said that much of the hard news people read is about issues that are "geared toward the gossip" while being tied to the serious. For example, many reporters greeted

the Clinton episode "with great reluctance," he said, until they had to cover the press conference where Gennifer Flowers came forward with her allegations.

"You'll find that nothing ruins good gossip like reporting," Shafer said.

Some said that while subjects are becoming less taboo and journalistic standards are changing, the real demand for Washington gossip arises because so much else coming out of Wash-

IS THIS GOSSIP TREND NEW TO POLITICAL JOURNALISM? HAS THE READER ALWAYS WANTED TO KNOW THE INTIMATE DETAILS?

ington -- issues, policy, bill mark-ups -- is just so complicated.

Goulden put it simply: "It's a whole lot easier to understand what a guy is doing in bed than the tax bill he's trying to push through Congress."

Craig Winneker, associate editor and "Heard on the Hill" writer for the Capitol Hill newspaper *Roll Call*, said a Washington story on legislation never actually talks about the bill until the tenth paragraph. The first paragraphs, he said, will say who introduced it, who played what political games, and who suffers and who wins if the bill is passed. He said it isn't until the end of the story that you find out what the bill actually does.

"People say they want substance," Winneker said, "but they're more interested in the sexy stuff."

Washington Times gossip columnist Merrie Morris attributes the rise in Washington gossip to the demands of a constituency which is dissatisfied with the country's progress. They want to use Washington as a scapegoat, she said, because many consider Congress "this little fiefdom" which legislates one way for their constituents

GOSSIP *continued on next page*



Readers More Interested in Sexy Stuff

GOSSIP *continued from previous page*
and another way for themselves.

"The country is just pissed off and they want to kick some butt," Morris said. "They pay politicians' salaries and they feel they should be able to yank someone's chain."

But *New York Times* reporter and former "Washington Talk" page editor David Binder disagrees that society demands gossip. "Society doesn't make demands on newspapers. We are selling a commercial product here," Binder said. "It's wonderful to talk about ethics and the fourth estate and all that, but the *New York Times* has

his wife, talking about how wonderful the American life is ... and meanwhile he's got a mistress on his payroll, I think it's news."

But many reporters also say that there is a true down side to Washington gossip: It keeps qualified candidates out of the political arena because of fears about their past.

"No one can afford to have all their skeletons brought out of the closet and then have it printed on the front page of the paper," Maxa said. "Gary Hart learned that the hard way."

Goulden of AIM and Kaplar of the Media Institute agree, saying that gossip often scares quality candidates out of public life and tends to accentuate the sensational rather than the substantial. "One would like to think that there is more diligence in reporting and less winking," Kaplar said, "but the negative side is that there are definite commercial advantages to this type of reporting."

Often when a reporter writes a comprehensive piece on drugs or education policy, it is often the gossip that gets the most attention. "It is not unusual that the really juicy stuff overshadows the really important stuff," the *Wall Street Journal's* Shafer said.

Many reporters say they believed that this election year will be the last in which the "character issue" will be an important consideration. But then others say that with the anti-government mood in full swing, people will continue to enjoy rejoicing in the follies of the powerful. "It's a generational thing," said Goulden, "but I think it's passing." ■

A DOWNSIDE TO WASHINGTON GOSSIP: IT KEEPS QUALIFIED CANDIDATES OUT OF THE POLITICAL ARENA.

changed, not in response to society's demands but in terms of what is perceived as matters of importance to society -- the kinds of information that society should be confronted with."

Wall Street Journal reporter Ron Shafer said he believes that Washington gossip used to be much worse in the 1970s, but that the press now covers what "they never would have looked for 25 years ago" because nothing is considered to be "off limits" any more. But with the news now geared toward more gossipy issues, such as electability and marriage fidelity, he said the public is finding it doesn't like it as much as they thought they did.

"The pendulum is swinging back to people who are saying 'We don't want it anymore,'" Shafer said.

Many reporters say that the emergence of Washington gossip as news does have its good side. Maxa said the media and the public set different standards for those in, and soon to be in, Washington. They are the ones "telling us how to live our lives," he said, "and if they're being hypocritical about it, it's news. So if you've got John Q. Senator telling the John Q. Public how to run their lives, and he's putting out brochures, and pictures of himself with the family dog and

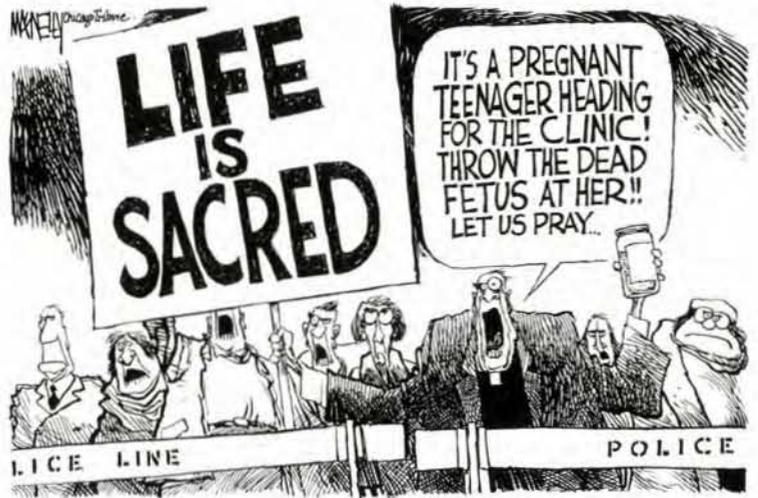
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by Jeff MacNelly

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MACNELLY Chicago Tribune



Redirecting Foreign Aid

HUGH MIELDS
EXAMINES
WHETHER THE
UNITED
STATES
SHOULD GIVE
MORE MONEY
TO THE
UNITED
NATIONS

Before he retired last year, former United Nations Secretary General Perez de Cuellar is reported to have noted there has been "much talk" about ensuring that the United Nations could actually meet the enormous demands of third world countries in the coming century. But despite such talk, little has been done in defining exactly "what shape" these demands are likely to take.

Even with the demise of the Soviet Union and all the attendant ideological threats it posed, there is still no shortage of unresolved problems threatening the peace and tranquility of individual nations and the world at large. Human rights crimes and third world poverty are as abundant today as ever. As the former Secretary General noted, the problem exists of how the United Nations goes about identifying and defining legitimate additions to its agenda, a process that has yet to be fashioned so that demands for U.N. involvement can be considered in a timely and prioritized manner.

Beyond the issue of process, what are the areas which deserve greater United Nations' attention and support? Many U.N. advocates would stress the need to focus almost entirely on peace keeping, peace making and humanitarian aid. Advocates of other programs, such as the U.N. Development Program (UNDP), the Center for Human Settlements (UNCHS), the Children's Fund (UNICEF), the Environment Program (UNEP) and the World Health Organization (WHO) feel the United Nations must expand and enhance its role in development. Shape, substance and coordination must be provided to financial institutions and aid programs in the third world, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. However, both camps agree that human rights and developmental and environmental factors have important implications for international security, whatever programs are emphasized.

From the United States perspective, support for a stronger U.N. development role appears probable. For example, Congressman Dante Fascell, D-Fla., Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee thinks that the U.S. ought to look to agencies like the U.N. to provide development assistance, instead of continuing large amounts of U.S. foreign aid to individual countries. In a recent Associated Press story by Jim Drinkard, Fascell said it would be the "biggest

mistake of the century" for the United States to "count itself out of the international picture" because of our inability to take care of all nations with our limited resources.

Clearly, a policy shift away from individual aid to developmental aid would save money, allowing U.S. dollars to go further. In the Drinkard article, Congressman David Obey, D-Wis., one of the main players in the debate, said, "The Administration has to recognize that at least half of the aid program has been designed to counter the so called Soviet threat in the Third World, and it is not there anymore." It is becoming clearer that the next Congress and the new Administration will have to deal with a growing number of opinions like Obey's and move to redefine our aid mission and decide how to allocate increasingly limited resources.

In the Congress, the House Foreign Affairs Committee has already recommended a set of new ideas for our development dollars. In 1989, it released the Hamilton/Gilman Task Force report which recommended that the goal of our assistance program should be to alleviate poverty, encourage economic and political diversity, support economic development and protect the environment. Based on this program mission, budgeting more funds for U.N. development programs can be justified because the agencies that administer them have solid experience and good track records in attempting to meet the objectives similar to those endorsed by the Hamilton/Gilman Task Force.

Since the needs of the third world are staggering and the world's assistance resources are limited, the prime objective of all development assistance organizations, including those of the United Nations, should be to deliver the maximum bang for the buck. This means significantly improving coordination of efforts and the management of resources and programs as well as ensuring that recipient countries do the same thing.

What has changed and what is changing in the way development assistance is being extended? For one thing, major donors are setting new standards of conduct which third world countries are expected to meet to qualify for future assistance. These standards include implementing political reforms to back up positive economic change. According to a recent issue of *The Economist*, "The U.S., Britain, France, Bel-

Hugh Mields is a partner at Linton, Mields, Reisler and Cottone and a former consultant to the U.S. Congress and Agency for International Development on foreign affairs.

gium and the World Bank are all demanding open policies and open markets in return for continued aid”.

The United Nations has not been silent on issues of reform either. William H. Draper III, the Administrator of the U.N. Development Program (UNDP), noted last year that developing countries could have saved “\$35 billion ... by selling off inefficient public enterprise, halting extravagant prestige projects and cracking down on rampant corruption” in 1990. Only 10 percent of total government spending in the developing countries goes toward basic education, primary health care, clean water, family planning, food subsidies and social security, Draper said.

Michel Camdessus, the managing director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), has made statements along similar lines. In 1991, he said that \$140 billion could be shifted annually to more productive uses if countries took advantage of the decline in international tensions to cut their level of military spending back to 4.5 percent of gross domestic product.

An additional aspect of developing nations, which has caused them to question their own aid structures, is their tax system. For example, IMF analysts Javad Khalizadeh-Shirazi and Anwar Shah have concluded that third world tax reform will be important because most third world tax systems are complex and difficult to administer, resistant to change, inefficient and inequitable. Enforcement of the tax code is selective and favors those with the ability to beat the system. The fairness and efficiency of developing country tax systems are likely to prove a new and desirable condition for any nation that is to receive aid. After all, there is no reason American taxpayers should support foreign assistance to so called poor countries whose wealthy citizens don't pay legitimate taxes.

Popular U.S. interest and support for the United Nations appears to be increasing while public and governmental willingness to provide foreign aid seems to be on the wane. The recent demise of the Soviet Union gives the U.S. an opportunity to seek more equitable, efficient and effective ways to help poorer countries meet emergencies, develop more productive economies and improve the quality of life for their citizens. It also removes the major obstacle for an effective and functioning United Nation.

Now is a good time to start considering how the United States can help make better use of the United Nations to help developing countries improve their economies. To do this, we should seriously consider giving the United Nations

greater responsibilities and resources to help meet American foreign aid objectives as outlined by the Hamilton/Gilman Task Force. Given the impressive accomplishments of UNICEF, WHO, UNDP and UNCHS there are a number of reasons to believe such a move could prove productive. However, it must be noted that the coordination of the U.N. system has proven “difficult and not very successful,” by the admission of top officials. But the fact that the United Nations admits its faults in this area is encouraging because it leaves the door open to program improvement.

U.N. policy is driven by democratic consensus and, therefore, functions without significant ideological or territorial bias. Its governing bodies consist of donors, as well as recipients, so that they are free to impose fair and demanding

SINCE THE NEEDS OF THE THIRD WORLD ARE STAGGERING AND THE WORLD'S ASSISTANCE RESOURCES ARE LIMITED, THE PRIME OBJECTIVE OF THE UNITED NATIONS SHOULD BE TO DELIVER MAXIMUM BANG FOR THE BUCK.

standards on recipient countries. These stricter standards cover areas such as program performance, meeting the needs of the poor, human rights, pollution control, tax and structural reform. The voluntary nature of the United Nations' funding organization makes certain the concerns of the contributors will be heeded.

Moreover, the United Nations has experienced, well trained, non-ideological staff which is sensitive to and respectful of democratic and entrepreneurial values. They now have an institutional structure and program mandate that is reasonably constant and is not subject to periodic pressures such as elections and political mandates for change. Many of their policy statements show the ability of these agencies to get consensus on addressing important development issues. And they are partially doing so by attracting and retaining talented people.

A further reason for increased aid to the United Nations is that they are developing a good institutional memory and are unlikely to repeat

ASSISTANCE *continued on next page*

U.S. Aid Changing

ASSISTANCE *from the previous page*

past mistakes, particularly if member countries continue to maintain good oversight. With recent international changes, the institution has greater access to the world's store of intellectual resources and is the logical place to accumulate the best worldwide information on the social, economic and geographical characteristics of all nations.

Additionally, the international organization has formalized a process to deal with and respond to non-governmental agencies and is improving its capacity to relate to people, community based issues and women's rights.

MAJOR DONORS ARE SETTING NEW STANDARDS OF CONDUCT WHICH THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES ARE EXPECTED TO MEET TO QUALIFY FOR FUTURE ASSISTANCE INCLUDING POLITICAL REFORMS

In the past, increased U.S. voluntary contributions to the U.N. programs has leveraged additional funds from other industrialized countries and there is no reason to think this wouldn't happen again, resulting in a fairer assistance burden.

Increasing the U.S. assistance levels should also have a beneficial effect on Congress because Senators and Congressmen will feel less pressure to earmark funds for private voluntary organizations presently operating in the third world. More U.N. funds would make the body more sensitive to the needs of member nations and compel them to coordinate programs with all donors.

With the impressive enthusiasm and obvious skills of Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the new Secretary General, and with former Attorney General and Pennsylvania Governor Dick Thornburgh serving as second in command, what better time for the Congress and the Administration to take a hard bipartisan look at the United Nations. It's time to examine individual U.N. programs, closely evaluate their past performances and see how increasing aid can benefit the United States and meet the development challenges of the 21st Century. ■

Many Republicans Are Pro-choice

PRO-CHOICE *from page 2*

diseases which exploded in the 1980s.

What is more significant than the Bush Administration's policy about fertility control, is the fact that many polled Republicans say that they are pro-choice. A recent study entitled "Debunking the Myth" by the moderate GOP organization, Republican Mainstream Committee, tallied the results of various polls which concluded that 71 percent feel that abortion should be a private decision made by the woman herself; 68 percent oppose a constitutional amendment to ban abortion; 61 percent do not want *Roe v. Wade* overturned and 69 percent oppose the Administration's efforts to prohibit federally funded clinics from providing patients with information about abortion.

The GOP needs to get with the ticket and recognize the large numbers of pro-choice voters proudly call themselves Republicans. Both conservatives and moderates in the Party are angry. Who could blame them? Their views on this important issue are being ignored. *The Editors* ■

Reform Needed

REFORM *from page 17*

a sliding scale based on revenues, would be feasible.

Whatever the source of revenue, the reality that no good reform can work without public money in one form or another ought to be accepted by Republicans. At the same time, the futility of basing reform on spending limits ought to be accepted by Democrats. If each side makes this major concession, real reform, not just change for the sake of change, is achievable. ■

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Year of the Political Woman

WASHINGTON
NOTES &
QUOTES

**ODDS LOOK
BETTER THAN
EVER THAT
WOMEN WILL
WIN MORE
CONGRESSIONAL
SEATS**

It is the year of the woman in politics with more than 164 women running for Congress. Some say it is due to redistricting, allowing women candidates to run for open seats, or

the large number of resignations on the Hill which may go as high as 100 seats, or the anti-incumbency mood of the nation. Whatever it is, it has supplied a fine opportunity for American women to expand their representation in Congress from only two in the Senate and 29 in the House to a more respectable number.

What is even more exciting is that this type of mood is swelling the campaign coffers for women candidates. "Our wells are gushing," **Jane Danowitz**, head of the Women's Campaign Fund, told *The New York Times*. Other women's fundraising organizations, such as the Republican **WISH (Women in the Senate and House) List** and **EMILY's (Early Money is Like Yeast) List**, have also boasted large contributions and increasing membership. In fact, the more established EMILY's List say they will raise double this year what they did in the last election cycle.

Barbara Versus Dan on Family Values

Despite Vice President **Dan Quayle's** apparent distaste for single mother parenting and the fact that he is also renting his McLean, Va., home to an unmarried couple, his boss's wife must have different ideas of family values. Recently, First Lady **Barbara Bush** did a TV ad for Family Service America which defines a family as "two or more people, whether living together or apart, related by blood, marriage, adoption or commitment, who care for one another."

Senator Spouts Off

Speaking of commitments, Arizona Sen. **Dennis DeConcini** has let it be known he is extremely committed to his work. During a recent debate on eliminating the deficit amendment to balance the budget, the Senator remarked to a crowded news conference, "We're going to wrassle this orgasm that is just out of control."

Needless to say, his colleagues standing behind him fell silent until Sen. **Chuck Robb**, of all people, came forward and announced, "I was just about to say I will join in everything my colleagues said. But without being specific, with one notable exception, I join in everything that my colleagues have said."

Why Republicans Scare New Jersey Democrats

Rather than endorse **George Bush**, New Jersey Democrats Gov. **Jim Florio** and Senators **Bill Bradley** and **Frank Lautenberg** decided to support **Bill Clinton**. Because there are rumors that the unpopular Gov. Florio had endorsed Clinton back in March, Republicans have tried to tie the governor to Clinton.

Republicans did this before when Bradley ran for the Senate in 1990 and refused to distance himself from Gov. Florio's \$2.8 billion tax increase.

But if the tactic isn't working it is certainly rustling a few feathers. Leading Democrats say they will not let the Republicans run a campaign against the governor of New Jersey.

James J. Devine, political director for the State Democratic Committee told *The New York Times* that it was a "Republican dodge to try to put an unpopular Democrat out front in the campaign."

"But the question," Devine said, "will be a choice between George Bush and Bill Clinton. President Bush can't run against Jim Florio or **Murphy Brown** or anybody else but Clinton." Me thinks he doth protest too much.

WNQ's Hero of the Month:

Daniel Hernandez, executive director of the Hollenbeck Youth Center. One of the civic and business leaders who gathered at the time of the L.A. riots, Hernandez began to call neighbors and residents to encourage them to get their kids and themselves off the streets.

Hernandez, who was scheduled to fly out to Washington that same week and participate in the Great American Workout with **Arnold Schwarzenegger**, opted to stay home in Boyle Heights. While at home, Hernandez walked through the neighborhood's housing projects and urged street gang members to stay cool. ■

QUOTE OF THE SUMMER:

On a *New York Times* front page story on cross party dating, Bush\Quayle '88 Press Secretary **Sheila Tate** remarked that GOP women often have to make sacrifices and help out the other side:

"The reason all these Democratic men are going after Republican women is that they're trying to replenish their gene pool to produce a winner."

We Should Blame Ourselves

If one is interested in politics these are exciting days. Ross Perot is shaking up the Presidential race, an ineffective Congress is getting taken to the woodshed by mobs of angry citizens and the talking heads of political television are at a loss for words --- they don't know what's going on anymore than the rest of us.

The American political system is in a free for all, politicians don't know what to do, voters are just plain pissed off and our long laundry list of national problems remains unsolved. Many are happy about the political gridlock facing Washington --- for them, at least taxes aren't going up.

Well, I'm not happy --- I'm worried and I'm scared.

It's time that the citizens of this nation stopped being so self righteous and placing all the blame for our problems on the nation's leaders. Sure, some of the gridlock is the fault of politicians, but much of the blame lies on the shoulders of the American people, those same folks who are angry at Congress and that think George Bush is a jerk.

You don't agree? Consider the following:

THE GENESIS OF OUR ILLS

Most people in America view the deficit and the overall public debt as serious problems, ones that are only getting worse. Last year's deficit was \$269 billion and 1992 mid-year estimates predict that it might hit \$400 billion this year. This means the federal government is adding to the national debt at a rate of over \$1 billion a day, \$694,000 per minute or \$11,500 per second.

The consequences of the federal debt are enormous, just the interest on the \$4.1 trillion that we owe takes up 15 percent of the federal budget.



David A. Fuscus

That means something to us.

Take the recession for example, having to pay \$194 billion in interest on the debt robs the government of it's power to stimulate the economy by spending, the traditional tool used to lessen the pain of economic downturns. That means that this recession is longer and harder than it could have been. If the debt continues, so will this situation for future recessions.

Every year interest payments on the debt grow and as they do, they rob us of money that could be spent on solving our problems; \$194 billion would go a long way towards helping the homeless, paying unemployment benefits, protecting the environment and solving other national ills.

But the most serious problem about the national debt is that it steals the capital necessary for our economy to grow. In this time of unprecedented technological growth and economic metamorphose, we need money to exploit the opportunities that are being presented to us. We need money to develop new products, build plants for their production and create innovative ways for them to be marketed.

Getting the money we need is the problem. In our economy, a limited pool of funds exist for individuals, the government and industry to borrow. In our present situation, the government is borrowing so much that the capital pool is being drained to dangerous levels; money

that could have been borrowed by businesses to create tangible assets and wealth is disappearing in the sea of red ink.

The consequences of the deficit for our future is frightening; if we don't get it under control and continue along our present path, we will quietly slip into the ranks of a second class economy and second class nation.

WHY WE CAN'T SOLVE THE PROBLEM

Millions in America recognize the seriousness of the national debt and most people with an IQ over 25 would agree that something needs to be done. At the same time, voters berate Congress and the President about their inability to meet this crisis and use it as an example of why government doesn't work. They blame individual politicians and say that they aren't willing to make tough decisions and reign in government spending. To a certain extent, that's correct, there is a lack of political courage in Washington.

But the biggest problem is the American people. We've done this to ourselves, created our own problems and refused to take responsibility for our actions. After all, we put politicians in office and through our voting patterns, we either elect the wrong type of person or tie the hands of the competent people who are in Congress.

The American electorate is made up of special interests, something that too few people are willing to recognize. If one is a senior citizen, a veteran, a union member, a parent or a student, that person is part of a special interest. These groups are often well organized and wield a great deal of political influence, enough to decide the outcome of elections and make the most well meaning politician shake for fear of his job.

Just look at the senior citizen special

interest group. They have large, well organized lobbies such as the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) that make sure politicians feel the heat if they even think about touching programs for seniors.

The best way to understand the con-

paid for drugs, long term care, home health care and other much needed programs. The only catch was that it means-tested medicare premiums, making wealthier retirees who could afford it pay higher premiums.

Seniors revolted and put so much

LET'S ALL PITCH IN

So here we are. It's 1992 and we are faced with a deficit of \$400 billion and a national debt of \$4.1 trillion. This debt threatens our future and the future of our children in a way that should scare the hell out of every man, woman and child in the United States.

At the same time, the American people, broken into special interest groups, doesn't let Congress consider reforming entitlement programs. We can't cut interest payments and defense spending must be reduced slowly. The realities of the present situation is that Congress can't touch 60 percent of the budget and can only touch a further 24 percent slowly. That leaves 16 percent of budget that the voters will allow to be cut. And you can forget about raising taxes.

Good luck.

This simple equation is the reason government doesn't do something about the deficit. The voters won't allow real reform to occur and they ensure it doesn't by not electing the few men and women who have the guts to tell the truth.

We need to do two things to solve the deficit and start meeting the real needs of our people. We need the voters to understand that it is everyone's problem and we must become willing to elect leaders with the guts to make tough decisions.

We also need courageous leaders to step forward and help convince the voters that these sacrifices need to be made by all of us.

The formula for turning America around is simple: Everybody pitches in + We pay off our debts = We solve our problems. ■

THE FORMULA FOR TURNING AMERICA AROUND IS SIMPLE: EVERYBODY PITCHES IN + WE PAY OFF OUR DEBTS = WE SOLVE OUR PROBLEMS.

cept of voter responsibility, is to look at the federal budget. Last year, we spent 15 percent of our tax dollars on domestic programs, 24 percent on defense, 15 percent in debt interest and 45 percent on mandatory programs like social security and veterans benefits. Politicians call this last figure "entitlement programs" because people feel they are entitled to them and voters scream bloody murder if politicians even *think* about touching them.

When people consider their own entitlement program, be it seniors benefiting from medicare and social security, a parent whose child gets student loans or a veteran buying a house with a government loan guarantee, those programs can't, under any circumstances, be considered in a deficit reduction plan.

And woe be to the politician who tries to cut an entitlement program; during the next election, a candidate more willing to put his career first will hit the air waves declaring that Congressman Smith is "Against Senior Citizens," "Opposes those who fought for this nation" or is in favor of "Slashing education for our children."

Guess what? The special interests win.

Even when proposals arise that don't cut programs, but just reform them, politicians can do nothing. A good example occurred in 1988 when Congress passed a long term health-care plan that would have gone a long way toward protecting our seniors. It was good legislation that

pressure on Congress that they soon caved in and repealed this wonderful legislation. This is a situation that will be repeated by different interest groups if means-testing were proposed for any of the other entitlement programs.

Besides these special interests, a second reason to blame the voters for our problems is the effectiveness of negative advertising. Thirty second negative television commercials are a lousy way for a candidate to explain his position on complex issues, yet this is the format from which most people get their information about candidates and issues.

In the context of such an advertisement, it's much easier for one to trash an opponent and leave viewers with the impression that the guy is a bum instead of marveling over your 10-point health care reform plan. The sad fact is that all voters are swayed by these ads.

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Julie Chlopecki
Phone: (703) 739-0345
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