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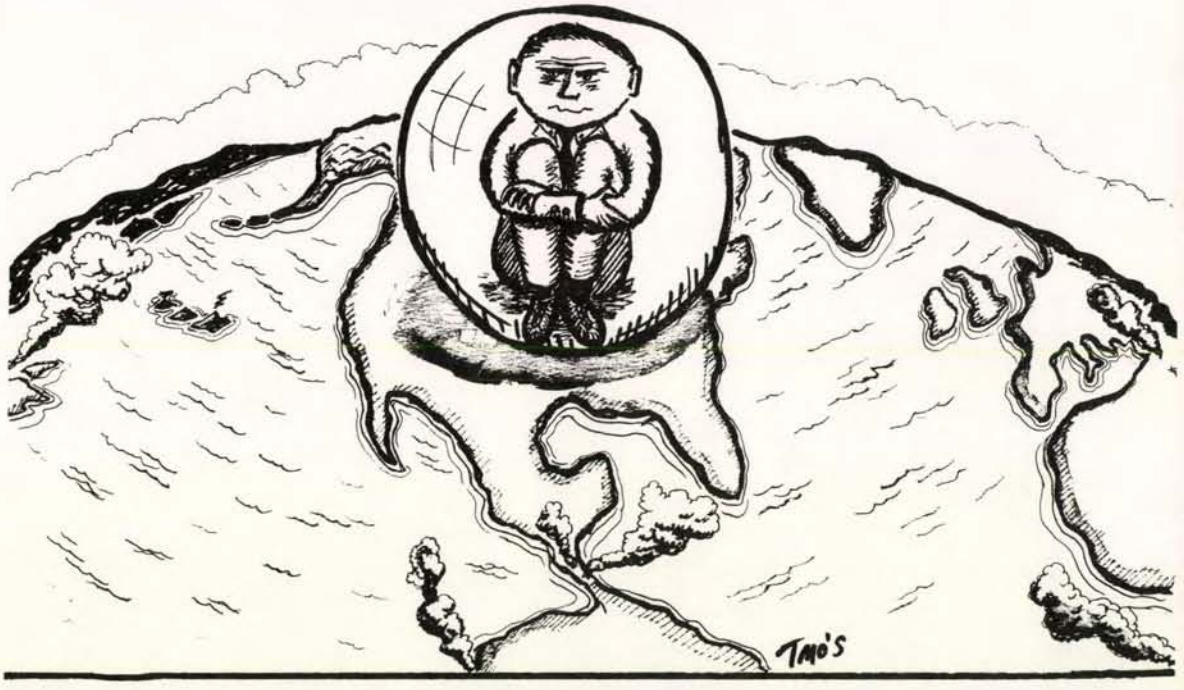

Power Politics and The Death of Isolationism

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Editor's Column

Realism is back, Charles Krauthammer wrote recently in ***The New Republic****. Does that mean, then, that power politics is in, and that reliance upon international institutions, which Krauthammer says can be a form of isolationism, is out? In a* ***Forum*** *interview, Krauthammer discusses these themes, as well as a number of domestic issues, including the revival of the venerable* ***New Republic.***

Also included in this issue are a number of articles on the relationship of the Far Right to the Republican Party. A ***Forum*** *editorial warns George Bush that while overtures must be made to the GOP's right-wing, he must not forget that in recent elections in New Jersey and Virginia a strong political center was evident. Moreover, Stephen Messinger says in a report on the James Broyhill-David Funderburk race for North Carolina's 1986 GOP senatorial nomination, the Far Right's loyalty to the Republican Party will be tested by the North Carolina GOP Senate contest. An article by Carolyn Weaver also analyzes the New Right's family planning strategy, and reveals that even moderate pro-life supporters are being driven away from their former allies, many of whom are polarizing the debate over reproductive issues. Each article shows that while the tactics of the Far Right grab headlines, they rarely benefit the Republican Party.*

—Bill McKenzie

MEMO

TO: THE EDITORS

RE: DECEMBER 1985 *RIPON FORUM*

Once again I received another issue of the *Ripon Forum* and read it from cover to cover. It is a superb publication, and what you and your friends are presenting is informative, interesting and challenging.

As a former member of Congress and the author of a forthcoming book on the history of the Republican Party, I believe that Jim Leach's article on "The Bankruptcy of Political Philosophy" especially needs to be read, pondered on and responded to by our leaders, indeed, by all Republicans.

Keep up the good work.

Fred Schwengel
President, Capitol Hill Historical Society
Washington, D.C.

A Conversation with Charles Krauthammer

Charles Krauthammer published his first book in 1985, and its title, ***Cutting Edges,*** *reflects the sharp corners of the incisive mind which won Krauthammer, an essayist for TIME Magazine, the National Magazine Award for Essays and Criticism in 1984. While many people win many awards, what is unique about Krauthammer's triumphs is that they are the rewards of a second career. The 35 year-old senior editor at* ***The New Republic*** *holds a degree in psychiatry from Harvard Medical School, and has served as the chief resident of the Psychiatric Consultation Service at Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston. The son of European Jews who fled the Nazis in World War II, Krauthammer came to Washington in 1978 as a special assistant to the director of the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration. That was his "ticket out of medicine," he says, because in 1980 he became a speechwriter for Walter Mondale. From there, the self-described "Henry Jackson Democrat" went on to* ***The New Republic,*** *the magazine in whose pages he has developed a reputation for being a critical thinker on foreign policy issues. In this interview with* ***Forum*** *editor Bill McKenzie, the former Oxford student also demonstrates his thinking on domestic issues, and claims that while Democrats may be in search of new solutions, Republican conservatives don't understand the importance of governmental compassion.*

Ripon Forum: The late Hans Morgenthau, who has been referred to as "the pope of foreign policy realism," argued that alliances, institutions and laws do not necessarily improve the chances for peace. Rather, he claimed, a balance of power does. Do you agree with that argument?

Krauthammer: In general, but it's too narrow a point. It's critical to recognize the importance of balance of power politics to maintaining peace and stability. And that point is particularly important today because of those who believe that anything from good intentions to prayer to international institutions are a substitute for power politics.

But what's missing in the Morgenthau formulation is an appreciation of the importance of ideology in foreign policy. Morgenthau's realism is based on the notion that in international relations power is an end itself. It is not. Power has to be in the service of something else and in the American case it is in the service of the idea of freedom. It's critical to have some wedding of the idea of power to the idea of freedom. If that can be accomplished, it can produce a foreign policy which is both realistic and true to American values.

Ripon Forum: If our ideology is freedom, how do we promote it? And what role do our allies play in its promotion?

"It's critical to recognize the importance of balance of power politics to maintaining peace and stability . . . But power has to be in the service of something and in the American case it is in the service of the idea of freedom."

Krauthammer: The foreign policy mission of the United States in the broadest sense, as the protector and defender of freedom, has two aspects. The first is the defense of the existing democratic world, which means defending the Western alliance. That means leading it, not depending on it for direction or permission to act. Our allies currently are in a weaker situation, more dependent and more constrained than the United States. In many cases, in the name of the alliance and in the defense of the alliance, we have to act unilaterally. An example is Grenada, where we acted with zero support from Western Europe and with very little support from our Latin American friends. Moreover,

we had to concoct a dubious East Caribbean alliance to give legitimacy to our action, which was already quite legitimate in its aim to prevent further Soviet-Cuban penetration in the Caribbean.

The second aspect is promoting democracy and freedom in places where it doesn't now exist. That's where the Reagan Doctrine comes in. The Reagan Doctrine is a new foreign policy idea, and it says that we will support, or that it is legitimate to support, anti-communist revolutionaries around the world. That's an important idea, and of course it has met with a lot of resistance.

Another part of promoting freedom is assisting "third forces," such as President Duarte in El Salvador. We should also support "third forces," if they exist or can be made to exist, in places like South Korea, the Philippines, or South Africa.

Ripon Forum: Let's deal with the Reagan Doctrine first. Professor Morgenthau made the argument that national interests must take into account two factors: revolutionary movements that are sweeping across borders and shaky domestic realities in Third World nations. Given those factors, how can we promote freedom?

"Nationalism is a very potent force, but it doesn't exist in a vacuum."

Krauthammer: Realists are a little too pessimistic about what's possible, particularly in the Third World. Morgenthau and his disciples have the idea that nationalism, and now religion, like Islam, are forces too powerful to be contained or tamed or influenced by Western power. I'm not sure that's so. Nationalism is a very potent force, but it doesn't exist in a vacuum. There can be various kinds of nationalism, such as the Vietnamese variety or the Indian variety, and it seems to me that we have an interest in trying to promote nationalisms of the kind that are neither disposed to Leninist internal political forms nor to being instruments of a pro-Soviet foreign policy.

Ripon Forum: In other words, those revolutionary movements are not as important as Morgenthau thought?

Krauthammer: They're not as untamed or as wild, nor as removed from our political universe. India had a nationalist revolution and it is now a democracy. All of Central America is going through a nationalist modernizing period, but it doesn't mean that somehow it is beyond our power or that of the Central Americans to have the process end up in a set of democratic countries. Nationalism is very powerful in South American countries, and all but two South American nations have become democracies of some sort.

Ripon Forum: There are some who argue that traditional means of statecraft, such as military intervention, will not work in cases where strong revolutionary movements exist.

Krauthammer: That whole argument is a descendant of the Vietnam experience. That was one case in which nationalism was hitched to a very powerful Marxist-Leninism that defeated our efforts to curb its power. But I don't believe it's correct therefore to draw the inference that the traditional instruments of international politics, such as the occasional use of force, are powerless against such forces.

Often these very nationalistic countries are run by very small elites with very shallow power bases. That was witnessed in Grenada, for example, where our very minimal use of force turned a Marxist country into a democratic one. That doesn't mean Grenada is the only model, but neither is Vietnam.

"What's quite remarkable about the war in Nicaragua is how little popular support the Sandinistas have and how much it is shrinking. That's the critical difference between Nicaragua and Vietnam."

Ripon Forum: What methods of statecraft do you recommend?

Krauthammer: The Reagan Doctrine proposes one method for certain countries where Marxist-Leninist elites, or pro-Soviet elites, do not have popular support. That lack of popular support feeds an indigenous insurgency, and our help will play a large role in determining the future of such a country. The examples for that are Afghanistan and Nicaragua, as well as Angola, where the Clark Amendment has been repealed.

We also have a role to play in other parts of the world, particularly where a regime, an unpopular but pro-Western elite, is faced with an anti-Western insurgency, such as in the Philippines. We must try to use economic, political and diplomatic pressures to produce a more democratic and responsive government. El Salvador is an example, and I hope we can try that in places like South Korea or South Africa. If we don't act in those cases, there is a chance that the country will ultimately be drawn into the anti-Western camp.

Ripon Forum: Let's return to the Vietnam analogy. Stanley Hoffman, a Harvard University professor of government, wrote recently that Vietnam was lost "because the goals were simply unreachable at a price that either the world at large or the American conscience and political system could tolerate." What are the limits to our power?

Krauthammer: Hoffman is absolutely right. That is exactly what was wrong with the Vietnam War. The problem is we didn't know that in advance. Had we known it in advance, I daresay we wouldn't have entered into the war. It's not difficult to make that judgment in retrospect and I think we've learned our lesson. There are certain wars that, even though their aims are just, the means are so costly to us and our allies that the war is not worth waging.

I'm not sure how general that rule is, because the Vietnamese Communists were a particularly powerful, relentless and determined enemy. Their strategy of attrition made it ultimately impossible for us to prevail at any reasonable human or moral cost. Vietnam shows us that there is a limit to the use of force when we come up against a fanatical, determined and powerful nationalism.

But generally that's not the case. After the Second World War we faced insurgencies in Turkey and Greece, and they were defeated. The British had a similar experience in Malaysia. One simply has to make an assessment of what the forces on the ground are like, what the ideology is, and what the determination, history, experience and military strength of the opposition is. Then a judgment can be made as to whether such a conflict is winnable.

Some people argue that the contras can never win in Nicaragua or the UNITA cannot win in Angola. I'm not sure that's the case. Five years ago, you might have said an anti-Sandinista insurgency was absurd. Now it's quite plausible that in a few years it could be victorious.

Ripon Forum: Your reading of the Nicaraguan situtation is that the nature of the ground forces and the ideology are such that victory is possible?

Krauthammer: In the end it depends on the old idea of winning the hearts and minds. That is the key to an insurgency, and that is why the El Salvador insurgency is failing. It doesn't have popular support. What's quite remarkable about the war in Nicaragua is how little popular support the Sandinistas have and how much it is shrinking. That's the critical difference between Nicaragua and Vietnam. In Vietnam, the NLF, being out of power, could fight in the name of certain professed ideals. So did the Sandinistas during the revolution against Somoza. But now the Sandinistas have been in power for seven years, and they've had a chance to show their hand. They've repressed people and destroyed an economy. The tremendous popular support they had when they were fighting in the name of certain ideals has been lost. That changes the situation on the ground and makes insurgency of the kind that now exists a plausible alternative.

Ripon Forum: You wrote recently that a multilateral fallacy exists in the United States and that it "flows from America's deepest national instinct: the democratic impulse." If such is the case, and we are hamstrung by our concern over acting with allied support, how can we rid ourselves of a reaction that is so deeply rooted in our national thinking?

Krauthammer: It simply requires making the distinction between domestic democracy and international democracy. Democracy is appropriate in the United States, but it seems far less appropriate in running an alliance. In foreign policy, we're really talking about a state of nature. There is no international law that is universally adhered to or in any way enforced. There's no acceptance of norms, no reciprocity, particularly between us and the Soviet bloc on rules of conduct.

"Democracy is appropriate in the United States, but it seems far less appropriate in running an alliance."

The U.S. has to act in accordance with certain principles of balance of power politics, and protect our interest and that of our allies. Our allies are in a much weaker, more exposed position, and they want a less aggressive, less assertive foreign policy in the hope that the Soviets will go away. We just cannot leave to a NATO vote the decision to how we as a superpower should ultimately act.

In the war against terrorism, for example, it's obvious that our Western European allies want it to go away. They hope that by appeasing the Palestinian Liberation Organization and other radical elements, they will achieve some kind of immunity from terrorism. It won't happen, and the United States knows it won't happen. And even if it did happen, the U.S. would still be involved because we have interests in the Middle East which Europeans don't. So we have to act even if our allies won't support us.

Ripon Forum: In ridding ourselves of this multilateral fallacy, how do we avoid adopting a "go it alone" mentality?

Krauthammer: We don't. I would encourage it. That's what's missing.

Ripon Forum: Correct me if I'm wrong, but isn't your assessment of the right and its thinking on foreign policy, that historically, dating back to the days of Robert Taft, it developed a "go it alone" attitude that ultimately led to isolationism? Isn't that still a danger, particularly if we rid ourselves of the multilateral fallacy?

"We shouldn't go it alone in the sense of telling our allies to fend for themselves. But we should go it alone in the sense of acting in their interests or in the interest of the alliance, even if they are resistant to take assertive steps."

Krauthammer: That can happen and it's obviously a danger. But there's a distinction that can and ought to be made. We shouldn't go it alone in the sense of telling our allies to fend for themselves. They simply cannot. But we should go it alone in the sense of acting in their interests or in the interest of the alliance, even if they are resistant to take assertive steps. It's a question of ends and means. The end should be to protect and defend the alliance because it is central to our national interest and to our sense of ourselves. But the means might on occasion have to be unilateral. Those on the right who argue that we should go it alone and give up that end, that we should cut loose from Europe and Japan and let them face the world and the Soviets on their own, are mistaken. It would be a betrayal of our interest and our values.

Ripon Forum: Is America today *the* power or *a* power?

Krauthammer: It is *the* power in the West, but it is one of two powers in the world. There is a lot of economic and cultural interdependence in the world, but power talks and when we're talking about the protection of Western Europe or Japan or what keeps the Middle East stable, ultimately it is American power.

Ripon Forum: But can't nations trip over their lust for power?

Krauthammer: Yes, and some realists see power as an end in itself. The lust for power can lead to very bad consequences. What restrains American power, however, is a sense of obligation and a sense of what that power is in service of, namely the ideology of freedom. Ideology can lead to an abuse of power, but it also helps in determining which battles are worth fighting and which are not.

Ripon Forum: You've written that both moral and strategic objectives must be considered when determining the foreign policy aims of the United States. In addition to freedom, what should be our moral objectives? What should be our strategic objectives?

"The Soviets are not Nazis, not fanatical, and not suicidal. They are determined and very strong. But if met with equal determination and strength, there will be stability. That's the lesson of the last 40 years."

Krauthammer: Let me start with the strategic objectives. The central strategic fact of the postwar world is the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union and the fact that the Soviets have an expansionist ideology. That doesn't mean adventurist, because the Soviets are rather conservative in their

choice of targets. But that is an essential strategic fact and has led to a variety of foreign policy forms—forms of containment—which seek to prevent Soviet penetration.

That overlaps with the moral objective because the struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union is not purely a clash of power politics. It has a moral content. This struggle has another purpose besides the achievement of American power. Americans didn't go all the way to Berlin in World War II to expand American frontiers.

Ripon Forum: Are the United States and the Soviet Union locked into a final struggle? Is there room for each nation's philosophical beliefs?

Krauthammer: Absolutely. I don't believe those who say this planet is too small for two competing ideologies. There's no reason why, if faced with sufficient resolve by the West, that we can't have a world with reasonable stability between the two blocs. The Soviets are not Nazis, not fanatical, and not suicidal. They *are* determined and very strong. But if met with equal determination and strength, there will be stability. That is the lesson of the last 40 years. I don't believe this is an apocalyptic final struggle.

Ripon Forum: Let's switch to domestic issues. Is there a conservative drift at work within the Democratic Party and in the pages of *The New Republic?* Robert Merry wrote recently in the *Washington Journalism Review* that *The New Republic* is "a magazine in search of itself searching for a party in search of itself."

Krauthammer: Let me quote back to you what *The Washington Post* said: "*The New Republic* is the theoretical journal of rightward moving liberals." We're a lot of things to a lot of people, but I don't think we're in search of ourselves.

We know what we believe. But in many senses, we have no party these days because some of our beliefs appear to attach themselves to different political tendencies. On foreign policy, we are greatly at odds with the mainstream of the Democratic

"Politics has to deal with the mainstream of the country and those who are left behind."

Party. But on domestic policy we still believe in the soul of the New Deal, although we are in search of new domestic solutions. We still believe that government has a continuing obligation to equality and justice and to helping the poor and disadvantaged. And unlike a lot of conservatives, we don't believe the Great Society has failed. In fact, it has succeeded. The New Deal, for example, solved the problem of the elderly poor, and the Great Society solved the problem of hunger.

Some New Deal-Great Society problems, of course, were amenable to large-scale bureaucratically-administered programs. Some today are not. So we're trying to discover new ways to solve the problems of the poor and disadvantaged. But what distinguishes us from conservatives is the notion that it's an obligation, of government and society in general, to create solutions.

Ripon Forum: What is your assessment of the Democratic Party? What is its direction?

Krauthammer: The Democratic Party is the victim of its successes. It knows what it believes but it has no idea how to make those beliefs relevant to the modern situation. Some people say it has rediscovered the market, but I'm not sure it ever adopted socialist economics. It has realized the limitations of certain domestic programs, and is now looking for a way to redefine itself domestically. But, unfortunately, on foreign policy there's been a real change in the spirit of the Democratic Party. As a result of Vietnam, it has become very weary of foreign involvement.

"The Democratic Party is the victim of its successes. It knows what it believes but it has no idea how to make those beliefs relevant to the modern situation."

Ripon Forum: You've also written that when some Democratic leaders, like Senator Gary Hart, speak of the future, they are trying to "ensure an electoral contest that does not look back. It is part of the crisis of liberalism that feels it can't."

Krauthammer: Democrats use the word "future" as promiscuously as Mikhail Gorbachev uses the word "peace." It has to appear in every paragraph or there's something wrong. The idea of the future is essentially an empty one. Democrats have seized it, primarily under the influence of Pat Caddell, the Rasputin of the Democratic Party. For Hart in '84, the "future" was a not so disguised way of saying that Walter Mondale represented the past, meaning simply Jimmy Carter.

"The idea of the future is essentially an empty one. Democrats have seized upon it, primarily under the influence of Pat Caddell, the Rasputin of the Democratic Party."

But since both Carter and Mondale are gone, the idea of the future has outlived its political usefulness. It's true that liberals don't like a comparison of Carter and Reagan, but with a remarkable history of liberal success since Franklin Roosevelt, it's a catastrophe to throw away the idea of the past. The Democratic Party is going to have to find itself out of its roots, and it has had some tremendous successes. The party should start recognizing that and not be afraid to emphasize it.

For many Democrats, unfortunately, talk of the future means an ad hoc pragmatism or an adoption of programs without any ideology to guide them. You cannot found on that basis a new Democratic Party that will have any lasting appeal.

Ripon Forum: Mario Cuomo speaks of the politics of inclusion, which means incorporating immigrants into the American political process, primarily through the Democratic Party. But what about those voters who are not recent immigrants? How do they fit into the Democratic structure?

Krauthammer: Politics has to deal with the mainstream of the country *and* those who are left behind. Conservative politicians would say don't differentiate, produce economic growth and it will help everybody. The Democratic Party's strength always has been to recognize that economics do not have uniform effects. There are class and ethnic differences which have to be addressed separately.

What I would say in explicating Cuomo's position is that the Democratic Party has always made a special effort on behalf of those who cannot avail themselves fully of the normal mecha-

nisms of advancement in American society. That's compassion, but also national self-interest, because it increases the nation's human capital. I see this as a continuation of the Democratic tradition of insisting on extra-economic, which means political, steps to help people who can't help themselves. We cannot abandon the middle class, but improving education among immigrants or providing training for inner-city kids and unemployed steel workers does not hurt the middle class. By helping the poor and disadvantaged, the whole society is helped. It is not a zero sum game.

Ripon Forum: In the eyes of some, Ronald Reagan has created a spirit of optimism and renewed patriotic feelings. But you've described what's in vogue as a "superficial I-Love-Miss-Liberty." Has Ronald Reagan merely papered over severe structural problems, many of which will remain when this era of good feelings ends? Or has he created a genuine spirit of renewal that will be sustained beyond his administration?

Krauthammer: Ronald Reagan has done an enormous amount for this country, starting with reducing inflation, although Paul Volcker gets a lot of credit, and you know who appointed him. President Reagan also has restored a sense of confidence and dynamism. But we vastly overrate this "new patriotism." We are in the midst of a very long and sustained economic expansion. I don't recall the "new patriotism" being particularly strong in 1982. In fact, I remember the slogan being "stay the course." It wasn't exactly "standing tall."

This sense of patriotism is a mile wide and about a few percentage points of GNP deep. It's not the kind of patriotism in which people have a sense of sacrifice or duty or shared obligation, as we had during the Second World War. These are two vastly different phenomena. The current patriotism is dependent upon the latest leading economic indicators. It is not bred from a sense of shared effort. I think that will come back to haunt Republicans and the country when this expansion ends, as all expansions must. It will be revealed to be a very superficial phenomenon.

"We vastly overrate this 'new patriotism.' It is a mile wide and about a few percentage points of GNP deep."

In fact, a dissolution or fracturing of the political system is occuring. Look at Congress's complete inability to act in the national interest and reduce the national debt, if it requires overriding the demands of narrow constituencies. That is evidence of how little the patriotic spirit influences the real nitty gritty of our political life. I don't deny the president's other achievements, but I'm not sure this "new patriotism" will be something future historians will be celebrating.

Editorial: George Bush and the Courtship of the Republican Party

George Bush appeared at a testimonial dinner in December for the late William Loeb, publisher of the beyond Far Right *Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader,* and Establishment pundits, who the vice president was stung by in his unqualified support for Ronald Reagan in 1984, took after him, and chastised him for honoring a man whose pen was known for its venom and bigotry. James Reston of *The New York Times* was perhaps the strongest. "Of all the horses at the starting gate for the 1988 presidential race, Vice President Bush probably has the best track record," Reston wrote. "[But] honoring William Loeb is almost like honoring Joe McCarthy . . . The tribute was worse than a disgrace. It was an embarrassment."

"George Bush is not a closet liberal who is selling out to President Reagan."

The vice president's willingness to actively court the Far Right, whose agenda on social issues differs greatly from the traditional conservative agenda of fiscal restraint, even prompted conservative columnist George Will to write: "The unpleasant sound Bush is emitting as he traipses from one conservative gathering to another is a thin, tiny 'arf'—the sound of a lapdog."

The Misperception of George Bush

Because he once supported the Equal Rights Amendment, in addition to backing such progressive measures as the open housing legislation of the 1960s, Mr. Bush has earned the reputation of being a moderate Republican. Now, however, he has been endorsed by the Reverend Jerry Falwell and become a lifetime member of the National Rifle Association. Both of those moves please the Far Right, as does the vice president's longtime support for school prayer and tuition tax credits for private school parents.

Those moves also give the impression that the vice president is zigging here and zagging there. But the former Texas congressman is not a closet liberal who is selling out to President Reagan. As he himself recently told *The Wall Street Journal:* "I think there's kinda a misperception in some quarters as to what my political heartbeat is."

In part, that misperception is due to the fact that George Bush emerged as the challenger to Ronald Reagan in the 1980 GOP primaries. He thus became the hope of moderates and liberals, who in turn projected their views upon him. But if you look at George Bush's congressional voting record, it is clear that there has not been, as he told the *Journal,* "a dramatic shift from liberal to conservative."

Perhaps what confuses people is that George Bush is open to the idea that the Republican Party can be a coalition and not a sect. In a sect, homogenity of opinion is desired. But in a coalition, many voices can be heard. And it is those many voices that the vice president encourages with his approachable style. This was evident last summer when he appeared before the Ripon Society's annual dinner and said that the Republican Party is open to all comers.

Of course, being open to different aspects and courting them are two different things. The vice president is open to moderates and liberals, but he has courted the Far Right. (Consider also his January 1986 appearance before the first meeting of Jerry Falwell's reconstructed Moral Majority, the Liberty Federation.) That bothers many, including us. Who it should bother most, however, is George Bush. One reason is that the results of last November's gubernatorial elections in New Jersey and Virginia show that in two very disparate states, voters preferred centrism and incumbency over party labels and ideology.

"Perhaps what confuses people is that George Bush is open to the idea that the Republican Party can be a coalition and not a sect."

Emerging Center

Consider the reelection of New Jersey Republican Governor Thomas Kean. The 50 year-old Kean actively sought both black and union voters in New Jersey, and the result was telling: the

incumbent governor received a plurality of both black and union votes. In fact, in a state where most Republicans running for statewide office rarely receive more than 10 percent of the black vote, the moderate Republican Kean won 60 percent of the black vote.

The New Jersey governor also won the black vote with an admirable streak of independence. Said Kean after the election: "When I [went] down to Washington and [said] I'm spending time in the black community, a number of people [said] you're wasting your time. You can't get their votes. I just totally rejected that." Moreover, Kean said: "We're in a political era where we can no longer depend on Ronald Reagan. A Republican Party better darn well be able and willing to reach out to all segments of this society and bring a vision to it, a vision that does not stop at racial lines."

To some degree, GOP officials are paying attention to Kean's vision of the center. Republican National Committee Chairman Frank Fahrenkopf, Jr. told the Republican Governor's Association in mid-December that Virginia Democrats Gerald Baliles, Douglas Wilder, and Mary Sue Terry, each of whom soundly defeated their right-wing Republican opponents in their respective races for governor, lieutenant governor, and attorney general, were able to "race unfettered to the center and throw the Republican Party off to the extreme right."

"The results of last November's gubernatorial elections in New Jersey and Virginia show that in two very disparate states, voters preferred centrism and incumbency over party labels and ideology."

Among the reasons Democrats were able to do so was that Virginia Republican moderates, like former Governor Linwood Holton, were cast aside in the nominating process by party conservatives. As Holton said recently, "what was missing from the Republicans was the middle." Virginia conservatives, like the Reverend Falwell, used "right-wing issues that scared the middle away."

Also of importance was the record built by retiring Virginia Governor Charles Robb, a Democrat who appointed record numbers of blacks to state office while simultaneously pursuing a strategy of economic development. By combining fiscal conservatism with social progressivism, Robb, who was prohibited by law from running again, was able to campaign on behalf of Baliles, formerly Virginia's attorney general, Wilder, a veteran black senator, and Terry, a state legislator, and claim that Virginia Democrats were the only ones avoiding the politics of extremism.

Yet should the gubernatorial elections in New Jersey and Virginia, where an incumbent Republican centrist won over 65 percent of the vote and a centrist Democratic ticket received 55 percent of the vote, not convince the vice president that the political center is worth courting, then maybe developments in his adopted home state of Texas will. Texas voters are now more urban, more affluent, better educated, younger, less native Texan, and less blue collar. Each of those signs are important as they reflect the emergence of a political center in a state which now has 29 Electoral College votes.

Moreover, the vice president might find it of interest that even Texas conservatives are getting fed up with the tactics and orthodoxy of the New Right. In fact, many prominent Texas GOP leaders are linked together by their private disdain for the New Right. Many of those leaders also have been personal friends and longtime supporters of George Bush, but they privately speculate that he might hurt himself in the general election by identifying too closely with the Far Right.

Courting Moderates and Liberals

Getting to the general election, of course, will be a big problem for George Bush. The GOP nominating process still favors right-wing candidates. Nearly 50 percent of the delegates to the 1988 GOP convention will be chosen through caucus tests, and that benefits conservatives because, unlike primaries, support in caucuses can be organized around single issues. Since

"The vice president is open to moderates and liberals, but he has courted the Far Right. That bothers many, including us. Who it should bother most, however, is George Bush."

conservatives are concerned about a number of single-issues, like abortion, their supporters can be easily mobilized. That makes a difference because patience and commitment are needed to endure the mechanics of caucus delegate selection.

Of course, the tilt toward the right in the primary process does not mean that George Bush should merely be open to moderates and liberals. While some moderates and liberals have not paid attention to organizational politics, many are now beginning to work together. Moreover, they still have an influence in a number of states, particularly Iowa and Michigan, where two of the GOP's earliest primaries will be contested. Perhaps the vice president should be aware then that many moderates and liberals have been disappointed by his courting of the Far Right, particularly his honoring of a man like Loeb, whose bigotry deserves no respect. While they recognize that George Bush needs strong conservative support to get to the Oval Office in 1989, moderates and liberals also know he needs their backing. That will require being more than open to them. It will mean an active courtship.

Losing the Middle Ground: The Debate Over Family Planning Funding

by Carolyn Weaver

What is the antiabortion movement really after? Even some staunchly "pro-life" legislators, who failed to fall in behind the movement's late forays on federal family planning programs, are beginning to wonder about the complete agenda.

Family planning programs used to be so noncontroversial that opinion pollsters didn't even ask people if they approved of them. They may have to begin now. 1985 saw the pro-life movement mount several challenges to the work of domestic and international family planning groups. In each case, antiabortion leaders argued they were only trying to strengthen policies

"1985 saw the pro-life movement mount several challenges to the work of domestic and international family planning groups."

prohibiting federal money from underwriting abortions. Other pro-life members of Congress, however, together with population and family planning groups, perceive a campaign to defund all but "natural" family planning organizations.

Elimination of Family Planning

There is no question that this is a penultimate goal among many pro-lifers. "We don't think the federal government should be involved in promoting any kind of birth control or family planning for anybody," says Judie Brown, head of the American Life Lobby, perhaps the most politically potent antiabortion group. Although the more "moderate" National Right to Life Committee takes no position on family planning as such, it too wants to ban two of the most widely used methods of birth control, the intrauterine device and the Pill. Because the IUD and occasionally, the Pill, work by preventing the implantation of fertilized eggs, many prolifers believe they are as much murder as surgical abortion.

The antiabortion movement's antipathy to birth control and family planning runs considerably deeper than choice of methods, however. The most ardent prolifers also tend to be the most religiously devout. As sociologist Kristin Luker has detailed in a study of abortion activists, prolifers value sex as a transcendent, almost sacral act of marriage, inseparable from its reproductive potential. Repulsed by the general secular view of sex, prolifers reason that reliable, easily available contraceptives will only lead to more carefree sex, encouraging a lascivious "contraceptive mentality" of which abortion is the most agonizing symbol.

Judie Brown articulates this view without equivocation. "When it's a matter of public policy that unmarried people should be using birth control," she says, "that suggests that sex outside of marriage is perfectly acceptable in our society. That's offensive and that is what we're working against. We'd like to see the federal government take its stamp off promiscuity."

The issue for many prolifers then is less to prevent unwanted pregnancies than to discourage people who aren't prepared to risk parenthood with each encounter from having sex at all.

Congressional Strategy

This may be their animating philosophy, but prolifers also recognize that they are treading on untested and very likely shaky political ground. Quite a few congressional prolifers think that it is indeed unwanted pregnancy that is the problem. The strategy of the antiabortion lobby that took shape last year is to persuade their congressional allies that federal funding of family planning groups that have anything to do with abortion, however indirectly, is equivalent to funding abortion itself.

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Last year's showdowns present a mixed record. The anti-family planning wing won more than it lost, however, and its successes on the international front do not bode well for domestic family planning groups.

The lobby succeeded in pressuring the Agency for International Development to exempt "natural" family planning groups—those that specialize in methods involving periodic abstinence and the monitoring of signs of ovulation—from the requirement that international family planning groups advise clients on all methods of family planning, including referral to other programs when requested. According to a report in *Sci-*

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ence magazine, the Vatican was informed of the new policy before the oversight congressional committees were told.

This victory was snatched away from them by Senator Dennis DeConcini, who sponsored a successful measure reinstating the policy. DeConcini also thereby added himself to the growing list of pro-life legislators whose fealty is now in question by the antiabortion lobby. "He *has* voted anti-abort," commented the movement's *Lifeletter,* "but he's *more* interested in depopulating the Third World."

Since 1984, American law has barred federal funds to international family planning groups that support abortion-related activities with other funds. The International Planned Parenthood Federation lost most of its U.S. funding, amounting to a quarter of its total budget, when it refused to discontinue support for family planning programs that include abortion. Last year, antiabortion activists strove to take that one step further, cutting off funding to organizations that carry out work in countries with coercive birth control or abortion policies.

"The United States will thus apply a more restrictive policy internationally than it does at home."

Mounting evidence that China's "one-child" policy has resulted in a massive program of coerced abortions and involuntary sterilizations was the spur. In response to the charges, AID withheld $10 million from the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, which does some of its work in China. An amendment sponsored by Congressman Chris Smith to the foreign aid authorization completed the move, wiping out UNFPA's annual $46 million earmark.

In a floor debate over the proposal, Representative Olympia Snowe noted that A.I.D.'s own study had found that UNFPA had no involvement in coercive activities in China, and, if anything, probably served to blunt them. Rep. Snowe suggested that the real motive of the legislation was to "undermine all U.S. support for international family planning under the guise of opposition to abortion and coercive elements in China that we condemn."

Family planning advocates are hopeful that AID administrator M. Peter McPherson will certify that China has discontinued these practices and re-fund UNFPA. If AID does not, American support for the two largest multilateral family planning organizations effectively will be eliminated. The United States will thus apply a more restrictive policy internationally than it does at home, where family planning groups are still required to provide abortion counseling and referrals to patients who request it . . . at least for the moment.

Title X

The strategy in cutting off domestic family planning funding is almost identical, although anti-family planners have not yet stumbled upon a Planned Parenthood clinic that coerces patients into having abortions. At home, the target is Title X, the Family Planning Program of the Public Health Services Act. First authorized in 1970, Title X provides an annual $142.5 million to 4,000 family planning clinics operated by states, local health departments and private non-profit groups including Planned Parenthood, whose affiliated clinics receive about $30 million. Under the rules, the federally-funded clinics may not perform or advocate abortions. They must, however, provide counseling about abortion and referrals to abortion clinics to clients who request the information.

"At home, the target is Title X, the Family Planning Program of the Public Health Services Act."

This year saw the first sustained attack on the program beginning in June, when antiabortion forces defeated the reauthorization of the program 214 to 197. Led by Congressmen Henry Hyde and Jack Kemp, who characterized the reauthorization as an "abortion" vote, sixty congressmen who had voted for the program in 1984 switched sides.

Kemp, in concert with Orrin Hatch on the Senate side, next attempted to restrict the program in the appropriations process. The Kemp-Hatch proposals would have barred federally-funded family planning programs from counseling patients about abortion or complying with requests for referrals to abortion clinics, unless the life of the woman would be endangered by a full-term pregnancy. It also would have terminated funds to any group that performed abortions at separate clinics with its own funds. Planned Parenthood operates separate clinics which perform about 80,000 abortions a year.

Supporters said that the amendment would strengthen the "wall of separation" between pregnancy prevention and pregnancy termination. Opponents characterized it as a thinly cloaked attack on Planned Parenthood, which would have lost its federal funding, and on birth control programs in general. (Rep. Kemp also opposes the IUD and the Pill.) Major American professional medical organizations agreed, saying that it would be unethical to force doctors to refuse to provide patients with information about all their options, including abortion.

Senator Hatch was persuaded to drop his amendment. The Kemp proposal was roundly defeated by a two-to-one committee vote, even after he had modified it to ban only abortion referrals, not counseling. Fourteen "pro-life" members of the committee, including four Republicans, voted against the amendment.

"Fourteen 'pro-life' members of the committee, including four Republicans, voted against the Kemp-Hatch Amendment."

Congressman Richard Durbin, a "pro-life" supporter, offered a substitute amendment, denounced as a "sham" by the National Right to Life Committee, that merely restated the program's ban on the advocacy of abortion. A former medical malpractice lawyer, he argued that a physician who chose Medicaid funds over full disclosure to a patient could later be faced with a malpractice suit. Durbin also argued that Planned Parenthood could easily have subverted the intent of the amendment by establishing separate legal entities to operate its abortion clinics.

"Since I've done this, several things have happened that have been interesting," Durbin says. "I have had prolife legislators from both sides of the aisle, people I barely know, come up to me and thank me for my amendement. To beat Mr. Kemp by the margin we did was a total surprise. I would have to surmise from that experience that both Republican and Democrat prolife congressmembers agree with my position that we go too far in our

efforts to stop abortion if we invade the province of family planning."

The Middle Ground

Durbin thinks that a moderate coalition of pro-life members of Congress is emerging, "people who will draw the line and say that it is logically and morally inconsistent to find and create inhibitions to family planning and then suggest that they're opposed to abortion. The statistics are pretty clear, when 30% of the young women who receive abortions in America have never used any form of birth control. There's a real ignorance factor here."

"What we're finding," he says, "is that there are many of us who will continue to vote against abortion but who will part company every time so called prolife groups attempt to close down or inhibit family planning programs. Because that will only increase abortion."

Possibly Rep. Durbin's optimism is not misplaced. But in the history of legislative battles over abortion, the "moderates" have generally been those who have not yet seen the light. The same argument that triumphed in the battle over international family planning programs is operating here, however strained. Antiabortion lobbyists point out that in upholding the Hyde Amendment, the Supreme Court explicitly recognized the power of Congress to discourage abortion through funding policies. The same logic that justified the Hyde Amendment surely can be extended to abortion counseling. If government has no obligation to pay for nonmedical abortions for the poor, why should it be obligated to pay for the discussion of them?

The flaw in this argument, however, is that pregnancy itself is a significant health risk, with a much higher death rate than abortion. The Hyde Amendment permits abortions to women whose lives would be endangered by carrying pregnancy to term. But a ban on abortion counseling and referral would place some women in the position of assuming a risk they might choose not to take if fully informed about the lesser risks of abortion. These risks are not always clear in early pregnancy. A woman who became very ill with toxemia in late pregnancy during pregnancy, for example, might well have the basis for a suit against a clinic that chose federal funding over a full discussion of all of her medical options.

"The difficult truth, as many 'moderate' pro-lifers may once again be forced to confront, is that their own antiabortion allies will shoot down anyone who ventures out onto 'middle' ground."

At any rate, it is clear that this particular challenge is not going to go away. The antifamily planning wing of the prolife movement and its congressional supporters say they will continue to offer the Kemp-Hatch Amendment until it wins. In a year of several victories, they discount the first defeat as a temporary setback. "That was one vote in one committee where there was a lot of confusion," says Doug Johnson, legislative director of the National Right to Life Committee. Of the pro-life "moderates" defection, Johnson says, "They thought they saw a middle ground."

Johnson may well be right to suggest that a middle ground is an illusion. As he points out, most "antiabortion" votes, including the Hyde Amendment, have been defeated in the first rounds. The difficult truth, as many "moderate" prolifers may once again be forced to confront, is that their own antiabortion allies will shoot down everyone who ventures out onto "middle" ground.

The Roots of Republicanism: Individual Conscience and Community Standards

by Richard Norton Smith

"It is easy in the world to live after the world's opinion; it is easy in solitude to live after one's own; but the great man is he who in the midst of the crowd keeps with perfect sweetness the independence of solitude."

Ralph Waldo Emerson

How revealing that Emerson, the Transparent Eyeball and original Transcendentalist, for whom even Unitarian doctrine chafed the delicate skin of individual conscience, should have sought a compromise between the conformist world of 19th century America and his neighbor Thoreau's monkish retreat. For in this, he was only reflecting the search of his own countrymen for some middle way, both practical and philosophical, wherein their love of liberty, a Lockean resentment of government's encroaching hand, might be harmonized with the Christian call to community, no less instinctual in a people whose intellectual founding fathers believed themselves on an errand into the wilderness.

Politicians as diverse as John Kennedy and Ronald Reagan have quoted approvingly from John Winthrop's powerful sermon, in which he likened the infant colony of Massachusetts Bay to a City Upon a Hill. But there are other words from the same tract, other clauses in Winthrop's covenant with God which deserve to be quoted, if only for what they reveal about individualism, American style.

"We must delight in each other, make others' conditions our own, rejoice together, mourn together, labor and suffer together: always having before our eyes our commission and our community in the work, our community as members of the same body."

The Roots of Republicanism

Two centuries passed, and Winthrop's descendants, Emerson's contemporaries, assembled in Jackson, Michigan and Ripon, Wisconsin. People of robust faith and soaring ambition, the first Republicans sought to bridge the old gulf between individual conscience and community standards. Their name was old as classical Rome, relevant as the morning headlines, with their alarming news of bleeding Kansas and the slow crumbling of fraternity in a land whose individuals were yielding to group passions.

"People of robust faith and soaring ambition, the first Republicans sought to bridge the old gulf between individual conscience and community standards."

Lincoln the Conservative set out to preserve the existing republic, as founded and hallowed by the Declaration of Independence. Lincoln the Radical said that "we must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country." Republicanism in its early years celebrated free labor and free men. It departed from the norm in advocating federal assistance to business and education—and again, later on, in regulating the Frankenstein monster which Teddy Roosevelt ultimately set out to bust. In the process, he redefined individualism to mean the greatest number for the greatest good. He announced government's responsibility to safeguard consumers from tainted meat and impure drugs, its obligation to set aside millions of acres of unspoiled wilderness, its opportunity to win for capitalism the allegiance of millions of workers who might otherwise become an industrial proletariat. "He serves his party best," declared this father of modern Republicanism, "who most helps to make it instantly responsive to every need of the people."

But the historic split of 1912, whose effects continue even to

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this day, might be roughly compared with the still older division between John Winthrop and John Locke. Surely, there must be some way for a dynamic, pragmatic people to maintain their liberties while fulfilling their moral obligations to one another. Herbert Hoover, that most rugged of individualists, was certain he had found the answer. After all, hadn't millions rallied to his call to feed starving Belgium in World War I? Hadn't a Republican Congress responded to Warren Harding's unlikely plea, and appropriated $20,000,000 with which to avert starvation in Lenin's Soviet Union?

Hoover and Individualism

Hoover was no romantic on the subject of massed humanity. Beware of the crowd, he warned in *American Individualism*, published in 1922. Glorifying what he called "the emery board of competition," he dismissed as sentimental claptrap any notion that human beings were identically gifted. The true test of a society, he argued, was whether it could be mobilized from the ground up, instead of from the top down. Hoover even coined a phrase for his optimistic credo, his belief that advancing science

"Republicanism in its early years celebrated free labor and free men. It departed from the norm in advocating federal assistance to business and education."

and technology might rationalize human nature and realize human potential. The Individualizing State. Co-operation, which appraised its methods and paid its bills as it went. A form of "self-government outside of political government."

Few men have struggled harder to fashion a view of individualism both coherent and generous. Few have suffered more when their theories fell victim to hard times and harsh reality. Hoover clung to his vision long after more practical politicians moved on to confront the immediate crisis of capitalism which began in 1929. The only trouble with capitalism, he liked to say, was capitalists; "They're too damned greedy." Yet before he left office, he had himself become transformed in the popular mind, from the Great Humanitarian of 1914 to a high-collared symbol of official indifference.

The bitterness he took with him into exile in the spring of 1933 eventually poisoned not only Hoover's personal outlook, but the entire image of his party and of conservative thought in general. Couched in uncompromising rhetoric, Hoover's ritual tributes to the work ethic came to seem ironic in a nation where one-fourth the workforce was unemployed. Twisted by rivals and distorted by New Deal propagandists, his version of freedom came to seem the freedom to starve. In an age which, according to Dorothy Parker, taught that individuals themselves were obsolete, the GOP allowed itself to be pilloried as unfeeling, the selfish captive of big business. Nominating a utilities executive named Wendell Willkie in 1940 did little to change the image. Neither could a gang-busting district attorney like Tom Dewey successfully prosecute the magical polarizer FDR.

Modern GOP Leaders

Yet the laws of nature had not been repealed. Neither had economic supply and demand. The opportunity to fashion a new Republican majority, one based upon compassionate conservatism more than simple distaste for Democrats too long in office, existed from the early 1950's on. Dwight Eisenhower lacked the political skills to transform an electorate content with a modified welfare state. Or else he was simply a man ahead of his time. Richard Nixon tried to be too many things to too many people in 1960. It was a failing no one could accuse Barry Goldwater of four years later.

Yet the fruits of victory can hold within them the seeds of future defeat. The excesses of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, combined with popular anguish over Vietnam, to foster a new creativity on the right and in the center. Listen again to Nixon's radio addresses of 1968, with their promotion of black capitalism, and their eloquent insights into the failure of traditional liberalism.

"Republicans have regained a reputation as innovators, but along with power has come a dangerous tendency toward smugness."

In truth, Nixon was carrying on in the tradition of T.R. Watergate exploded the consensus achieved in 1972, but it could not forever delay the pendulum swing away from big government and economic centralization. In the years since, Republicans have regained a reputation as innovators. But along with power has come a dangerous tendency toward smugness. Even those who approve of Ronald Reagan's example of leadership take exception to policies which have done nothing to dissolve old stereotypes of conservatives as green eyeshade types, or, worse, prisoners of their own minority mentality. Senators entrusted with governing see $200 billion deficits in a different light from House ideologues, for whom it is more important to convert the heathen than administer a federal structure for which many entertain abiding suspicions.

"For Hoover, the test was simple. The state could not go too far in stimulating equality of opportunity, the chance to compete, and the urge to band together as volunteers in service to their fellow citizens."

For Hoover, the test was simple. The state could not go too far in stimulating equality of opportunity, the chance to compete, and the urge to band together as volunteers in service to their fellow citizens. One way or another, such precepts have characterized Republicans and conservatives since Lincoln. "There is somewhere to be found a plan of individualism and associational activities," wrote this most unorthodox of politicians, "that will preserve the initiative, the inventiveness, the individuality, the character of men and yet will enable us to synchronize socially and economically the gigantic machine that we have built out of applied science."

The prose may be gray, the promise is alluring. The search for Hoover's plan goes on. So does the effort to adapt true conservatism to a world of laser beams and micro chips. Winthrop's admonition haunts us all. Ronald Reagan himself thinks of America as a "city upon a hill." Whomever Republican nominate in 1988 is unlikely to enjoy the same mountaintop isolation. One can only hope he will have read Emerson, as well as Winthrop, for then he or she will be, not only a confirmed individualist, but a profound optimist.

Splitting Hairs in North Carolina: *The Broyhill-Funderburk Race*

by Stephen A. Messinger

"Would you have voted for *tax funded* abortions? . . . Jim Broyhill did." This straight-forward five-second commercial, which normally airs around the dinner hour these days in North Carolina, serves as a profound example of political manipulation. Logical deduction might lead you to believe this advertisement is attacking a liberal spendthrift candidate. But anyone who is familiar with Jim Broyhill's 23 years in the House of Representatives knows that "liberal" is not among the adjectives one can use to describe this Republican

"It might not be surprising that in the skewed arena of North Carolina politics, a traditional conservative such as Jim Broyhill must defend himself against attacks from the New Right."

stalwart. In fact, the anti-Broyhill commercial is blatantly misleading. The North Carolina legislator has only supported the use of tax dollars for abortion when the mother's life is in danger or in the cases of rape and incest.

It might not be surprising, however, that in the skewed arena of North Carolina politics, a traditional conservative such as Jim Broyhill must defend himself against attacks from the New Right. The Republican primary for Senator John East's seat is a return match between the two rival factions of the state GOP. And while this feud is now boiling over in North Carolina, in the coming years it will be repeated around the country.

Traditional Republicans and Jessecrats

Traditional Republicans, represented by Broyhill, the current governor, Jim Martin, and former Governor James Holshouser, have come from the western foothills or Piedmont region. Historically, they were whites whose ancestors opposed slavery. As yeoman farmers and craftsmen, they were often strong individualists who felt little allegiance to the Confederacy. Ideologically, the Old Guard were fiscally conservative, strong supporters of the military, and moderate voices on social and moral issues.

But the new Southern GOP, exemplified by the two current senators from North Carolina, Jesse Helms and John East, and the new senatorial candidate, David Funderburk, is a conglomeration of classical Republicans and disenfranchised conservative Democrats. The standard bearers of North Carolina's New Right, such as Senator Helms, come from the rural eastern part of the state. Many of them claim to be Democrats, but when the "Jessecrats" pull the curtain and vote, it often has been for Senator Helms and Ronald Reagan. Moreover, these true believers criticize traditional Republicans for being pragmatists. "Jessecrats" hold strong social and moral beliefs which serve as a litmus test for membership in their political clique.

Their candidate in the primary against Broyhill is David B. Funderburk, the former ambassador to Romania. In 1981 Helms endorsed Funderburk, a little known history professor, for the ambassadorship to Romania. The 41-year old Wake Forest University graduate had studied in Romania in 1971-72 on a Fulbright Scholarship and spoke the language fluently. But during his 1981 comfirmation hearings, several senators focused on controversial statements in his pamphlet "If the Blind Lead the Blind: The Scandal Regarding the Mis-Teaching of Communism in American Universities." Funderburk asserted that "many American university professors deliberately spread lies about communism for reasons of personal benefit and profit" and that the "largely liberal leftists" in the news media view the world "via the eyes of Marxist-Leninist terminology." Nevertheless, Senator Helms intervened, pressure was applied behind closed doors, and Funderburk's nomination was approved.

The professor only served as ambassador for three years, and after resigning this past summer, he began publicly criticizing the State Department and Secretary of State George Shultz. In Funderburk's estimation, the State Department failed to take a strong stand against the Romanian communist regime. To vent

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his ire, he spoke before several right-wing groups on the topic "How the State Department Aids the Soviet Empire."

False Impressions

While such speeches may have allowed the former ambassador to express his mistrust of the Eastern foreign policy establishment, which some New Right followers contend is embodied by Henry Kissinger and the Council on Foreign Relations, extending that distrust to Broyhill and other traditional conservatives is simply invalid. Tom Ellis, chairman of the National Congressional Club, the organization formed in the 1970s to finance Helms's senatorial campaigns, says, that "Jim Broyhill represents the old moderate school of thought within the Republican Party, . . . that is enunciated by Jim Holshouser, Gene Anderson (Holshouser's chief political strategist) and the courthouse crowd. . . . We feel we need new blood in the Republican Party."

"James Broyhill is not a moderate, and he certainly is not a liberal."

James Broyhill, of course, is not a moderate, and he certainly is not a liberal. While he may have voted for strictly limited federal funding for abortons and the final passage of the 1983 Nuclear Freeze Resolution (HJR 13), he also voted for prayer in the schools and against the Equal Rights Amendment. As the ranking Republican on the House Energy and Commerce Committee, Broyhill also has played a major role in shaping most non-tax business legislation. His staunch support of business interests even earned him a 84 percent rating from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in 1983. Moreover, Broyhill has received endorsements from the American Security Council, which gave him a 90 percent rating, Citizens for Reagan, Fund for a Conservative Majority, and Americans for Constitutional Action, which issued him a 70 percent mark.

Perhaps what irritates the New Right is that Jim Broyhill is a conservative whose 23 years in Washington have taught him that compromise is essential to the art of politics. This is reflected in the respect his Capitol Hill foes have for him. As one former lobbyist with the National Family Planning Association re-

"Perhaps what irritates the New Right is that Jim Broyhill is a conservative whose 23 years in Washington have taught him that compromise is essential to the art of politics."

called, "Broyhill was a disarmingly nice man. We were on opposite sides of the fence 90 percent of the time, but he always took the time to listen to us and then calmly present his side."

Broyhill's understanding of the art of politics also has made him a very electable official. The fourth longest-serving Republican member of Congress was first elected to the House in 1962, and since then has represented 16 different counties. In his current district, registered Democrats outnumber registered Republicans by 64 percent to 36 percent. But Democrats could not find a challenger in 1982, an otherwise bad year for Republicans. Among the reasons was that in 1980 Broyhill had captured over 70 percent of the vote.

Unfortunately, Funderburk and Ellis have failed to see the merit in Broyhill's approach. Despite Funderburk's initial pledge to keep the campaign clean ("My personal preference, and the best approach would be to emphasize the assets that we have, the appeal that we might have to a new generation, and to young people in the state."), only negative advertisements have emanated from his campaign. And during a recent interview, Ellis said: "What it is going to be is: Did Jim Broyhill vote wrong on Tip O'Neill's budget or the Martin Luther King holiday? Those issues ought to come out."

The problem with this approach, of course, is that it creates false impressions. Plans are now in the works to run a commercial criticizing Broyhill's 1985 vote for the Democratic-sponsored House Budget Resolution. But the Republican lawmaker's vote came after he supported the failed Latta budget proposal, the conservative Republican alternative. Like many GOP legislators, Broyhill then felt compelled to vote for the Democratic plan to resolve the budget deadlock. (Regarding the King holiday, Broyhill says it was a "positive progressive move. Republicans have always believed in equal opportunity and equal justice for all.")

Party Unity

The other problem with this approach is that it destroys party unity. While Senators East and Helms, and other members of the Congressional Club, have been trying to seize control of the North Carolina GOP since 1972, their desire for party control has little to do with party unity. In fact, it could only undermine the GOP's chance for success this year. Consider David Funderburk's negative ads. What good do they achieve? Certainly not

"The Far Right's desire for party control has little to do with party unity, and could undermine the GOP's chance for success this year."

much. Rather, they only create in the minds of voters unnecessary questions about a loyal conservative. (Moderates can only scratch their heads in amazement at the questioning of Broyhill's conservatism.) Moreover, these ads also draw attention to Broyhill's lack of ease with modern media campaigns. He has not had a serious challenger in ten years, and it shows when he steps in front of a camera.

But there is another reason the New Right need not give Democrats more ammunition. The likely Democratic nominee, Terry Sanford, a former North Carolina governor and the past-president of Duke University, is clearly more liberal than the mainstream of the North Carolina electorate. But Democrats still outnumber Republicans in North Carolina by two-to-one. The GOP has overcome that in recent elections by relying upon Ronald Reagan's coattails, like in the 1984 triumphs of Jim Martin and Jesse Helms, and in John East's narrow 1980 victory. But since Ronald Reagan's name will not be on the ballot in 1986, Republicans might have a difficult time attracting crossover voters, particularly if Broyhill is forced to take extreme positions in the primary to please the Far Right. Perhaps what this primary will demonstrate, then, is whether the Jessecrats are really team players. If they continue to discredit the Broyhill record, the answer will be clear and the result might be a Democratic victory in a Senate race Republicans need to win.

Bob McFarland: A Pragmatist at Work

by William P. McKenzie

In Texas, when a need arises, neighbors often take care of neighbors, and if that doesn't work, other voluntary associations, like churches, step in the breach. And if voluntary associations can't meet a human need, then and only then does the government become a refuge. Perhaps that tradition explains why when most Texans speak of values like compassion or fairness, they use the word in a highly personal context, and not with the overtones of political liberalism that normally accompany its use in, say, the East Coast.

But it also means that when a Texas politician, particularly a Republican, speaks of values like compassion or fairness, people pay attention. And people have been paying attention to Texas Republican Bob McFarland for eight years. In fact, for four consecutive terms, *Texas Monthly* has placed the former Texas House member, who now is in his first Texas Senate term, among the state's ten best legislators. And the magazine has called him "a technician of the first rank," "a skilled strategist," and a "powerful advocate." Moreover, Texas political observer Scott Bennett wrote in *The Dallas Morning News*, McFarland is "perhaps the best mind in either house."

"McFarland's style and politics closely resemble those of U.S. Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole. Both possess a refreshing candor, and both are interested in making government work."

But enough of the accolades. Who is this guy? Is he for real? The answer to the latter is yes, and the reply to the former is an oddity. A Texas Republican who speaks of rights, who says that civil liberties must be protected, and who acknowledges that the GOP must start attracting voters "outside the sphere of the Far Right." Particularly in Texas, the former FBI agent says, the GOP must go "into the middle ground of the electorate and convince them this is not a party entirely of negatives."

McFarland's work on the Texas Legislature's Omnibus Hunger Bill is an example of the approach the moderate Republican believes the party should take. $74.5 million was approved during the most recent session of the Legislature to combat hunger among the state's indigents. And its passage was due largely to McFarland, whose coat-hanger straight shoulders belie his easy manner. After the 44 year-old attorney signed onto the bill, even conservative legislators like Dallas's John Leedom, rounded up votes. What's even more amazing is that they were successful during a time in which Texas was experiencing one of its most severe fiscal crises.

Such programs are not only good for Texas and its poor, but also for the state's GOP. As McFarland says, a number of conservative Democrats are on the verge of joining the Republican Party. But since they consider the GOP insensitive to social problems, they remain Democrats. If that stigma can be erased, the Arlington, Texas legislator says, the GOP can pick up a number of recruits.

A George Bush presidential candidacy would particularly help that effort. It would reflect an "open-door" policy to Democrats and "broaden the horizon" for Republicans, McFarland says. Consider the two kinds of new faces in Texas. One has moved to Texas from the Northeast or Midwest, primarily because of the opportunities available in a state where government regulation and strong unions have not stymied industrial expansion. Yet those same voters are comfortable with and accustomed to the progressive tradition within the Republican Party. A Bush candidacy would appeal to those voters, McFarland claims, just as it would to the second kind of new face in Texas: the young executive with no strong party allegiance who sees the GOP as the "party of the future."

But what about Jack Kemp? If given the GOP presidential nomination, would he not do the same thing? According to McFarland, who has always received support from hard-line conservatives in his district, the GOP must broaden its philosophy without losing the Far Right. A Kemp-led ticket would hold onto the latter, but what new constituencies would it bring in? Ronald Reagan has recruited many new Republicans, but how would Jack Kemp add to that? The Buffalo congressman, McFarland says, just "does not afford an opportunity to broaden the GOP's constituency."

If such reasoning makes Bob McFarland sound like a liberal, don't be mistaken. He's not. Recall the tradition of compassion and fairness that marks Texas. It is rooted in an individualism that characterizes the state and is manifested in a pragmatic spirit. If a program is needed, will it work? And if it will work, will it benefit Texans? If the answer is yes, then okay. But if the answer is no, then the state, or the federal government, should keep its hands out of personal affairs.

In many respects, McFarland's style and politics more closely resemble those of U.S. Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole. Both possess a refreshing candor, and both are interested in making government work. Like Dole, when compromises are needed, or deals must be struck, McFarland is the man to call. As *Texas Monthly* says, McFarland "never seeks refuge in ideology."

William P. McKenzie is editor of the Ripon Forum.

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The Lessons of History

J. Anthony Lukas, *Common Ground: A Turbulent Decade in the Lives of Three American Families*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985.

by Alfred W. Tate

The study of history emerged in the nineteenth century as a separate academic discipline at about the same time our confidence that science was about to usher in a golden age of perpetual peace peaked. While this confidence proved misplaced, the continued success science has enjoyed in the twentieth century in explaining the natural world to us has led to the adoption of its methods as the model for enquiry into the past. The hope remains that what has worked wonders as an approach to unlocking the mysteries of nature will prove as powerful a tool in rationalizing the welter of human activity that is history.

As a result, whether as professional historians or simply as individuals trying to find meaning in our personal lives, we tend to try to make sense of the past in the same way. We look for patterns and articulate whatever regularity we think we can discern as "laws" which we then use to explain what we believe has happened. Or, in a similar fashion, we identify exemplary people or epoch-making events which we adopt as paradigms or models providing the key to what we perceive to be the meaning of what has taken place.

The outcomes of such efforts are invariably mixed because they are inevitably reductive. What an event is explained as being the effect for which a "law" determining human behavior is the cause, or when a person is described as being of a certain type, the unique singularity that is personal selves responding to their temporal circumstances is lost. If done carefully, the result is at best the gaining of a modicum of incomplete and partially erroneous knowledge. Far more often, what is discerned as the operation of "laws" is in fact the projected prejudices of the observer and what is claimed to be an exemplar or model is a stereotype.

The time and place J. Anthony Lukas tells of in *Common Ground*—Boston from the late 60s to mid 70s—would seem to provide the historian with the almost unavoidable temptation to see at work his own moral imperatives acted out by heroes and villains of his own devising. In fact, that is precisely what Lukas says in the author's note he first thought he had discovered. That it is not what he concludes—nor what he communicates to the reader—makes the book a triumph of the human imagination.

Alfred W. Tate is a member of the Ripon Forum *editorial board.*

The Journey of Three Families

Common Ground is an account of the efforts of three Boston families to respond to the traumatic events surrounding that city's efforts to racially balance its public schools through forced busing.

The Divers—Colin and Joan—are "Yankees," quintessential middle class whites. After graduating from Harvard Law School the spring Martin Luther King is assassinated, Colin turned down a job with one of Washington's most prestigious law firms and accepts a low paying job in newly-elected Boston Mayor Kevin White's administration. His goal is to reverse the trend toward two societies, one black and one white, separate and unequal, which the Kerner Commission reported is developing in this country. The Divers move into Boston's South End and become active in an effort to make their neighborhood racially and economically integrated. Joan becomes a leader in the neighborhood school's parents organization and, when their two sons are in school, she takes a job with one of Boston's philanthropic trusts and comes to play a prominent role in making it and other such charitable organizations more responsive to the city's needs.

The Twymons—Rachel, her six children and her brother and sister—are black. Rachel lives in public housing in the same neighborhood into which the Divers move. She too shares a belief that the ideal of a truly integrated society is attainable; she attends parents meetings intended to help make busing work and holds out hope the busing of her daughter Cassandra to Charlestown High School will prepare her for a place in a white dominated society. Rachel's sister Alva and her husband man-

age, by dint of both holding two jobs, to purchase a home in Dorchester, a nearby all-white neighborhood.

The third family, the McGoffs, are "Townies." Alice, a widow with seven children lives in public housing in Charlestown, a bastion of impoverished Irish cut off from the rest of city of Boston by the Charles and Mystic Rivers, the Northwest Expressway, and an almost tribal sense of community. Life there focuses on the Catholic Church and the schools. Danny McGoff was senior class president of Charlestown High in 1974, his brother Billy was student council vice president of "the last white class" in 1975, and sister Lisa was senior class president in 1976. In meetings, prayer marches and demonstrations, Alice

"Devoid of the spotless heroes and heartless villains we would like to find at work in human history,* Common Ground *is not a happy story."

comes to spend all her energies fighting the violation of her community and its rights she believes forced busing to be.

Lukas tells the stories of these three families in a series of successive chapters, picking up the lives of each at the time of King's death, filling in the history that brought their ancestors to this country and to Boston, and following them through the end of the 1976 school year. Interspersed with these accounts, Lukas places single chapters relating the stories of five public figures and the Boston institutions they represent: Louise Day Hicks, the chairwoman of the Boston School Committee and later member of the city council who becomes the symbol of white resistance to black demands; Arthur Garrity, the Federal District Judge who ruled Boston's school to be 'de facto' segregated and author of the elaborate busing plan to racially balance them; Cardinal Humberto Medeiros, the son of Portuguese immigrants brought from Brownsville, Texas, in the midst of the busing crisis to head the overwhelmingly Irish diocese of Boston; Tom Winship, the patrician editor of the Boston *Globe;* and Kevin White, the politician who had been mayor of the city for only some ninety-five days when King is killed.

The book was seven years in the making and is presented as entirely factual. Lukas says that none of the names have been changed and that the conversations he records were verified by at least one of the participants. Certainly these voices, and the account of Boston's travail that emerges through them, ring true. Devoid of the spotless heroes and heartless villains we would like to find at work in human history, it is not a happy story.

It begins with the Divers determined to work for creative change in the city, with Rachel Twymon determined to work to better herself and her family, and with Alice McGoff equally determined to work to protect the values which have held her community together. It ends wth the Divers driven by crime and deteriorating schools from the city to the suburbs; with Rachel Twymon's son sentenced to prison for a brutal rape and her sister driven from her home by her white neighbors; and with Alice McGoff joining one last demonstration to dramatize the "death" of Charlestown. In the four years that end in 1976, Boston's schools have lost nearly 20,000 white students and are in shambles.

Boston's Dilemma

Lukas does not offer an explanation for what happened in Boston. His book does provide, however, hints which help in understanding what took place there.

One is found in Lukas's brief reflection on Tocqueville's observation that from the outset the United States had not one but two political systems: "the one fulfilling the ordinary duties and responding to the daily and infinite calls of a community; the other circumscribed within certain limits and exercising an exceptional authority over the general interests of the country."

"Lukas finds the potential for conflict between the ideals of equality and community to be very much still with us."

The precarious balance struck by the founding fathers in establishing our federal system met both the needs of the community and the demands of nationhood and it held until the Civil War. The issue was joined during the Lincoln-Douglas debates, during the course of which Lincoln declared that the foundation of democratic government was "the equality of all men," while Douglas maintained it was the "principle of popular sovereignty," the right of communities to decide fundamental issues, even and including slavery, for themselves.

Lukas finds the potential for conflict between the ideals of equality and community to be very much still with us, and we made a mistake in the 1960s, he believes, by persuading ourselves that they are not only compatible but mutually reinforcing principles. That is why no inherent tension was seen between the two major federal domestic initiatives of that decade, the Civil Rights Act and the Economic Opportunity Act. The former sought in the name of a national commitment to human rights to override local laws and customs where they were seen as expressions of racial bigotry. Inherent in the strategy employed in the war on poverty, on the other hand, was a maximizing of local control as an antidote to big government waste and paternalism. In Boston, Lukas observes, the two great ideals of equality and community came into collision as white neighborhoods saw

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their values threatened and their control of their communities' institutions usurped by a remote and insensitive court.

Another hint at understanding Boston's crisis is Lukas's mention of Jay Forrester's book *Urban Dynamics*. Forrester argues that urban society is a far more complex system of relationships than is often appreciated. Thus the tendency is to look for the solution to a particular problem near in time and space to it, with the frequent result being that what is identified as the problem's cause is in fact another symptom of what is in reality a much more deep-seated difficulty. Humanitarian impulses and short-term political pressures then tend to compound this mistake by producing programs of limited or no benefit. They are aimed at symptoms instead of root causes and leave behind an unimproved or worsened situation. Subsidized housing, for example, according to Forrester attracts more poor to an urban area, further straining a city's services while reducing the land available for non-subsidized housing and businesses which produce tax revenues and jobs. The result of treating the symptom, the

need for low-cost shelter, instead of the problem, the underlying economic and social dislocations creating poverty, is a growing welfare roll, an exodus of productive businesses and taxpaying employees, and a fiscal crisis for the city.

A third hint that helps make sense of Boston's inability to avoid the violent upheaval that accompanied the city's effort to desegregate its schools is found in Colin Diver's concluding thoughts on his new position as teacher of law and public management at Boston University. The study of law he now sees as dealing with rights, management with procedures; law with what should be, management with what works. In Boston's busing crisis the natural tension existing between these two approaches to the world caused a rupture that will be a long time healing. At least that is the inescapable conclusion implicit in a reading of *Common Ground*.

"The question of what lessons are to be learned from this unhappy episode in our recent past remains, and to answer it requires noting what Lukas accomplished in the telling of it."

The Past's Record

The question of what lessons are to be learned from this unhappy episode in our recent past remains, and to answer it requires noting what Lukas accomplished in the telling of it. Certainly it is a catalog of human failings, of callowness, bigotry, vanity and greed, all things to be avoided. It is also a record of remarkable human integrity and strength, qualities we all would like to foster in ourselves. The value of this book, however, lies in its form as much as its content, and the possibilities this form creates for the reader.

I suspect Lukas cast his history of Boston's busing crisis in the form of a narrative because he found no explanation using abstract systems of concepts or models of human behavior adequate to the reality his investigations discovered. Conditioned in our expectations as we are by the accomplishments of

"The value of this book lies in its form as much as in its content, and the possibilities this form creates for the reader."

science, this may come as a surprise or even as a disappointment. It shouldn't. This is, after all, the form in which human beings experience reality, that is, as an ongoing dramatic narrative in which they are the main characters, responding in circumstances only partially grasped out of motives only incompletely understood, and relating to others who are themselves acting out of the same partial knowledge of situation and self. What makes *Common Ground* so remarkable is that in it Lukas has created out of a thousand characters and events and the geography of an entire city a story of such vivid reality that the reader is caught up in it and in a very real way experiences with the Divers, the McGoffs and the Twymons the ordeal of those years.

Santayana's saying that "those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it" is, like all cliches, a dangerous half-truth. It is most frequently heard as the preface to a version of history's meaning being advanced for some ulterior motive. History does not repeat itself and however lacking in memory we may be the mistakes we will inevitably make in the future will be new ones and peculiarly our own.

Common Ground chronicles the failure of political imagination. The task of politics is to balance the need for community with the need for equality, to address the true problems facing

"Common Ground chronicles the failure of political imagination."

society and not simply their symptoms, and to do both in a way which maintains the creative tension between the ideals we can dream of and the reality we are capable of living. The leadership of Boston, its churches, courts and media failed the Divers, the Twymons and the McGoffs.

But if we come away from Lukas's book sadder, we also come away genuinely wiser. Through the experience of reading it, we understand ourselves, our strengths and weaknesses, and the problems we face far better than before.

The Chairman's Corner

The Investigation of Ferdinand Marcos

by Jim Leach

Every now and then in political life an issue emerges which is of such a dimension that it is set apart from the ordinary course of claims on time and judgment. Such is the case of a congressional subcommittee investigation into the investments in the United States of the family of the president of the Philippines, Ferdinand Marcos.

At first glance, the subject matter would not appear overly relevant to Congress. After all, in the vast majority of countries in the world, economic conflicts of interest are the norm rather than the exception in political life. Why the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific affairs is investigating this particular issue at this particular time is that the size and scope of abuse of power in the Philippines appears to be extraordinary by any standard. Some reports put Marcos family wealth in a category which few, if any, American families rival. Evidence that the subcommittee has unearthed points to a small fraction of this fortune—a quarter billion dollars worth of "walking around money" for the first lady of the Philippines, according to one critic—being invested in prime New York City real estate.

Reasons for an Investigation

Given the recent economic decay in the Philippines and the increase in the leftist insurgency feeding upon this decay, the issue deserves to be explored to the fullest extent possible. It may not be a happy event for a congressional committee to investigate the private investments of a foreign head of state—particularly when the country involved has friendly and important geo-strategic relations with the United States. There are, however, policy implications for the Congress if it becomes apparent that a country to which we give aid is run by a family which allocates the resources of its land to its own personal use and which, in effect, loots the capacity of the country to achieve responsible economic growth and advance the welfare of its people.

Jim Leach is a member of Congress from Iowa and chairman of the Ripon Society. While the remarks in this column were prepared before the Philippines' February election, the investigation of Ferdinand Marcos will remain an important part of Congress's agenda.

It would appear that the economic infrastructure of the Philippines and the attendant ability of the government to deal with a violent leftist insurgency is collapsing in part because the moral fiber of the leadership of the country has itself collapsed. Corruption breeds cynicism and the attendant poverty of opportunity for the masses breeds revolution. Any government that enriches itself while impoverishing its people will never be able to ensure domestic stability or meet its international commitments.

"Any government that enriches itself while impoverishing its people will never be able to ensure domestic stability or meet its international commitments."

The problems involved in the congressional investigation of the Marcos family are myriad, touching on a host of constitutional and civil libertarian issues. Ascertainment of property ownership is extremely difficult when off-shore corporations are utilized to shield individuals from public and tax accountability. It is compounded when investment advisers holding inside knowledge have family held hostage to a capricious Philippines political system or are lawyers who maintain that their knowledge is privileged because of the unique lawyer-client relationship.

Several attorneys subpoenaed by the subcommittee were confronted with a unique legal dilemma of Catch-22 proportions. To refuse to answer questions posed by members of Congress subjected them to the risk of being held in contempt of Congress, implying the prospect of jail. To answer certain questions put them in potential violation of the canons of the legal profession, which in some states have been codified in statute.

While precedents are uneven, the courts have largely held that Congress's investigatory powers are second only to its legislative mandate and prevail over privileges which exist in the practice of law or elsewhere. The investigatory authority of Congress is in fact so powerful that as the ranking minority member of the subcommittee I have been as concerned with its potential coercive abuse as with the substance of the enquiry. The dangers of McCarthyism of the left appear to me to be every bit as grave as that of the right.

The fact that Marcos may be an aggrandizing leader of a foreign state—one who built his early political base on false claims of leading a guerilla band in support of American forces

"The fact that Marcos may be an aggrandizing leader of a foreign state does not justify Congress applying anything except the highest investigatory standards."

in World War II—does not justify Congress applying anything except the highest investigatory standards. It is technically the case that in policy deliberations congressional standards need not be as high as judicial, but what the subcommittee is dealing with in the investigation of the Marcos family is the reputation of individuals who are citizens of this country as well as that of political leaders of a foreign state. Rather than lower, a powerful case can be made that the evidentiary standards applied should be higher than those required by a court of law.

Need For Facts

On the other hand, issues of this nature can't be ducked. Some have suggested that the enquiry is inappropriate, at least in timing, coming as it did prior to the Philippine elections. My view is that to restrict or defer attention from the issue could have been interpreted as a coverup and as electorally interventionist as proceeding with the enquiry might have been. In a democracy, facts should never be squelched. They may not always be happy, but the chips should be allowed to fall where they might, unfettered by concerns for timing.

In any regard, the enquiry has received a great deal of press in this country and substantially more in Asia. The substance of the issue has been highlighted by concern for the safety of witnesses, the revelation of coded telexes, and lawsuits filed and withdrawn against the first lady of the Philippines.

The picture preliminarily painted is one of opulent investment by the Marcos family in New York real estate. While conclusive evidentiary aspects of the committee's investigation have been thwarted in part by legalistic exercise of privilege by certain witnesses, only the naive could conclude that there wasn't fire amidst the smoke.

There is, of course, a risk to this type of enquiry, but the issues are profound. Should American taxpayers be asked to support a foreign government hallmarked by corruption? Are U.S. foreign aid dollars being returned to our shores as investments of a foreign head of state? Is the international monetary crisis in part caused by the flight of corrupted capital to safe havens like the United States? Isn't political integrity the linchpin of effective government?

As a case study, the Marcos investigation provides a glimpse at the dimension of global problems from a particular perspective that demands the heed of all current and budding political potentates. The developing world deserves better. ■

6 Library Court

In an article entitled "Ripe for Power," *The Boston Globe* wrote recently that the Ripon Society "is intruding, with increasing tenacity, on Republican affairs." The December 30, 1985 *Globe* report said that the Society "is positioning itself to be the voice of the party's future" and that "Riponians believe that their time is coming, if not exactly at hand, since there now exists no heir apparent to finite Reaganism."

Sacramento Bee political editor Martin Smith addressed this same subject in December when he wrote, "the problem for the Republican right is that it soon will run out of . . . superglue." The "superglue" Smith refers to is Ronald Reagan (the Reverend Jerry Falwell coined the phrase recently when he said that the president is the "superglue" that has held together the conservative movement for 20 years). As Smith says, the president cannot succeed himself, and since no candidate seems equipped to "solidify" conservatives, they "have to face an unpleasant reality—the need to share power with the moderates. If they don't, they're likely to see a Reaganless Republican Party lose the White House and probably control of the U.S. Senate as well." While the "coexistence" will not always be "comfortable," Smith says, neither will it be as difficult as when personalities like Barry Goldwater and Nelson Rockefeller competed for leadership in the GOP. The "discomfort," Smith concluded, "may be more than compensated for by greater successes at election time."

Ripon Congressional Advisory Board member Bill Green also spoke of the need for Republicans to share power when he addressed the California Republican League last fall. "The Republican Party needs its progressive wing, if we are to become a truly majority party in this century," the New York congressman told his audience. He said that while moderates and progressives still have much organizational work ahead of them, they should not be "read" out of the GOP. In fact, Green said, moderates and progressives are not without political strength. He recalled that even in 1980, the year Ronald Reagan first captured the Republican nomination, moderate GOP hopefuls, led by John Anderson, gained 47 percent of the overall vote before April 1. . .

* * *

Moderate GOP Senatorial Candidates

The recent indictment of leading California GOP Senate hopeful Bobbi Fiedler, a conservative member of Congress who was charged in January with attempting to pay another conservative challenger to leave the 1986 GOP primary race, has moved California moderate Republican Ed Zschau to the forefront of that contest. Zschau, a two-term northern California congressman, originally registered low in polls, but the former Silicon Valley executive's message of restrained federal spending, which means lean defense, has recently moved him forward. He has strong backing from business executives who are skeptical of the supply-side economic theories of professor Arthur Laffer, another candidate in the large field, and is now engaging in a media blitz of southern California, where his name recognition is low . . .

Colorado State Senator Martha Ezzard, a former newspaper and television reporter, is challenging conservative Republican Ken Kramer in the state's 1986 GOP Senate primary. Ezzard has received a 100 percent rating from the National Federation of Independent Business/Colorado and has authored legislation calling for the creation of a Colorado Superfund to clean up toxic wastes, to provide tax credits on home heating bills for low-income elderly, and to encourage follow-up care for deinstitutionalized mental health patients. Her fiscally conservative and environmentally/socially progressive record could be what the state party needs, as the Colorado GOP has been hampered by refusing to unite behind candidates with a large enough base to succeed in general elections. The latter is important because Independents still outnumber Republicans and Democrats in numbers of registered Colorado voters . . .

* * *

Ripon Activities

The Ripon Society study "Legal Services for the Poor: Encouraging Private Sector Fulfillment of a Public Responsibility," prepared by Washington attorney Frederic R. Kellogg, was the subject of a recent syndicated column by *Washington Post* writer William Raspberry. The study, which was released in December 1985, proposes that federal assistance be granted to law schools to help create third-year clinical programs, that graduate students be allowed to pay off student loans by working for a specified period with an organization dedicated to providing legal services for the poor, and that federal incentives be given lawyers and law firms to provide more pro bono legal work. The paper also lists several other specific proposals, which Raspberry says "make sense in light of the conservative political climate and the Draconian requirements of the deficit reduction act; it also has a good chance of providing better services, at far less public expense, than the present set-up could ever hope to do." Requests for the paper have come in from around the country, including from the United States Supreme Court. For copies, please write: The Ripon Society, 6 Library Ct. SE, Washington DC 20003. ■

Washington Notes and Quotes

Everything You Wanted to Know about Taxes, Deficits, Quotas, Abortion, Civil Rights, Acid Rain, Toxics, Arms Control and Campaign Reform . . . In One Page or Less

A recently published essay on Greek politics included this thought on demagoguery: extremist politics breeds oversimplification, and oversimplification makes people vulnerable to political irrationality and mythmaking.

The same thought occurred here during the House of Representatives' December debate of tax reform legislation. The measure includes some 1,200 pages of complex tax language, but many members of Congress simply chose to adopt the right's characterization of the legislation as "anti-growth" and "anti-family." The fact is the bill would economically aide some industries and harm others, assist some families and tax others.

Those who tried to understand the matter by watching C-SPAN or reading the *Congressional Record* would have done better by reading news accounts found elsewhere, in *USA TODAY* for example. In this instance, debate among the nation's lawmakers sounded all too much like the simplistic rhetoric found in a typical two-page fundraising letter, maybe worse.

* * *

At the same risk of oversimplification, let's quickly check the status of major legislation of importance to many mainstream Republicans in the 99th Congress.

Nothing much can be reported about deficit reduction under *Gramm-Rudman* that hasn't already been said. Keep in mind, however, that the threat of deep, automatic cuts this fall in important defense and domestic programs may well force legislative and political compromises between centrist Republicans and more radical "supply side, defense at any cost" GOPers. Look for continuing skirmishes between Senate moderates (e.g., Domenici, Dole and Packwood) and the administration. With more than twenty of their colleagues facing the electorate in November, Senate Republican leaders seek to soften the political impact of fiscal austerity by ensuring that budget blueprints are negotiated with an engaged White House on a timely basis, well before election day. . . .

On the civil rights front, Attorney General Ed Meese has continued efforts to gut a twenty year old executive order on *affirmative action*. The order requires all employers who are awarded federal contracts to take positive steps, including goals and timetables but not quotas, and to include qualified minorities and women in their workforces. Meese's proposed revision would make goals and timetables voluntary.

Opposition to the attorney general's position is led by Labor Secretary Bill Brock (also Cabinet Secretaries Baldrige, Baker, Dole, Pierce and Shultz) and shared by congressional Republican leaders Bob Dole and Bob Michel, 250 members of Congress, the National Association of Manufacturers and the Business Roundtable, and the influential Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. Should the right unexpectedly succeed in weakening federal affirmative action rules, expect prompt congressional passage of corrective legislation. Elsewhere . . . legislative efforts (i.e., the *Civil Rights Restoration Act*) to restore the previously broad coverage of statutes banning discrimination on the basis of race, sex, age or handicap by institutions receiving federal funds continued to be held hostage by abortion foes in the House . . . .

Major environmental debates of 1986 will focus on the *Superfund* and *acid rain*. A report on acid rain by former Reagan campaign chief Drew Lewis leaves less room for those who doubt the existence of a problem . . . expect the moderate Republican '92 Group to propose a major initiative this year. Renewal of the Superfund toxic waste cleanup program stalled in December due to a last minute inability to reconcile differences on how the program should be financed . . . .

Arms control proponents in both parties will push for early House passage of a *comprehensive test ban resolution* and continue efforts to slow the growth of *Star Wars research funding*. Should there be an agreed upon U.S.-Soviet Summit in 1986, look for the White House to cite the fact as it lobbies for its defense program, even though expectations are growing that any future summit agenda will include some form of arms agreement . . . .

Last, but not least to the many moderate Republicans who view $85 million in 1983-84 PAC contributions to incumbent legislators as having something to do with legislative stalemates like those mentioned above, *campaign finance reform* legislation is again gaining attention. After refusing to seriously consider the matter for almost ten years, the Senate refused in December to table legislation sponsored by Senators Goldwater, Kassebaum and Boren to lower PAC limits and increase personal contribution limits. Progressive Republican Senator Charles Mathias is holding hearings on this and other reform measures; a Senate vote on the legislation is possible later this spring or summer. Ripon Society Chairman Jim leach is organizing Republican support for an identical House proposal.