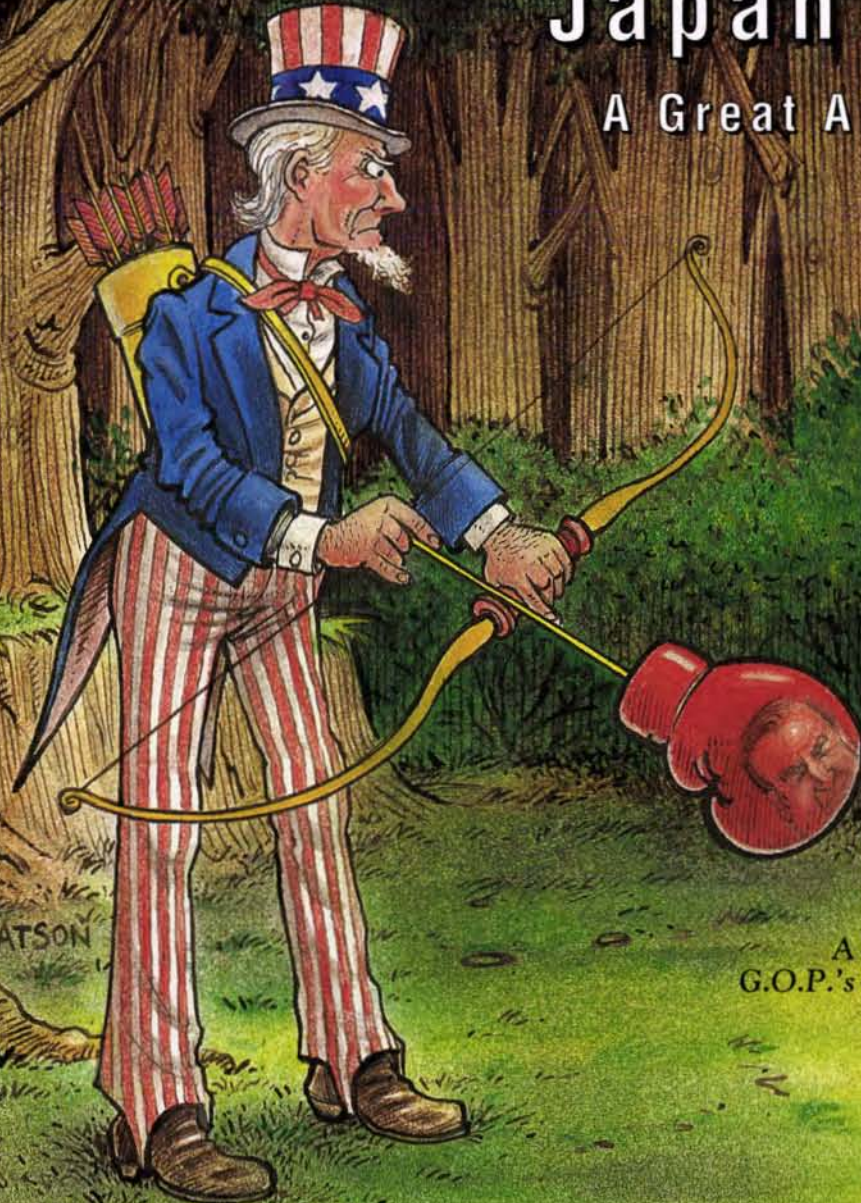


The RIPON FORUM

Vol. XXVIII, No. 1

April-May 1992

Japan Bashing A Great American Sport



David A. Fuscus on Trade
 A Conversation with Lynn Martin
 G.O.P.'s Spencer Abraham: Voters Are Angry

EDITORIALS

President Buchanan... Maybe Not

The President said it loud and clear for all to hear as he campaigned in the south before Super Tuesday. Racism, anti-semitism, and hatred have no place in this country or, by definition, in the politics of the Republican Party. Yes, there is a big difference between George Bush and the Pat Buchanans and David Dukes of the world. He signed the Civil Rights Bill and they oppose it. Take your pick.

The race card. In a world where once is too often, it is played daily. Former Klansmen and those who apologize for them mouth generalities about immigration, welfare, and crime. Members of the left are too quick to use it when a new idea is proposed which falls outside of their traditional philosophy. Playing the race card poisons the well of goodwill which nourishes this increasingly multicultural democracy at exactly the time when it desperately needs replenishing.

Into this pit of potential demagoguery strides Pat Buchanan, chest out and brow furrowed, king of the one-liner in a world where one-liners are king. Buchanan is all too ready to speak to people's fears instead of their hopes. He has scooped up the ball only recently stripped from David Duke, giving it, once again, the aura of legitimacy in political debate. Sure he has the right to say it — that's one of the sad realities of a functioning political democracy — but it is not what the Republican Party is about.

Our Party wants to energize and empower people, to give them the tools to live in this free society, not a cloak of rules which demand that they march to someone else's tune. But the race card doesn't empower or energize, it destroys. A rapidly

increasing number of our citizens are being typecast against their will and without their consent as symbolic pawns in vicious political gambits which have no point except to gain a perceived short-term political advantage. Their hopes, their dreams, and their self esteem are left on the cutting room floor, victims of the racism which suffuses the tactic of speaking to people's fears as the Buchanan campaign does.

So it should come as no surprise to us that the electorate watches, filled with mounting disgust for an electoral process, for political parties and politicians who appear to care more about winning, and staying in power, than treating people well and doing the right thing. They are not stupid or disinterested. They are simply responding to the leadership being offered.

Never has there been a higher demand for moral leadership from men and women calling us to the highest standards of behavior and tolerance as we struggle to understand our still evolving democracy. This is not about liberal or conservative; it is about human decency.

Some were betting that the Bush presidency would cave to the pressure, adding to the stench of Buchanan's politics in

order to appease a small minority of fringe voters at the expense of the American majority. But the President is better than that. The President who signed the Civil Rights Bill stood his ground and said no to racism.

Take your pick.

Paying More Attention To The Poor

While presidential candidates lobby the fund raising clout of the wealthy and court the voting power of the middle-class, one segment of the electorate is still waiting for an invitation to the party.

Either party, that is.

As campaign 1992 heats up, both Republican and Democratic presidential candidates have taken to the airwaves to outline their political agendas. In theory, they have provided interested voters with a wealth of information to shift through.

But the reality is that the rhetoric has rung hollow for tens of

millions of lower-income Americans. Nearly 38 million American households, considered to be one or more persons living under the same roof, earn less than \$23,662 a year, according to 1990 income figures collected by the U.S. Census Bureau, for 94.3 million households. Many in this group — an estimated 6.4 million people — are also considered by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics to be among the "working poor" defined as someone who works more than half a given year and still lives below the poverty line. But in a campaign year, this sizeable group of voters is largely missing from the process; they are the missing soundbite amidst an avalanche of speeches targeted at the middle class.



It could be argued that any effective economic plan would help lower-income Americans by pumping new jobs into our sluggish economy. Using this premise, ideas ranging from President George Bush's call for a temporary moratorium on new federal regulations to Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton's push for national education standards could eventually benefit all income levels.

However, a closer look at these ideas highlights an increasing tendency toward political tunnel vision especially concerning voter income. Both Bush and Buchanan support a middle class tax cut. But they have yet to outline how to establish and finance programs that would help ease the day-to-day existence of less well-off Americans. And the Democrats, once proud of their reputation as protectors of the poor and oppressed, are sliding away from any such association following the crash and burn defeats of Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis and Vice-president Walter Mondale.

In fact, in the last debate before the New Hampshire primary,

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PROFILES AND PROSPECTIVES

A Conversation with Lynn Martin

Secretary of Labor Lynn Martin was appointed to the President's cabinet in February of 1991 after serving ten years as a Member of Congress from Illinois' 16th District. Secretary Martin has a long history of public service including terms on the Winnebago County Board, in the Illinois House and Senate and in the United States House of Representatives. In 1990, she was a candidate for the U.S. Senate.

*Since being sworn in as Secretary of Labor, Lynn Martin has aggressively pursued a host of issues on behalf of President Bush, including the international competitiveness of the American worker. She spoke with the **Ripon Forum** recently in her Washington office, which overlooks the Capitol Building where she once served.*

Ripon Forum: *You've had a varied career in politics, from state government to Congress, your run for the Senate and now here at Labor. Do you find your position now as gratifying as when you served your constituents directly?*

Martin: I think each job has a different kind of gratification. Certainly I don't think I could have done this when I was 30 but it was wonderful to be on the county board. Having served in the Congress for 10 years as a minority, it's incredibly positive being in charge of something where you can accomplish certain things. The end result is the same, but the constituency is different. We are looking at a constituency that is a nation. But so is a good member of Congress. In terms of satisfaction though, you put in a lot of hours and it's worth it.

Ripon Forum: *President Bush has some very high profile women in this Administration, Trade Representative Carla Hills and Commerce Secretary Barbara Franklin for instance. Do you think that it helps women in the labor force to have a woman as Secretary of Labor?*

Martin: I think it helps to have good people first. But lest I sound like Pollyanna, I think it still far too common that women aren't able to reach this height. Part of it is that they tend not to belong to old boy networks, by definition, or they may have different kinds of experiences. But that's changing. It used to be they would say "Oh, she hasn't had enough experience." But if there are five members of the cabinet that used to be members of the House, it would be pretty hard to say "Well it's all right for the men, but it isn't enough ex-



Secretary of Labor Lynn Martin

perience for the women." So I am glad I have a boss who doesn't believe the glass ceiling should exist. But I also think that it really is important to have different kinds of people as role models. There's just an identification you can make. If I'm talking about day care, having been a single parent who has had to find day care, then that has a little more resonance than from someone who has never had to do that. At the same time, I think men have become more immersed in issues that used to be called "women's issues" or "family issues." I happen to think they're important. But I think it's important to have people like Carla Hills at Trade or Barbara Franklin at Commerce or Lynn Martin at Labor because they're still non-traditional. I think that's healthier for men and women. I think it's perfectly right to have a man head of the Department of Education and a woman in charge of Labor. And the reverse is equally true. Now there are still some things that are historically foreclosed to women, Defense, State, Treasury, but that will come too.

Ripon Forum: *The American workers are now facing their most significant challenge ever, which is moving into the 21st century. Do you think that American workers will come out of this recession able to meet those challenges?*

Martin: I think a slow down, as individually difficult as it is, does make us look and examine ourselves more closely. So in that sense, and only in that sense, does it mean that the American workers are getting more attention than they've had in the past. You know, when the economy is booming it's hard to think that anything is going wrong. I think it's quite clear to

everyone that we have to change our educational system. We have to provide more training and perhaps the most important penumbra, if you will, the most important umbrella, is there has to be new ways for new kinds of job security. It's not going to be your company. Your company could disappear. It's not your union. Your union can't make a job stay. For a woman, it used to be her husband. It's not that. It's going to be in each individual worker. And that means it's more important to have training and retraining. It's more important to have pensions that can move. It's more important to have health care that is portable and, more importantly, that a worker has a safe work place. And that means that the Department of Labor, for every working man and woman, is that voice to make sure that those needs are met. And because most jobs are now in medium to small businesses, it's even more important because that tends to be where organized labor is least active. That means that there has to be someone saying that they're going to work with businesses and with the men and women who work there who share a common objective.

Ripon Forum: *You've talked about training as a form of education.*

Martin: Yes, it's all education.

Ripon Forum: *Many people have said in the past that we have to work to educate our workforce. How large a role should the federal government play in educating our workforce?*

Martin: They can act both as a clearing house for new ideas and as a repository, in effect, for standards. There are going to be skill standards. We've been judged across the world, so they're going to occur. Probably more of it will come from the Department of Labor than other departments because there is a strong pragmatic base: How does it fit into the work place? How does it make sure jobs occur? For small and medium businesses, they need that reaching out. They don't have time. If you have 20 people working for you, you don't have a compliance or training officer. Yet, our data shows that in-house formal training is the single most fastest way to raise productivity. And yet that is something that American businesses tend not to do or tends to be limited to the upper echelon. Companies such as Corning or Motorola, that are making a different kind of commitment, say that is the future.

Ripon Forum: *Is that simply because of their size?*

Martin: No, it's size and competition. They were dissatisfied with the level they were getting and they found out when they trained the people who worked their management—non management into the concept of real quality management, the concept of working together in teams, and the concept of learning about a product that the result was not some catchy password. The result was better products, better quality, and a better quality of life for the worker. It was a win situation. You can't make that happen overnight, but we have to do better in

that training and retraining because in the long run it helps the company who is spending money. There is too much of a propensity to talk about buildings as a capital asset and new equipment as an investment, but workers as a cost. And unless you look at that [workers] as a developable asset, unless your mind set changes, then you still won't understand how important that aspect of training—retraining is.

Ripon Forum: *Have you seen that happening recently?*

Martin: Yes, more and more. As we move into world wide competition, it is quite clear that two things happen: first the quality of products and secondly the quality of the job. Low skills are going to mean low wages. There is no government program that can change that and I don't want us to compete on low wages. That means high skills and that's how I want America to compete.

Ripon Forum: *Certainly since World War II, America has undergone a great deal of change and it's continuing. What kind of things are we going to have to do as a society to get our workers ready for the global economy that we will be facing in the 21st century?*

Martin: Americans have always prided themselves on adventure and daring. It doesn't mean they were always sure and that they weren't afraid. But they would just go ahead. We are now at one of those points again. There are those who would, in effect, try and say we can remake the world of Ward and June Cleaver. There are some nice things there and let's not lose them. But we can't make it 1950. We can't make it 1929, thank God. What we can make it is 1992 and a chance. I think there has been too little discussion about what a world of peace, relatively, can mean. This will be the end of what will be called the end of the "European world wars."

*The American worker is eager
for change and is the most
productive in the world
and will be the most
productive
in the
world and is who
my department has
the great
honor of representing.*

Ripon Forum: *Do you see American companies continuing to become more global institutions?*

Martin: Oh, I think so. But countries will still retain. I don't think we are talking about one universe here, but what I'm trying to say is that we can compete globally. But the greatest market in the world will still be the United States, which means that United States companies can have the biggest advantage and access to that market. That's the plus. A big plus is to be able to sell overseas and that's what opening trade is all about. To give yourself the chance to sell, to bargain in other places. I have confidence in both the American spirit, in the American brain and, yes, the American ability to work. That we can not just have born the most genuinely considerate conqueror of all time, which I do think history will show us, but that we will lead the world, in a non-military sense, into the next century.

Ripon Forum: *Because of the way our society is structured,*
Martin, continued on page 7

Election '92: Great Expectations

by Spencer Abraham

Is 1992 the year of the Republican Congressional challenger? Those of us at the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC) believe so and feel that the 1992 election will be a turning point in the effort to return the Congress of the United States to Republican hands.

The Members of the House Republican Conference form a diverse group, but they are united in their conviction that the 40-year reign of the House Democrat Leadership must come to an end. And the American people are beginning to agree.

Spencer Abraham is Co-Chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee.

Reasons for Optimism

A variety of factors combine to make us optimistic about GOP prospects this year. First, redistricting will put Republicans in a far better position to compete with Congressional Democrats than was the case during the last decade. Already, redistricting results in states like California and Illinois have considerably improved the GOP's chance to gain House seats. Although just half of the redistricting plans have been finalized, this appears to be the case in a number of other states as well.

A second cause for optimism is the political atmosphere: Voters are angry with the Congress. A recent *Wall Street Journal* editorial reported that polls show Congress' disapproval rating at a "whopping 71 percent." Our polls con-

firm these results. Voters are tired of business as usual in a House of Representatives that Democrats have controlled for nearly 40 years. Americans are ready to send new leaders to Congress in 1992. And, given the Democrats' 100-seat House majority, such sentiments play to our advantage.

Finally, there will be a large number of open seats available for us to gain in 1991. Not only are many House Democrats retiring this year, but reapportionment has created 19 new districts. Historically, GOP candidates have done very well in open seats during Presidential election cycles and 1992 should be no exception.

Abraham, continued on page 9

Throw the Bums Out.

Republicans in Washington and around the nation are delighted at the check kiting scandal on Capitol Hill, hoping that the sheer number of Democrats in the House of Representatives coupled with voter anger will mean GOP election gains in the fall.

Presently, Democrats hold 62% of the seats in the House compared to 38% for the Republicans. To date, the House Ethics Committee has reported the 296 out of 435 members of the House bounced at least one check.

In the first electoral test after the check scandal broke, four incumbent Democrat House members and Sen. Alan Dixon (D) were defeated in Illinois's March 17th primary. One Illinois incumbent, Charles Hayes, was one of the top check kitters in the scandal.

So far, 140 Members of the House have admitted to bouncing checks, the Republican vs Democrat breakdown is as follows:

24 Worst Offenders	
Democrats	Republicans
20	4
140 Members Admitting Rubber Checks To Date	
Democrats	Republicans
93	47
Possible Check Bouncers Based on % of Seats	
Democrats	Republicans
183	112

If the present voter anger holds to November, look for lots of incumbents to lose their seats. Since there are many more Democrats involved in the scandal, look for the GOP to make significant gains in the House.

Martin, continued from page 5

we have an emphasis on fair labor laws. Other nations, especially developing ones, don't have this same concern. Does that hurt us?

Martin: Any time you rule a regulation that is unwieldily or undo-able just for its own sake, it acts as both a deterrent and it doesn't reach the end result. I don't think what we are suggesting is a nation where we're "ha, ha, ha. We don't have to do rule and regulation." For instance the glass ceiling initiative, which is the opposite of quotas, actually opens a greater talent pool. Businesses need the best talent possible, so that's an asset, and other countries, in years to come, will look at it that way. So with rule and regulation, you want to be very careful that you're not doing it just to say you have a rule, especially, those rules that really would not have a positive effect on either the work place or the working man or woman involved. But no one would suggest that we want to lower our standards of living to compete. What we now can have, I hope, is an end to the government vs. business vs. labor vs. education. That we can't afford anymore. Even in the countries of Europe, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, private industries are beginning to recognize that the market has to be a major factor.

The second part is preparing for it. The most difficult thing would be institutional change. People change and they are incredibly flexible. They want to work. They want to learn. They want to grow. They want to prosper. Americans have always believed we can do it. I still share that belief.

Ripon Forum: *Do you see other countries moving more towards the type of labor laws that we have in the United States?*

Martin: I think so, use Mexico for an example. If you read the law, you would say that's very good. Good point. You have to talk about enforcement and certainly poor nations tend, even if they have laws on the book, to have very little enforcement. As nations do better, they have a better chance for better worker health and safety, again, for quality of life issues. And I don't think we want to diminish health and safety standards. If anything, we want to make

sure they make even more sense in a world where we have to trust those standards for a safe workplace. But the better other countries do, the better chances we have on competition. Because as their standard of living rises, so does their enforcement, and so does their desire and need to have this. So you have this plus again that exists there. There are some nations in this world that have virtually no standards. There are other nations that have standards that are different than ours. But I think we must, in our own nation, try to work to make sure the standards we have are high and that they enjoy the support of people and that we are not doing something just to say "That'll get business," because that's not the object. But on the other hand, those that would say that there can be, or should be, very little or no intervention, for health and safety, that's just not appropriate. If someone's been hurt or someone has died, they just can't check the market very well.

Ripon Forum: *Free trade with Mexico is a very big concern for American workers. Considering that standards are so different in Mexico and that the "America first" feeling is so great right now, do you feel that free trade with Mexico is do-able and will it be good for the nation?*

Martin: It's eventually going to have to be do-able. The fact of the matter is that the 70 cents of every dollar Mexico spends on exports, it spends on American goods. So as Mexico does better we do better too. American companies can already move there. In fact, there may be some movement from the far east to Mexico for access to our market. That would, again, be a plus because it's easier to sell to our market than it is to sell to Mexico than it is to some of the far eastern nations. It would also mean, which no one seems to talk about, that as Mexico does better that we will do better with some of the problems that we are having with illegal immigration. These are very costly in both human and economic terms in the United States. So Mexico doing better doesn't mean we do worse. But the Department of Labor has actually looked into this. A University of Maryland study we contracted indicates that in the short term there is very little change. Some industries do a little better, some industries do a little worse but

even the kinds of jobs, to a great extent, stay the same. In the longer term, after five to six years, there is pure gain for both sides. So recognizing that in difficult times we look around and we all understand the human resentment of saying either 'I'm tired of giving to that person.' or 'Why don't they do this,' I mean that's pretty human. I'm a mid-westerner which, by nature of the geography, makes one, to some extent, an isolationist. But at the same time, last year Illinois's exports are up 219 percent. We are a world. The important thing is that we are able to lead it.

Ripon Forum: *On Main Street America, there is still a problem of perception with the Mexican free trade agreement.*

Martin: Oh yes sure, part of it is because it's so complex and part of it is because it's a poorer nation. But as we are looking toward Europe 92, how much better would it be for Canada, the United States and Mexico to be trading partners in the best sense of the word? No one is suggesting these things just go easily, and that everything that happens will have an MGM lion at the end of this happy movie. The fact is that we may see as we have turned here to the Far East the beginnings of time when we start to look south in our own hemisphere and that those will be both enormous investment and export opportunity for the U.S. So there can be pluses from this time.

Ripon Forum: *One final question. Speaking of the Far East what do you think is the root of the recent comment by the speaker of the Japanese Parliament that U.S. workers are "lazy"? Was it just something that was said off hand?*

Martin: I don't know. I suppose it proves that one should always listen to one's mother. "If you can't say something nice about someone don't say anything at all." What ever he meant and whatever others mean, disparaging whole countries.. maybe that feels better for a second.. but in the long term it does nothing to uplift one's own spirit. I can just say that the American worker is eager for change and is the most productive in the world and that is what my department has the great honor of representing. ■

Keeping His Options Open

By Alfred W. Tate

Having access to other people's correspondence holds a certain voyeuristic fascination. Letters are the closest that written communication comes to the intimacy of personal conversation; reading someone else's is a lot like eavesdropping.

This is doubly true for the letters of public figures. Often they contain deliciously sordid or scandalous revelations about the private lives of their authors and thus indulge our peculiarly American propensity to enjoy the humiliation of our heroes. Of more legitimate interest, such correspondence also presents a chance to learn something of the thoughts and feelings of men and women participating in historic events. This is often more illuminative of the meaning of such events than are the rationalizations offered them later. Further, in understanding more about the human beings behind the images, we come to know them, our times, and ourselves better.

Reading a letter is often difficult. The larger historical context in which its full meaning emerges is often assumed by the author to be known by the person to whom they are writing.

Bill Clinton's Dec. 3, 1969, letter to the office-in-charge of the Army ROTC unit at the University of Arkansas is a perfect example. It clearly touched a nerve for many Americans who came of age during the Vietnam War and, in doing so, provided a window onto what is becoming the defining experience of that generation of people whose turn has come to assume the highest level of leadership in this country. It certainly deserves to be read with greater care than it has received.

Clinton's letter was written during one of the worst times in our history. In January of 1968, its author began his last semester as an undergraduate at Georgetown University. On the last day of that month, the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong launched the Tet Offensive, shattering any vestige of confidence in this country that the war could be won. The remainder of the year would see Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy assassinated, the city of Chicago shaken by anti-war demonstrations during the Democratic National Convention, and Clinton depart for England with a Rhodes Scholarship and a draft deferment in hand.

The beginning of 1969 saw the inauguration of Richard Nixon, elected on the basis of a promise to leave Vietnam. The war — and protests against it — continued, and in May, Nixon

announced that the draft would soon be replaced by a lottery system. That summer, Clinton obtained an extension of his deferred status in order to complete the second year of his studies in England by signing a letter of intent to join the ROTC at Arkansas when he returned for law school.

On Sept. 19, 1969, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird announced that the draft calls for November and December would be cancelled and that the October draft would be spread out over three months. At some point in late September or early October, Clinton notified ROTC officials through an intermediary that he would not be returning to Arkansas. On Oct. 30, 1969, he was classified 1-A, the highest level of eligibility, by his Hot Springs, Ark. draft board.

Thirty days later, the first drawing in the lottery which replaced the draft classification system, was held. On that date, Dec. 1, 1969, Clinton's birth date was drawn 311 out of 365,

effectively eliminating any possibility he would be called. Two days later, he mailed the letter that has caused such controversy to Colonel Eugene Holmes, the Army officer who had arranged for the extension of his deferment, in an effort to explain what had motivated his actions over the past 18 months.

In the letter's preamble, Clinton apologizes for not having written sooner despite having promised "to let you hear from me at least once a month." He then thanks the

Colonel, "not just for saving me from the draft, but for being so kind and decent to me last summer."

He believes the Colonel might not have been so considerate had he known of his activities over the past two years and the beliefs that had motivated them. Clinton felt the need to explain himself.

Working for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for two years prior to going to England, Clinton says he found himself in a position where "not many people had more information about Vietnam at hand than I did." Because of what he was learning, Clinton writes that as a member of the Committee's staff he worked "every day against a war I opposed and despised with a depth of feeling I had reserved solely for racism in America before Vietnam."

Clinton then says that in early 1968 he began to examine the relationship between the war and the draft, a connection he had not considered before. At this time, he wrote a paper explicating the arguments for and against establishing a category of "selective conscientious objection" within the Selective Service System, for those "opposed to participation in a particular war, not simply to 'participation in war in any form'" as was required for CO status. In the course of this effort, Clinton says,

Clinton does not believe, however, that our political system itself is corrupt. Rather, he has used first his student status and then the letter of intent regarding the ROTC precisely because he does not want to jeopardize his future participation in that system.

Tate, Continued on page 16

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

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Redistricting, open seats, and the political atmosphere all add up to a very promising year for GOP House hopefuls. Thus, our focus has been on how to take advantage of these opportunities.

Rethinking the Old Strategy

To capitalize on the 1992 political terrain, the NRCC is approaching this election with a unique plan. In most election cycles, the Committee's strategy has been to focus virtually all resources and services on a small number of early targeted races. This approach makes sense when opportunities for gaining House seats are limited. But given the 1992 climate, we feel it is not sound strategy to place an artificial ceiling on the number of contests we will target or candidates we will support.

Indeed, a strong argument can be made that early targeting has, if anything, been counterproductive. In 1990, for instance, virtually every one of the GOP's early targeted challengers lost. At the same time, a number of untargeted GOP challengers defeated incumbent Democrats.

Moreover, early targeting may have inadvertently assisted Democrats. When the NRCC reveals a list to the PAC community, we theoretically give our candidates a leg-up in fund raising and the building of credibility. Such target lists, however, rarely remain secret. Before long, officials at the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) discover which of their incumbents are on our priority list. Immediately, resources are diverted to targeted races. Manpower, staff assistance, national support and especially, PAC dollars flow to targeted incumbent Democrats in an effort to build a firewall against the GOP challenger. The consequence — Democrat incumbents are usually able to strip our candidates of any advantages that were gained by being targeted.

In 1990, an excellent example of this phenomenon took place in the 12th district of Michigan. The Republican challenger, Jim Dingeman, was one of the GOP's earliest highlighted candidates in his race against incumbent Democrat David Bonior. His candidacy was touted in the media, his picture appeared in *Insight* magazine, and he raised more

money in the district than his GOP predecessors.

Aware that he was on the GOP's "select" list of incumbents, Bonior began his campaign and fund raising

The Members of the Republican Conference form a diverse group, but they are united in their conviction that the forty-year reign of the House Democrat Leadership must come to an end.

early to reduce his vulnerability. When the dust finally settled in November, Dingeman had raised approximately \$300,000, nearly double what previous Republican hopefuls had garnered. Meanwhile, Bonior used his incumbency and "target" status to raise over \$1,200,000 about \$800,000 more than in his previous campaigns. Not surprisingly, Bonior won.

Early targeting by GOP not only seems to help Democrats, it also has had the unintentional impact of hurting some Republicans. In their effort to impress Washington and achieve target

status, GOP challengers have frequently misallocated their resources. Instead of saving money for the critical late stages of a campaign, candidates have too often spent their hard earned cash early in the election cycle to become "targets." The result is that such candidates often run out of money during the campaign's final stretch.

New Campaign Priorities

In 1992, the NRCC will be using some new approaches. The strategy starts with the assumption that no Democrat is safe. In districts currently held by Democrats, we hope to generate at least 100 competitive campaigns rather than the usual 25-50. To achieve this, we have established several priorities:

- Recruiting Quality Candidates

Our goal is to recruit as many GOP congressional hopefuls as possible and such efforts are already paying dividends. Through the invaluable efforts of various state and national GOP organizations, we have generated over 600 candidacies. In fact, in the first five states to complete congressional filing— Texas, Illinois, Mississippi, Kentucky, and Maryland— 112 GOP candidates were on the ballot. Two years ago, these states yielded only 57 Republican hopefuls. Similar patterns

Abraham, Continued on page 20

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Packing the Supreme Court: Can It Be Prevented?

by Frederic R. Kellogg

The math is pretty simple. There are nine voters, and you need only five — a bare majority — to win. They have life tenure. The average time in office is 15 years, and

the average between vacancies is two years. If a party controls the appointments for eight years, this means its chance of replacing one voter is four in one. If the party controls the appointments for 12 years your chances of reversing an unfavorable one-vote majority are three in one. If you can make enough appointments to engineer a two vote majority, you have statistically assured control over the voting for at least four years.

The institution is, of course, the Supreme Court and control means affecting American life in profound ways.

Historical Court Packing

Over 50 years ago, the fuss over Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Court Packing Proposal" came not because he wanted to enlarge the size of the Court to 15 making it much harder to engineer a political takeover, but because new appointments could be effected in a short time. Roosevelt might even have been able to effect a complete capture with a five vote majority, one that could have had a statistical chance of lasting for a decade or more.

The size of the Supreme Court is not fixed by the Constitution, but by statute. It began in 1789 at six justices, when the nation was one-sixtieth its current size, and considerably less diverse. It was increased to seven in 1807, and to nine in 1837, all during a period when the business of the Court had barely

grown to one-tenth the caseload of today's Court. The Court was actually expanded to 10 in 1863, but this was amidst controversy surrounding the Civil War. The Senate blocked Lincoln's efforts to fill vacancies, and Congress later reduced the Court's size to eight to block the appointments of President Andrew Johnson. The current number of nine justices was set in 1869.

Why, if expanding the size of the Supreme Court could greatly reduce the temptation to take it over, has the number nine been virtually sacrosanct? Partly because the math can be misleading. FDR eventually made seven appointments, but they did not unify the Court. Felix Frankfurter, arguably the greatest among them, was transformed from liberal crusader to the leading theorist of judicial restraint. And Frankfurter argued strongly against increasing the Court's size lest a loss of



collegiality somehow interfere with its reasoned deliberation. Yet this was before he took his seat. When he did, he found that deliberation was a myth and politics — external and internal — reigned supreme.

The Court not only weathered the controversies over FDR's New Deal, it has prospered until recently as a bulwark of civil rights and liberties. But even the bulwark decisions are now under attack, and the Court is confronted with highly divisive issues that may herald the approach of its most difficult period ever.

Bob Woodward's book on the Burger Court, *The Brethren*, displays a scene much like a page from Frankfurter's diaries. Close votes on major issues are not determined by painstaking assessment of facts guided by a carefully wrought consensus on the applicable law. There is sharp disagreement over what facts are relevant, and no consensus on the law. Cases are often won or lost on trade-offs, personal and emotional commitments, and concern over public reaction. Reactions to the issues are guided more by background than by reasons, and affected less by persuasion than by symbols.

Frederic R. Kellogg is an attorney and Visiting Scholar at George Washington University.

Kellogg, continued on page 21

WHAT CONGRESS IS SAYING ON HEALTH CARE

THE PRESIDENT'S HEALTH CARE REFORM PACKAGE

"I find it sadly ironic that while countries all around the world are rejecting Socialist systems, this country is debating socialized medicine. I hope that Congress will remember the proven success of a market economy and support the President's market based health care plan which provides greater access for those without, while maintaining the quality care the country has come to expect." **Congressman Fred Grandy Iowa**

"...We have to finally end the "air war"

of Operation Health Reform and start the "ground war." The American people want us to stop talking and start working toward a solution." **Senator David Durenberger Minnesota**

"I still have not seen an explanation from the Administration on how it's going to be paid for. But even more I would say that the public must be cautious when examining all of these health plan panaceas, including "play or pay" and Russo: Beware of medicine men bearing miracle elixirs. The cure could be worse than the disease." **Congressman Bill Green New York**

"The health care crisis is one of the most serious issues facing government

at all levels. The end is clear: we need greater access to health care at a reduced price, without limiting choice and technology. The means is a much tougher question. President Bush is on the right track in looking to market reforms for solutions. I can think of no better way to totally destroy the most sophisticated medical and health care system in the world than to put the federal government in charge of administering it."

Congresswoman Susan Molinari New York

"...We can enact health care reform in this calendar year if both parties will check their politics at the door."

Senator John H. Chafee Rhode Island ■

From the Editors

Throughout the first few months of 1992, we've been redesigning the **Ripon Forum** and trying to improve the magazine to bring our readers a fresh new look. One thing that hasn't changed about our magazine: we're still publishing insightful articles on the top political and policy issues facing the nation ... and doing so in a way you won't find in other publications.

In future issues, you'll notice more changes, but we hope that you will agree that they compliment the magazine and better serve our readers. Throughout this year, we plan to increase the size of the Forum, add more op-ed columns and cover a wide selection of policy issues.

Besides ushering in a new look for the **Forum**, we also welcome a new face at Ripon, Mimi Carter. Mimi has signed on board as our new Associate Editor and will also be handling a host of policy issues for the Ripon Society. Our cover story this month explores the explosion of anti-Japanese sentiment that swept the country over the past few months and seeks to find out if Japan bashing is really worth the price. Original cover art for the story was done by noted New York artist, R.J. Matson. R.J. has done work for Ripon for some time and it's a pleasure to finally see his work in color.

Long time Riponer and legal expert Fred Kellogg is back in this issue with an insightful look into Supreme Court packing. He raises a number of interesting questions about the high court, especially whether or not it should be expanded.

The check kiting scandal in Congress has grabbed a great number of headlines lately and many political pundits are

predicting that many incumbents will be out of a job this year. Spencer Abraham, the co-chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee takes a look at this year's congressional races and has some encouraging conclusions about the fate of many Republican challengers.

Secretary of Labor Lynn Martin took time out of her schedule to talk with our editors about the global change facing America and the world and what it means to our workers. We hope you'll agree that President Bush did a fine job in selecting her to be in his cabinet.

Alfred W. Tate takes a long hard look at Bill Clinton and offers some profound insights into the man through his infamous ROTC letter. If you don't have an opinion about Clinton yet, you will after reading this article.

Finally the editors would like to thank a number of people for their valuable assistance with this issue. First, Dick Salvatierra and his company, RII, for doing design work; Peter Smith as always gave us the benefit of his intellect; contributing writer Charlotte Huff for her editorial work; Charlie DeWitt for his excellent drawings and Brad Kendall for his Ripon know how. Finally, we'd like to thank Jean Hayes and Don Bliss for their patience with the inevitable delays of making these many changes to the publication. We hope you enjoy this issue of the **The Ripon Forum**. After reading it, drop us a line. We'd like to know if you agree or disagree with what we've got to say or even if you have a comment on our new look.

Japan Bashing:

Is it Justified?

by David A. Fuscus

During 1992, the always popular sport of Japan bashing has become an art form, with millions of private citizens, business leaders and political leaders stepping onto the bandwagon. A persistent and stubborn recession has cast the Japanese as the villain in this economic movie, complete with dirty tricks, lies and no sense of fair play.

It's a role that many Americans especially those who lived through the Second World War, are ready, even eager to accept.

For example, in small American towns and in big cities, people are swinging sledgehammers at Japanese cars. Usually, they pay a small charitable donation and give the car a whack or two with crowds of cheering friends urge them on. Radio stations promote the events and solid American citizens love to take out their recession inspired frustrations on a symbol for our economic ills.

Political fear of an anti-Japanese electorate has caused Attorney General William Barr to recently announce plans for the Bush Administration to begin extending our judicial system beyond our borders and suing Japanese companies for violations of U.S. anti-trust laws.

In his maverick Presidential campaign, right wing icon Pat

Buchanan has built a strong following with his "America First" theme and touched the American cultural nerve of isolationism. On the other side of the political spectrum, the House Majority Leader, Dick Gephardt, has made a career out of populist appeals for trade protectionism against Japan and other nations. Democrats have even joined the chorus of bashers: in South Carolina, Senator Ernest Hollings recently joked about using nuclear weapons on Japan and was thoroughly unrepentant when criticized about the remarks.

However, it's important for our economic health that we look beyond election year rhetoric and the simple answer of a villain who is responsible for all our troubles. Already, anti-Japanese sentiments have injured relations with that nation compelling us to decide if wholesale cultural and economic war is a course we wish to pursue.

Trade and international economics are enormously complex and removing this factual wheat from the chaff surrounding these issues has always been difficult. Since World War II, Japan has been an increasingly important trading partner and

David A. Fuscus is a Washington D.C. based writer.

will continue to be important to our economy. In the midst of the present storm of Japan bashing, we need to decide what course of action is in our best interest and get beyond the easy answer of simply blaming everything on Japan.

America And Japan

During the past decade, America's relationship with Japan has been an uneasy one. Americans tend to resent the growth of Japan's economic power and the Japanese dislike the "little brother" attitude that was a natural outgrowth of World War II.

After Japan's defeat in 1945, America was determined that this island nation would never again pose a military threat to Asia or the world. We forced the Japanese to adopt democracy and demilitarization and they chose to embrace many aspects of American culture. After China fell to communists, American policy towards Japan was drastically altered and we decided to help them become the preeminent Asian industrial power. Japanese economic strength was now seen as a necessary and appropriate counterweight to the military might of Red China.

At the time, America was experiencing the heady wine of a post war economic boom and Japan was viewed as nothing more than an Asian vassal, a child to be encouraged and occasionally reprimanded. Certainly, no one in America could imagine how successful the Japanese industrial build up would become or that it would one day rival the economic might of the United States.

Since then, our relationship has developed into a symbiotic one with Japan serving as our second largest export market after Canada and as our single largest source of imports. Trade, a great deal of trade, is conducted between the two nations with a steady flow of goods moving back and forth across the Pacific. It is fair to say that we are each other's most important economic partner and that this relationship will continue to grow in the future.

The trade imbalance between the U.S. and Japan is an obvious source of friction. The average trade deficit between 1986 and 1990 was 50.6 billion and even though the figure declined steadily throughout those years, it is still far too high in American eyes. Many economists believe that it has peaked

and that the deficit was largely caused by the strength of the U.S. dollar during the early 1980s. Between 1980 and 1985, the dollar's value in relation to the Yen grew by almost 30%, causing Japanese goods to become relatively cheap in the United States and U.S. goods to become expensive in Japan. It also exposed millions of Americans to a new generation of quality Japanese products which they began to purchase by the ship load. And as the dollar and the Yen evened out during the late '80s, American consumers were still hooked on Honda Accords, the Sony Walkman and other products.

Another problem with our relationship has been the contentions of U.S. exporters that Japanese law and business practices essentially close their markets to us, whereas the free trading U.S. continues to import billions worth of Japanese goods. This widespread belief goes against the American cultural sense of fair play, fosters ill will and is a major source of anti-Japan sentiment in the U.S.

High profile trade areas, like the lack of American car sales in Japan, the completely closed Japanese rice market and the feudal structure of Japanese companies, all serve to build the belief that the Japanese don't play fairly.

Inside the Economic Giant

Certainly, complaints about the Japanese as unfair trading partners are not unfounded. But they also consume large amounts of American products and are an extremely important export market for American firms. Problems with the Japanese market exist on several levels for U.S. firms, including their corporate structure, government trade barriers and idiosyncrasies of their economy.

Even though Japan's corporate structure is unique, it has evolved into one of the most successful and highly efficient in history. It is highly structured, ingrown and reflective of their overall society.

Japan has always been somewhat of an isolationist nation and today they still have relatively few minorities. They have always depended upon their own people for development, but are willing to adopt ideas and cultural traits of other lands. A good example of this is baseball. Nothing could be more

Fuscus, continued on page 17

How a Keiretsu is Organized

One of the major barriers for U.S. companies trading with Japan are *keiretsus*, or business group of major companies, sub-contractors, suppliers and subsidiaries. These groupings have their roots in the hierarchical structure of Japanese society.

Typically, a *keiretsu* includes retail outlets, banks, large manufacturers and other businesses doing work only for the one organization.

The breakdown of one major *keiretsu*, Fuyo, is as follows:

Fuyo Keiretsu

Automobiles	—Nissan Corporation
Optics	—Cannon
Banking	—Fiji Bank, Yasuda Trust & Banking, Yasuda Mutual Life and Yasuda Fire and Marine
Computers	—Hitachi
Retailing	—Marubeni
Food	—Nisshin Flour Mill, Sapporo Breweries
Construction	—Taisei
Real Estate	—Tokyo Tatemono
Textiles	—Nisshinbo Industries
Transportation	—Showa Line, Keihin Electric Railways, Tobu Railways

U.S. Companies Achieve Moderate Success in Japan

by Mimi Carter

Although many Americans perceived President Bush's trade trip to Japan as a flop, some companies and trade experts disagree. Instead these Americans saw his trip as an example of what they have been doing for years: creating a relationship. According to U.S.-Japan based company leaders, this is the key to success. Long term commitment and investment combined with a little strategy and a little luck is what they say will open the door to the large and expansive market of Japan.

So, while some American companies and politicians continue to whine about Japan's inability to play fair, those who are actually competing in Japan know their success is relative. In fact, businesses say that their fortunes depend not on Japanese rules, but on recognizing Japanese needs and demands as well as deference to the Japanese culture. Larry Bouts, President of Toys-R-Us International, agreed. "International success must be measured slowly. Right now there are just not a lot of companies willing to put their neck out on the line to compete and invest in the long term."

Yet what many businesses don't acknowledge is that Japan, which bought more than \$48.6 billion worth of merchandise in 1990, is one of America's chief trading partners, importing more U.S. goods than any country save Canada. In fact, many Japan-based U.S. businesses are saying that, if taken in stride, Japan is one of the most profitable investment environments in the world.

"Any project, anywhere is very complex and requires the

technical effort to succeed in a new bureaucratic and cultural environment," said Steven Peters, Senior Manager of Civil Engineering at the Texas-based construction company of Brown & Root, Inc.

What some U.S. companies and politicians also disregard is the continuing decrease in the U.S.-Japan trade deficit. Recent Commerce Department statistics reveal a gradual decline from

a high of \$59.1 billion in 1986 to \$44.3 billion in 1991. This suggests not only a depreciation of the American dollar, but an increase in the ratio of exports over imports helped by the increased consumption of American goods by the Japanese. While many American businesses still think the Japanese are uncooperative when it comes to U.S. investment, other American companies are finding that the Japanese are loosening the reins of trade restriction provided they still get to steer the mule.

"Our biggest problem was the 'large retail store law' which was finally lifted under SII [Structural Impediments Initiative, talks launched by President Bush in 1989]," Bouts said. "That was the real key, but what we have realized is that while this trade stuff is important, consumer quality must come first." Bouts pointed out that although Toys-R-Us has done extensive market research in Japan, Japanese toy needs are very similar to those in America. In the past, parents in Japan who wanted to buy a Nintendo game had to go all over Tokyo to find a tiny shop with a small selection, he said.

"Now, they can come to a store which has about 1000 square feet and find a selection of about 100 Nintendos," Bouts said. In order to succeed, most American companies work around trade barriers, many of them concerning market access. But while U.S. construction companies have been fighting for years to enter the Japanese market on government projects, Brown & Root, Inc., knew that ties to its Japan-based parent

While some American companies and politicians continue to whine about Japan's inability to play fair, those who are actually competing in Japan know their success is relative.

Mimi Carter is Associate Editor of *The Ripon Forum*.

company, Halliburton Companies would one day pay off.

Halliburton Companies has been a long time leader in the environmental cleanup industry and is well respected in the Japanese community where a business's environmental impact is an important consideration. Peters said the relationship between the Japan-based parent company helped to allay Japanese qualms about dealing with a foreign company.

Brown & Root received its first Japanese contracting assignment in November 1991 from Yonezo Ozaki, owner of Sanpo Land Industrial Co. According to Brown & Root, Ozaki sought out construction companies across the world before deciding on this world famous American firm. They were selected as the prime contractor for a new \$7 billion international airport, water resort and hotel complex near Nagoya. Project Director Steven Peters said that while his company's quality speaks for itself, he can't imagine a better way of getting into the Japanese market than by following a U.S. client.

"We had already established a relationship with Sanpo over a period of several years and Mr. Ozaki was aware of our work and that we're competent in what we do. It wasn't as cut and dry as everyone thinks."

When competing internationally, one has to learn about the market through reconnaissance and research, then offer what it is that they want to buy and then commit for a period of years to a presence in the market. "You can't go into a country where you can't speak the language and expect to be a commercial success overnight," Peters said.

Even large companies, especially those in the high-tech industry, have had trade hills to climb in order to succeed in Japan. The \$11.2 billion company of Motorola, Inc., an internationally successful electronics and communications corporation which has competed in Japan since 1962, has had trouble introducing their products into the Japanese market.

"Each time we launch a new product, we always have a new set of walls to knock down when trying to introduce it in Japan," said Margo Brown, Motorola's Washington spokeswoman.

Still somewhat angry about Motorola's forced exodus from the U.S. television market in 1974 due to Japanese dumping of cheaper, higher quality products, Brown said the Japanese are still trying to limit Motorola's U.S. market shares in the electronics and semiconductor industry. They continue to use delaying tactics and regulations, despite new trade agreements and, in Motorola's case, they claim that the Japanese have effectively impeded the success of many products such as the Microtac mini-cellular phone.

"They didn't have anything like it in Japan and it was the best of its kind on the market," Brown said. "But by the time we were able to get the product in Tokyo, one-and-a-half to two years

*American companies
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Japanese are loosening
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later, they already had their own."

But Motorola, like many American companies, has been able to surmount some of these past difficulties through a joint venture. They have now joined with Toshiba and invested in research and development as a good way to exchange new ideas and technology. Through this arrangement, Toshiba helps Motorola gain access to the Japanese market. But despite the agreement's intended purpose, the companies have a few glitches to work out.

"We still have not given them our best information," Brown said, "because our market share problems have yet to be rectified."

A company's success is directly related to the competitiveness of its products, and their availability in Japan, said a senior official at the Export Information Center at the U.S. Department of Commerce.

Product and service success depends on whether it is complementary and whether it will benefit the market, the official said. "If it is a very competitive

product, then they [the Japanese] may have evolved non-governmental rules to impede its progress."

Complementary products, rather than competitive products, were the tickets to access to the Japanese computer software market for the multi-million dollar computer company, Microsoft, Inc. Microsoft, which receives 57 percent of its profits from international markets, entered the Japanese market ten years ago. According to Microsoft spokeswoman, Francois Martin, Microsoft has had little trouble with trade entanglements.

Microsoft realized, she said, that "it is very important to be able to fully localize your product and make it completely adaptable to the culture you are making it for."

Like other successful companies in Japan, Microsoft was also associated with a Japanese company, Ascii, in the early 1980s which helped to assimilate them in the market. As a result, Microsoft recognized Japanese customer demands and developed many of its software programs to be compatible with their own personal computers. For example, the software program Microsoft Word, the number one American import in Japan last year, could be used not only on their own and American bought computers, but could also be printed in English or in Japanese kanji characters as well.

"Customer demand and what the user wants from the product is essential to success in any market, not just in Japan," Martin said.

Thus while many in the U.S. indulge in protectionistic propaganda, some Japan-U.S. companies are puzzled at their dissent. They know it takes different methods to succeed internationally and continue to take the measured steps. Yes, Japan's rules are different, they said, and it sometimes takes a while to learn the game. But, as they have learned, you've got to play to win.

"Anybody going into a new country is going to have complications," Bouts, of Toys-R-Us said. "We know the onus is on Toys-R-Us to make it successful." ■

"I came to believe that the draft system itself is illegitimate."

Clinton based this conclusion on the argument that "no government really rooted in limited, parliamentary democracy" should have the power to force its citizens to participate in a war "which...does not involve immediately the peace and the freedom of the nation." For example, in World War II our survival was at stake and during it the draft was justified. Clinton said this was not true for Vietnam and concluded the draft was therefore wrong.

Clinton then writes of friends at Oxford who are conscientious objectors and of his efforts on their behalf. He describes his roommate in England as a draft resister "who is possibly under indictment and may never be able to go home again. He is one of the bravest, best men I know."

It is at this point Clinton addresses the question which, although never stated explicitly, is clearly the one that has moved him to write Colonel Holmes. If he believes the war in Vietnam is wrong and the draft which is feeding young men into its seemingly insatiable maw is illegitimate, and if he has around him examples of heroic resistance to this concatenation of evils, why has he continued to manipulate — albeit legally — the Selective Service System in the manner he has? Clinton puts his answer to this question badly: "I decided to accept the draft in spite of my beliefs for one reason: to maintain my political viability within the system."

But this statement implies for Clinton an even more troubling question. Is this response not simply that of a coward intent on preserving his own life — for that is what maintaining ones "viability" literally means — while others are losing theirs? Clinton assures Colonel Holmes that this is not the case. Writing "the particulars of my personal life are not nearly as important to me as the principle involved."

Clinton's claim that his behavior is principled and not self-serving is based upon a distinction which is the crux of his efforts at self-justification, a distinction he draws between what he calls "the particular policy of particular govern-

ment" and "our system of government." As an example of the former, U.S. policy in Vietnam is manifestly corrupt. Clinton does not believe, however, that our political system itself is corrupt. Rather, he has used first his student status and then the letter of intent regarding the ROTC precisely because he does not want to jeopardize his future participation in that system. It is to preserve for himself the possibility of a "political life characterized by both practical political ability and concern for rapid social progress," he writes, that has led him to act as he has.

What are we to make of this letter?



Some have said it is the work of a hypocrite, that the chain of events leading up to its writing represents a cynical manipulation of the draft by Clinton and that the letter is an effort at "spin doctoring" for just the sort of future occasion in which it has surfaced. Clinton says this is not the case, and those who knew him at the time and those who know him now say they believe him.

Others have said the letter represents the ruminations of a remarkably precocious 23-year-old experiencing the agonies of conscience every thoughtful member of his generation — including those who served in Vietnam — endured, and that it ought to be accepted as such. That is what the Arkansas governor would have us believe and he may well be right.

As far as they go, both these interpretations are probably accurate. No human being is entirely aware of all of their mo-

tives for acting in time of crisis, and those we are aware of are inevitably a complex and conflicting mix of the selfish and the altruistic. Particularly, when at personal risk, we invariably do not know what is the best thing to do and must act out motives that are impure at best. And life's cruelest trick is that for all of this — if we are to retain our humanity — we must still accept responsibility for the mixed results that follow from these actions.

Thus the letter's first lesson is that we would be far better served by our political leaders if we allow them to be more honest about the quandaries in which

history places us. With regard to Vietnam, if we would admit to each other how hard it was to know what to do then, we would be better able to acknowledge how hard it is to know what to do now. If we would do this, we would then be better able to talk and listen about how to best address the budget deficit, the health care crisis, education reform and the other challenges that presently confront us.

This is the point almost every commentator on Clinton's letter makes: we need to get on with addressing the "real issues" of this election year. But the "real issue" of the campaign is why we are finding it impossible to come to grips with the "real issues" in a creative way. This is what makes this letter so compelling. Not only is our reaction

to it symptomatic of the malaise afflicting our political system, but its content reveals the source of that malaise.

The weakness in Clinton's defense of the integrity of his actions lies in the distinction he has made between "the particular policy of a particular government" and "our system of government." In our constitutional democracy the former is always an expression of the latter and the two cannot be separated as Clinton tries to do. Rather, "our system of government" is essentially a controlled conflict in which competing responses to the issues of the moment vie for the support of the majority. The outcome of this conflict at any one time is "the particular policy of a particular government."

The distribution of powers within our federal system and the checks and balances established among its

Tate, continued on page 19

American, yet the Japanese have embraced the sport and made it part of their modern heritage.

This characteristic of embracing a foreign idea, assimilating it and making it part of Japanese culture has served them well in business as well as recreation. Since World War II, they have adopted western business practices, modified them and been highly successful.

The practice of forming *keiretsus* is a good example. These loose, yet culturally structured organizations are business groups that incorporate modern business practices with traditional Japanese loyalties and hierarchy. Japanese culture has always been stratified and until about 100 years ago was organized into semi-feudal economic units with farmers, craftsmen, soldiers and merchants all working within one *daimyo*, or leader, who ruled one *han*, or fiefdom. All economic activity occurred for the benefit of the *daimyo* and workers performed their labor strictly within one *han*. There was no question of moving to another area or working for someone else if times were bad.

In a modern *keiretsu*, a large company such as Sony has well defined suppliers, subcontractors, bankers and other business associates. These businesses exist along with subsidiaries and other related firms with executives often serving on various corporate boards.

The concept of these business groups goes so far that employees often buy products mainly from the *keiretsu* of their employer. Thus, if one company in a *keiretsu* manufactured, say, mustard, employees of any of the companies would tend to purchase that product.

For foreign firms, trying to compete on an even level within Japan is difficult partly because of these business groups. Because they tend to do business with each other, competition is stifled and market penetration is difficult. Foreigners have no role in a *keiretsu* and inspire none of the loyalty associated with them. Although it is not nearly as stratified as a *han*, a modern *keiretsu* has many of the same economic benefits for those within the organization.

The existence of *keiretsu* is not a government trade barrier, but a cultural one, something that must be overcome if we are to do better in the Japanese market. In our modern world, there are already signs that the rigid barriers which are typical of *keiretsus* are beginning to weaken, but they are still something with which foreign businesses must contend.

American Trade Complaints

Since President Bush took office, his administration has actively pursued policies to iron out trade problems with Japan. In 1989, the United States and Japan undertook a series of basic, structural, talks aimed not at overt trade barriers such as tariffs, but at societal differences such as *keiretsus*.

Among the items discussed was the Japanese distribution, which is geared toward small shops rather than large retail outlets that are the norm in the U.S. This system had proven to be a significant trade barrier for companies like Toys-R-Us, which sells large volumes of toys in big stores. In effect, the

system which made it difficult for Toys-R-Us to establish its brand of retail outlets in Japan, served as a trade barrier to that company. Since the talks were concluded, Japan has begun to revise its Large Retail Store Law and Toys-R-Us has since established outlets in Japan.

Another problem identified in these talks were land use policies, with the U.S. contending that Japanese tax and land regulations cause real estate values to be inflated (Tokyo has the highest land prices in the world) thus making it difficult for foreign companies to establish operations in Japan. The cost of the Japanese real estate still poses a serious problem for U.S. companies.

An especially important American complaint surrounds pricing policy because Japanese goods are often priced significantly higher in Japan, allowing firms to take foreign losses to maintain market share. For example, automobiles could thus be sold at a reduced profit in America because the shortfall could be made up by selling vehicles at higher prices in Japan.

While it's a good sign that the Japanese and Americans have overcome many overt trade barriers and have moved on to the structural differences in the two economies, major governmental disagreements still exist.

One especially high profile issue that strikes the nerve with

Americans is the Japanese government's complete ban of imported rice. This ban keeps Japanese farmers in work, but it also raises the cost of rice far above the world market price.

The Japanese argue that such a ban is necessary for national

security reasons, and that they want to be self dependent for this major food need. However, such a ban is still an unacceptable trade barrier in the eyes of the U.S. government.

The Japanese also maintain quotas on fruit and beef imports. While these tariffs are scheduled to be removed over the next three years, quotas will still exist on 12 groups of agricultural products. Importation of dairy products, dried beans, prepared meats, sugar and other products will still be controlled by the Japanese government.

However, U.S. problems, either perceived or real with our Pacific trading partner, go beyond structural differences. U.S. citizens live in real fear of the Japanese trade deficit and their huge share of the U.S. auto and other markets.

Throughout the 1980s, trade talks centered around U.S. contentions that the Japanese markets were closed to American products through tariffs and other trade barriers. The Japanese, on the other hand, say that the high trade deficit was caused by American fiscal policies, a high U.S. deficit and lackluster U.S. business efforts to crack the Japanese market.

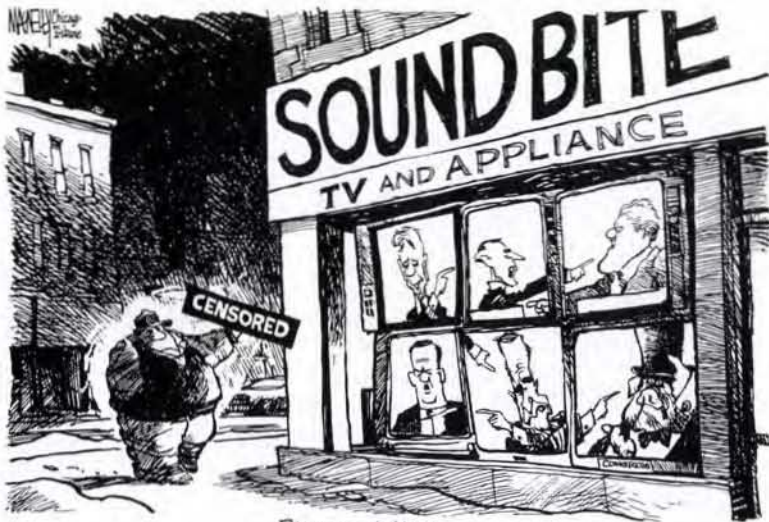
Both the U.S. and Japanese trade experts admit that there are significant topics for future trade discussions, talks that will hopefully be attended with an air of cooperation on both sides. But the recent rash of Japan bashing in the United States is based upon the premise that we export very little to Japan and import a great deal. The conventional wisdom also says this is the main reason for the enormous U.S./Japanese trade deficit and that the only solution to the problem is a renegotiation of our trading relationship with Japan.

However, when one considers the statistics, the situation

Fuscus, continued on page 19

*Japan has always been somewhat
of an isolationist nation
and today they still
have relatively few minorities.*

THE LIGHTER SIDE



Finger-pointing



Fuscus, continued from page 17

isn't nearly as serious as is commonly perceived and is getting better. Since 1987, our trade deficit has moved steadily downwards and will continue to show improvement because of three reasons.

First, the Yen's value in relation to the dollar has evened out in the past seven years. This more appropriate exchange rate allows American goods to become less expensive in Japan and Japanese goods to become more expensive in the U.S. In both countries, today's prices are fairer than they have been in the past.

Secondly, the U.S. and Japanese have had a series of successful trade talks in the past 10 years that have removed many Japanese trade barriers and started to address structural differences. Because of the relative success of talks such as the Structural Impediment Initiative and the Market Oriented Sector Selective negotiations, there has been improvement and the numbers prove it. Additionally, U.S. negotiators have been more hard nosed in recent years and have had their positions strengthened by tough U.S. trade laws resulting in successful negotiations. As a result of these talks, we've seen lower Japanese import barriers on a host of products including medical and telecommunications equipment, automobiles, aluminum, auto parts, leather footwear, satellites, semiconductors and other products.

Finally, American companies are becoming more successful in cracking the Japanese market. They are crafting their operations to the culture and some are becoming quite successful. Levi Strauss, Toys-R-Us, Motorola and other firms are racking up big sales in Japan and this trend will only continue as the trade atmosphere improves.

Because of these factors, U.S. exports of U.S. agricultural products rose from \$2 billion to \$5.3 billion, an increase of 164%. We are even doing well with semiconductor sales in Japan, which today constitutes over \$1 billion in sales. Overall, our exports to Japan have risen from \$22.9 billion in 1986

to \$46.1 billion in 1990, a far greater leap than the \$6.8 billion gain in Japanese imports.

The Future

Japan bashing in the U.S., just like America bashing in Japan, serves no useful purpose in the relationship between our two countries. Considering that we are the two strongest economic powers on the planet, our destinies will be intertwined for many decades to come and it will be a far easier relationship if we reduce tensions. True, we have had significant economic problems, yet the past seven years have shown that we can overcome our differences and create a fairer trading relationship.

The Bush Administration has done a solid job of representing American interests in trade talks and should continue to fight for more open markets. The Japanese also deserve some credit because they recognized problems and moved to correct them.

Structural differences in the two societies such as the influence of keiretsu in Japan will continue to be one of the significant obstacles for U.S. business interests, however we are already seeing cracks in these once solid walls. U.S. firms are associating themselves with Japanese partners, younger Japanese are finding the relationships outdated and firms are coming under increasing international pressure to change their business practices.

The economic relationship between the U.S. and Japan has been getting better for years. If Americans can just get past this recession and the inflammatory rhetoric of an election year, they should continue to improve. Smart, innovative American companies are doing well in Japan and their efforts are being well served by the solid trade negotiations of the Bush Administration.

Japan bashing is popular right now, but it serves no useful purpose for the United States. The American people and especially our politicians should put their efforts into more productive endeavors. ■

Tate, continued from page 16

branches are intended to insure this ongoing conflict is a fair one. Moreover, the safeguards contained in the Constitution's Bill of Rights are there because the founders recognized the majority may in any instance be wrong. When this occurs, the hope for correction resides in the protection provided the minority to continue the struggle and thereby to bring about change through the creation of a new majority and thus new policy.

This may be what happened to U.S. policy in Vietnam. But in order for us to more fully understand what happened, the Bill Clintons of the world need to acknowledge that they could have done more to bring about change. Had young men of his race and class really chosen to struggle within "our system of government" and put their futures on the

line, "the particular policy of a particular government" would have been reversed far more quickly than it was. For all the pain it entails, Clinton and others like him must accept responsibility for their choices.

In contemporary politics, we see the crippling consequences of Clinton's crucial distinction and of our tacit acceptance of the reasons he gave for making it. For what it is, after all, is the pervasive and explicit willingness on the part of politicians "to do anything it takes to win" simply placing "political viability" above all else. To win on this basis is to survive at the cost of being rendered powerless to lead.

Finally, perhaps the most destructive phenomenon in contemporary politics that follows from Clinton's argument is the spectacle of men and women who have spent their entire lives in elective and appointive office running against

"the government." This is far more than simply ludicrous. It is fatal to the functioning of democracy. The phrase "We the People of the United States" with which the Constitution begins and Lincoln's talk of "government of the people, by the people, for the people" point to a basic truth about a democracy. Like it or not, we are all "the government." If we do not approve of the "particular policy of a particular government," we are responsible for trying to change it. In abjuring their share of responsibility for what government is doing by "running against Washington," politicians encourage us to ignore our responsibility as well. Thus we are confronted with candidates — incumbents and challengers alike — who will tell us anything they think we want to hear. And we want to hear — and have — it all, but are unwilling to accept responsibility for any of it. ■

are expected throughout the country.

- **Providing Campaign Services To All Credible Candidates**

In order to produce competitive candidates from a large field, the NRCC is revising its previous approach to providing candidate services. Rather than focus the Committee's training programs, opposition research, policy research, survey research, and communication services only on targeted races, we are making them available to all credible candidates. We believe that this type of support will create more competitive races by giving each of our candidates the tools they need to emerge from the pack.

- **Providing Support When it Counts**

Instead of trying to pick the 1992 winners and losers early on, we intend to let primary voters and the candidates' own efforts produce the best challengers. Thus, we will withhold the Committee's financial contributions until the latest possible moment during the campaign.

Then we can direct our funds to those candidates who demonstrate that they have the best chance to win in the fall, when it counts, rather than in the spring, when it doesn't.

- **Promoting Grassroots Campaigns**

The 1990 election proved that GOP congressional candidates with strong grassroots organizations have a better shot at winning. The same will be true in 1992 as voters respond to candidates who are in touch and have a real presence in their communities and neighborhoods. Therefore, we will work with all of our congressional candidates to help them develop the type of solid grassroots organizations that make a crucial difference on election day.

- **Sending a Strong Message**

In 1992, voters want to see real change in Congress. Thus, heading the issue agenda for GOP House candidates will be congressional reform. For nearly 40 years, Democrats have run the House of Representatives, controlling all com-

mittees and calling all the shots. In recent months, the full extent of the abuse resulting from their one party domination has become clear. Through their majority on the House Rules Committee, the Democrats totally dictate the legislative calendar and regularly use their advantage to stifle GOP amendments and debate. The most recent example of the Democrats' high handed approach has been their manipulation of two proposals for House investigations. In the first, the so-called "October Surprise" inquiry, Democrats voted to allocate millions of taxpayer dollars to investigate a discredited conspiracy theory about Ronald Reagan's 1980 election victory. Meanwhile, on virtual straight party-line vote, Democrats opposed a Republican proposal to appoint a balanced, bipartisan group of Members to investigate allegations of over-the-counter drug sales going on in the House's own post office!

Hopefully the people feel it is time to change the way the House runs. By sending the clear message that we are the agents of change and reform in Congress, we can earn their support this November. ■

Editorials, continued from page 2

former California Gov. Jerry Brown, often casually dismissed as "Governor Moonbeam", was the only candidate to refer specifically to lower-income Americans. His across-the-board flat tax, he said, would proportionally benefit lower and middle-class people as much or more so than the wealthy.

This reluctance is surprising given that several Democrats have proposed major programs aimed at pumping thousands of blue-collar jobs into the economy to compensate for the decline in textiles and other manufacturing sectors. Clinton advocates creating more than 200,000 jobs, including 45,000 construction jobs, by accelerating spending under last year's highway bill and has proposed expanding Earned Income Tax Credits for the working poor.

But a shift can still be seen.

This year's crop of presidential candidates, for example, has drifted away from the commitment to national health care that has traditionally been a pillar of Democratic presidential platforms. Specific proposals vary widely, but only Brown has said he will guarantee quality health care for all Americans, including the uninsured. Clinton has recommended variations on the "play or pay" theme, which requires employers that don't insure their own workers to pay into a government fund that would provide coverage.

This emerging Democratic tendency to cleave closer to mid-

dle-class interests would appear to reflect political reality. Middle-income voters are simply more likely to vote, according to U.S. Census Bureau figures from the 1988 presidential election.

Of those Americans with a family income between \$10,000 and \$14,000, only 48 percent voted compared to a 64 percent turnout rate for those who made from \$30,000 to \$39,000 and 70 percent for those with family incomes between \$40,000 and \$59,000. And, according to some campaign strategists, including Buchanan's Director of Communications Jerry Woodruff, middle-income voters are even more important this election year because they are the group that have been hardest hit by the recession.

But politicians who ignore the nation's lower-income voters, do so at their own peril. This year, the presidential incumbent faces a challenge within his own party and the Democratic field seesaws daily. Every vote, regardless of the size of the pocketbook behind it, will be needed to pave the way to the White House. ■

Interpreting the Constitution

Meanwhile today, there is less consensus on how the United States Constitution should be interpreted than at any time in our history. Theories of law have been reduced to slogans, and judges and lawyers throw them at each other like pies. As televised confirmation hearings display, the most that can be gleaned of the philosophy of a judicial candidate consists of hints or buzzwords, while the real test of a candidate's prospective vote is the individual's past loyalties.

As the Supreme Court itself becomes the focal point for new law in the federal judiciary, public confidence in the Court must inevitably revolve around the representative nature of its membership. We can therefore expect many more confirmation battles linked to backgrounds and loyalties, like the fight over Clarence Thomas.

These battles may focus heavily on race, gender and ethnicity. How long will it be acceptable for the Court to have one black vote and one female vote, but no Jewish vote, none for Hispanics, none for any Asian constituency? We are in for a long period of nominations motivated less for excellence — as if we could identify the top judicial candidates like Olympic athletes — and more by considerations of court-packing, unpacking, and repacking to achieve the proper representative mix and national political constituencies.

Appointments to the Court have always been made with an eye to political constituencies. It may be that enlargement of the Court's size is the only way in which constituency politics, which can never be removed, can at least be reduced enough to refocus on judicial qualifications. Congress could prevent takeovers during the expansion by staggering the new seats over four-year intervals. With a higher number there would be more room to be inclusive, and less temptation to pick a reliable choice to change the vote-count.

Lest this seem too radical a proposal, it should be pointed out that the great thinkers of our formative era, John Adams, James Wilson, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and Thomas Jefferson, all recognized the importance of the jury in applying the common law, and in keeping it in touch with the moral standards of the republic. At the Constitutional Convention, Wilson even proposed a national "jury" on the law. That is, in effect, what we now have, as constitutional standards are extended into more and more areas of national life.

The Constitutional Court

Does this mean politics must guide the nation's law? This question has a hook: What do you mean by "law"? Interpreting the Constitution was once a minor part of the Court's function. With the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868, and then through it the application of the Bill of Rights to the States by the first half of the century, that began to

change. Docket statistics reveal a sharp increase in the percentage of constitutional cases since the 1950s. The Supreme Court has become primarily a constitutional court. Decisions on the Constitution can only be changed by the cumbersome amendment process. And they have crept far into privacy, property, school, business, politics, community, and even family matters.

Like it or not, and despite warnings from judges like Frankfurter, the judge-made law of constitutional rights is now the common law of the nation. But to prevent the Constitution from becoming a test of political strength, more must be done to neutralize constituency politics, which tend to be shrouded under the veil of ideology.

As the constitutional scholar Paul Freund once wrote, "An absolute principle is as absurd as absolute power." And Justice Holmes observed:

All rights tend to declare themselves absolute to their logical extreme. Yet all in fact are limited by the neighborhood of principles of policy which are other than those on which the particular right is founded, and which become strong

enough to hold their own when a certain point is reached.

This lesson has been ignored on the political extremes, fighting for control over the judiciary. If constitutional law must play an ever increasing role in the business of the Court and of our lives, the greatest danger lies in the emergence of a majority faction dedicated to a set of constitutional absolutes, whether liberal or conservative.

Hard political division in the United States herald an era of takeovers and counter-takeovers. These are encouraged by the fact that an absolutist faction can be assembled on a small court in a single political cycle. The principal antidote for this is to make that impossible by increasing the size of the court.

Who knows what the ideal size of the highest court should be? That should be left, as it is in the Constitution, to the people's representatives in Congress. On a larger Court, the majority of cases can be decided (as they are in the Circuit Courts of Appeals) in panels of three. That will easily solve the much-studied problem of the Court's expanding caseload. Meanwhile the cases of greatest public concern will be put to the full Court, on which greater representativeness of viewpoints is statistically inevitable.

The Supreme Court is simply too small now for the expanded function the justices have taken upon themselves. ■

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**The Ripon Society is located at:
709 Second Street, N.E. #100
Washington D.C. 20002**

Bush Victory Formula

by Sherwood Boehlert

William Safire had it right in his November 25, 1991 column advising the president on how to win re-election: "If you run as a unabashed moderate against the extremes of right and left, you'll win."

For a whole lot of the right (make that correct) reasons, the president appears to be heading to a November victory despite turning a deaf ear thus far to Safire's advice, but available evidence points to less than smooth sailing.

The early primaries have been the subject of much misinterpretation. While everyone in the Republican ranks, from the seasoned pol to the newest GOP recruit, correctly observes the signal sent by the voters calls for "movement," there is legitimate debate about the direction.

When an average of one-third of the voters turn to someone or something other than an incumbent president, that sends a signal. The more vocal segment of the party argues that the movement must be to the right. A more reasoned analysis makes a good case for movement — movement out of the Oval Office into the real America, that vast expanse of geography where people live who not only don't suffer from the "Inside the Beltway mentality," but aren't even familiar with the malady.

This president, like all in recent history, is isolated by circumstances. The ever-present security battalions surrounding him and forming an impenetrable wall as he moves about appear bent on preventing rather than facilitating contact with human beings other than the legions of staff, the seawall of people on the other side of the TelePrompTers at major events, contributors lining up for a photo op, or the selected, carefully so, participants in meetings on the Hill, in the White House, or at scattered secure sites.

The memory of George Bush dropping by the suburban shopping mall to buy

those four pair of socks comes vividly to mind. Does anyone really think the president had any meaningful exchange with anyone on that excursion? Of course not. A few pleasantries were exchanged, lots of photos no doubt were taken, smiles were likely evident all around, but that was about it.

All this brings me to a basic theory involving output being directly related to input. More often than not, a disproportionate share of the president's input comes from the right, those within our ranks who are convinced that they have been to the top of the mountain, seen the promised land, and know exactly and precisely how to chart the course to get there. Their total commitment to the "truth" as they see it, and their willingness to expend every bit of political capital to advance the cause, have been responsible for a good share of the president's problems.

A disclaimer is in order here. I am an unabashed moderate. Furthermore, my belief is that in the American body politic, 5 to 10 percent of the people are at either extreme — left wing liberal or right wing conservative. According to my arithmetic, that leaves 80 to 90 percent of us somewhere in the middle, whether we have a "R" or a "D" after our names.

The problem with moderates, of course, is that there is a tendency on our part to see more than one side of an issue, and frequently the agonizing that one might go through in search of the best course is interpreted as being a fence straddler or wishy washy or, the insult of all insults, a wimp.

To get back to Mr. Safire's advice, a controversial observation has to be advanced. It is that the majority of the political pain inflicted upon the president has come from the right within the GOP rather than from the Democrats.

Will Rogers was correct when reporting on his party affiliation, you know that old saw about "not belonging to an organized party, I'm a Democrat." Sentiment abounds to support the current thesis that Democrat leadership is an oxymoron.

It wouldn't be fair (there I go again, trying to be fair which is the wont of moderates) to bemoan a perceived undue influence of the right and the negative consequences without backing up the claim.

One of the most exciting moments of my political life had me standing wildly cheering among the masses of Republican faithful in response to George Bush's very effective "read my lips" assertion at the '88 convention. It was grand theatre. Couldn't have been better, especially from the view of a Bush loyalist from a decade past. Finally, that essential first step on the long journey to the White House had been taken. And what an auspicious beginning it was.

But not for a millisecond did I envision myself witness to the articulation of a verbal contract which was to last forever. No doubt about it, George Bush was clear in his intentions, the tax and spend guys were in the other party. That was not for him!

However, as the days and weeks and months rolled by, and the circumstances within a dynamic nation in a topsy-turvy global economy changed, and as the stark reality of a confrontational Congress clearly controlled by the opposition party was evident, the president, rather than preside over a stalemate, provided leadership and in the process made some accommodations. He considered carefully, but did not embrace, the advice of those who argued "don't just do something, stand there." And then all hell broke loose. The direction? From the right.

While the Bush strategy was to keep our country moving, working in cooperation with a recalcitrant Congress, his "new" friends who never had, don't now and probably never will have the president's best interests at heart went bananas. Traitor was the epitaph they were inscribing on his political tombstone. "He broke the pledge," they screamed.

Sherwood Boehlert is a congressman from New York State and chairman of the Ripon Society.

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Ripon Forum, April/May 1992

709 Second Street

RIPON HOSTS SECRETARY SULLIVAN

In order to promote awareness of health care policy reform and to talk to some experts in the field, the Ripon Society hosted a well-attended reception and dinner on Feb. 21st featuring the Hon. Louis Sullivan, U.S. Secretary of Health and Human Services. While such honorables as Secretary Ed Derwinski, Congressman Bill Green and new White House official, Gail Wolensky were on hand at the reception, Health Subcommittee member, Congresswoman Nancy Johnson kept to the issues at hand and reminded the audience of the pertinence of health care reform in her introductory remarks for Secretary Sullivan. Sullivan focussed his remarks on the President's health care package and presented the plan as colloquially as possible. But despite his informality and obvious comfort with the topic, there may have been a few in the crowd who could have stood to use a few crib notes. Nevertheless, those who attended seemed genuinely pleased with the comprehensiveness of the event and looked forward to more in the future.

ADDRESSING THE ENVIRONMENT

What about the spotted owl? What about the wetlands? How will they affect business? Is anyone still addressing these issues you ask? In light of these questions and others, the Ripon Society is hosting a four part breakfast series to address these and other questions Riponers may have concerning our natural community. Speakers for the breakfast include Rep. Sherwood Boehlert, Sen. John Chafee, Robert E. Grady, Associate Director of the Office of Management and Budget's Natural Resources, Energy & Science office, and Robert Reinstein, The U.S. State Department's Deputy Ast. Secretary for Oceans & International Environmental & Scientific Affairs. The breakfasts will be held the last two weeks in March and the first two weeks in April at the Capitol Hill Club from 8 until 9 a.m. For further information contact Bradley Kendall at the Ripon Society, (202)546-1292

RIPON BUSINESS

The Ripon Society's NEC meeting in New York City was both successful and informative. Former Congressman Peter Smith, now Dean of the School of Education at George Washington University, chaired the meeting and managed to swiftly touch on all points of the agenda without keeping members there overnight. Treasurer Steve Rolandi, now of the City Planning Commission in New York, presented an impressive budget analysis for Ripon. He told the board that Ripon's fund raising efforts for '92-'93 must be at 85 percent if it is to accomplish its goals and operate without a deficit. While this may be difficult to enforce, Rolandi said, the Society must concentrate on soliciting support and contributions from old and new members.

Both board members Bill Lithgow and Arthur George reported on their chapter's activities and moved to include the chapters in more NEC decisions. Chairman Smith and the others agreed, provided the board propose a methodical



Secretary Louis Sullivan and Rep. Nancy Johnson

process for doing so. Suggestions for the process included a more advanced scheduling of meetings, NEC and chapter, and an advanced preparation of meeting materials. This way all could be included in the proverbial loop.

David Fuscus, deputy chief of staff for Congressman Bill Clinger, R-Pa., was also on hand to give a careful description of **The Ripon Forum's** new changes. These included a four color cover, change in text stock and graphics as well as an addition of more illustrations and cartoons. This new process, Fuscus said, will also enable the **Forum** to save a little money in order to produce five issues and a special convention issue. Comments on the results would be greatly appreciated. Executive Director Jean Hayes also had some good news. Hayes told the board she had successfully managed to recruit an unusually large number of participants for the Sullivan dinner and predicted that net profits would be much larger than formerly expected. She announced that several issue breakfasts and luncheons were in the works and that active involvement from all members would be helpful. Other Board members present at the meeting included Hal Northcott, John Vorperian, David Vandermulen, Greg Edwards, Mark Uncapher and New York chapter member Keiko Delille. The Ripon Society's next meeting will be held Saturday, April 25 in Washington D.C.

CHAPTER NOTES

New England Chapter Representative, Arthur George, in Massachusetts has been working hard the last several months organizing a forum held recently entitled "The State Convention: An Unconventional Approach." Ripon members, including current and former congressional and state representatives, discussed new ideas to reform the Massachusetts State Convention. The New England Chapter is also proud to announce its new advisory committee which includes Massachusetts Governor, William Weld and Lieutenant Governor Argeo Paul Cellucci. If your chapter has had recent meetings or if you are considering forming a chapter, please write the Ripon Forum and send us the details. ■

WASHINGTON NOTES & QUOTES

Moderate Republican governors received high marks in the **Wall Street Journal** Feb. 7th poll grading governors on their fiscal policy. Four received a grade B or better with Governors William Weld of Massachusetts receiving the highest grade of an 85 percent, which on the **WSJ** scale gave the governor an A. John Engler of Michigan, and Tommy Thompson of Wisconsin and George Mickelson of South Dakota also did well on the fiscal policy scale and received a B. The report card, or index as **WSJ** called it, graded the governors on their ability to put forth good policy without raising taxes. For example William Weld reduced taxes for a Massachusetts' family of four by \$1,316 whereas Governor Bill Clinton raised

taxes \$1,500 for that same size family in Arkansas.

Ripon Congressional Advisory Board member, Marge Roukema, R-N.J., played an active role this past month in helping the impoverished, now militarily imprisoned, country of Haiti. With the encouragement of a New Jersey production owner in Haiti, Roukema worked to ease the strain of the United Nations' embargo imposed on Haiti last September in response to the military coup which overthrew the democratically elected Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Congresswoman Roukema agrees with the embargo's intended purpose, but helped to persuade the U.S. Department of State, Treasury,

and the White House to relax the embargo and exclude the 80 American assembly companies which employ approximately 40,000 Haitians and U.S. workers. Because one employed Haitian is usually relied upon by 10 others for economic support, Roukema recognized the embargo's detrimental impact on those employed by U.S. companies. Consequently, the State Department ceased to include the U.S. companies despite Organization of American States' worries that the move could be seen as an American retreat. The State Department later assured those concerned that the ease on the embargo was purely for humanitarian reasons and that the U.S. fully endorses all other aspects of the embargo. ■

Boehlert, continued from page 22

In the summer and early fall of 1990, there was a lot of heat in Washington. It had nothing to do with the weather. The right was on a rampage and George Bush was the target. His transgression? After months of negotiations with the leadership of that same confrontational Congress clearly controlled by the opposition party, a budget summit agreement featuring a five-year deficit reduction plan was signed in blood. The right took a walk from the agreement but continued to fire a verbal barrage at the Bush White House, inflicting still more damage.

While lobbing grenades all over the place, ignoring the heart and soul of the document which forced discipline into the budgetary process, discipline they championed long before it became a reality, the right walked. One could reasonably argue the Buchanan for president seed was planted then and there.

Yes, there is plenty of evidence as to the direction from which so many of the present Bush problems emanate.

Where, for example, was the impetus for the hard line on legislation to provide extended unemployment compensation benefits for so many innocent victims of the recession?

And to whom do we look to shoulder the brunt of the blame for the insensitivity on the "gag" rule pronouncements, only recently modified ever so slightly, but certainly not adequately? And the response

to bi-partisan congressional initiatives on family leave (we talk a great deal about family values, but talk is cheap?) and civil rights (wasn't and isn't now a quota bill)?

The president will win re-election despite, not because of the right.

Three categories dominate the public's decision-making in the quadrennial exercise of electing a president. Boiled down to the basics, they are war vs. peace, the economy and leadership.

When the war vs. peace issue is addressed, the question "are you better off now than you were four-years ago?" elicits a thunderous YES! For all practical purposes, the obituary for communism has been written. Our old nemesis, the U.S.S.R. is no more. The Berlin Wall is down and a tidal wave of democracy has swept over Eastern Europe. Saddam may be alive, but Iraq is out of Kuwait and the long-cherished dream of a United Nations as an instrument of peace has come true, most particularly because of the leadership of George Bush. That's not an opinion, it's a quantifiable fact acknowledged at home and abroad.

The honors grades earned by the president in the international arena have not been matched in the domestic affairs category. Among the many differences is that in the former there is a clear line of authority with the commander in chief more of an exclusive agent (always with the advice and consent), whereas on the home front, opportunities to lead the way are severely restricted by the co-equal

branch at the other end Pennsylvania Avenue.

The "two-out-of-three ain't bad" refrain — high marks in the war vs. peace and leadership categories — leaves us with what now is foremost in our thinking: the economy.

Here, too, recent signs are positive after far too many agonizing months of unacceptable pain and suffering for millions of Americans. While it might be premature to emphatically declare the recovery has been joined, it's hard to argue to the contrary.

Housing starts are up, interest rates are down. Personal spending is on the rise, new filings for unemployment on the decline. Exports are up, imports are down. Inflation remains under control. Industrial production is up. So are retail sales.

If the recovery from a recession not of the president's making is for real and not an aberration, and it appears that it is, by the first Tuesday after the first Monday come November, it will be another Bush victory.

But as the often painful primary process has revealed, the road has been, and likely will continue to be, somewhat rocky. The pulling and tugging to the right is relentless. It is also counterproductive and transparently disingenuous.

Following the Safire advice of November, 1991 will insure a win in November, 1992. Being an unabashed moderate is a virtue, not a vice. Just ask the majority of the American people. ■