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The Republican party is deeply divided over ideology, direction and tactics; many believe that the successful political coalition of the Reagan years is gone forever and that for the GOP to regain a position of national prominence and political power, it must reinvent itself. Therein lies the problem: the various factions within the GOP span the ideological spectrum and many predict that the coming struggle to define the party might rip it apart. Conservatives, evangelicals and moderates all think they know how to bring the American people back into the Republican fold.

The question is: Who's right?

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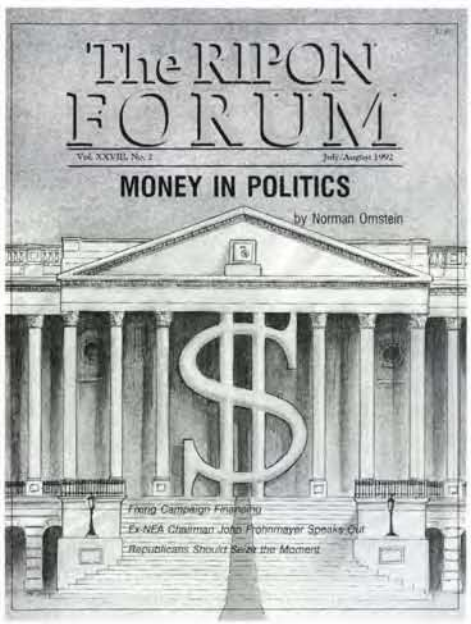
In the Mainstream of American Thought...



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COVER STORY

THE GOP IN '93

For the last twelve years, Republicanism in America has been a cut and dried affair; the GOP has had an incumbent president to suppress ideology and make the various factions in the party get along, key national political positions like the chairman of the Republican National Committee (RNC) have been dictated from 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. Because of this, there has been little room for the competing factions to fight with each other over the direction of the party, after all, an incumbent president sets the policies for both the nation and the party that he leads.

Can Republicans come together to win a national election in 1996?

By David A. Fuscus

David A. Fuscus is the Editor of the Ripon Forum.

Since the devastating loss of George Bush last November, many Republicans are finding themselves without a rudder to set the course for ideology and party agenda. This situation has lent itself to some harsh words between factions with moderates blaming the loss of the White House on George Bush's firm embrace of hard core conservatives and right wingers screaming that Clinton won because of a Republican failure to embrace conservatism in all of its manifestations.

George Bush was defeated "not for conservative ideals, but for the inability to practice conservative ideals" said Paul Weyrich recently, head of the Free Congress Foundation and a leading spokesman for the conservative movement. Many thought that the first battle for control of the Republican party would be fought over the election of the first post-Reagan/Bush RNC chairman in January. Early favorites for the post were Lynn Martin, Bush's Secretary of Labor and a leading moderate, and Vin Weber, a former congressman from Minnesota and a top conservative thinker. However, much to the surprise of pundits expecting an internecine war, both candidates dropped out of the race leaving no big name Republicans to battle it out for the post. Interestingly enough, the new RNC chairman, Haley Barbour, has said that although he is opposed to abortion, he is a big tent Republican. He recently told *The New York Times* that if Republicans insisted on pushing a social-value based agenda "that they ought to have their heads examined."

Instead of an early fight for control of the RNC, Republicans in all camps have decided to marshal their forces and make a bid for intellectual control of the party. Several new think tanks and political action committees have been formed with obvious agendas, the foremost being the creation of political support for the 1996 presidential nomination.

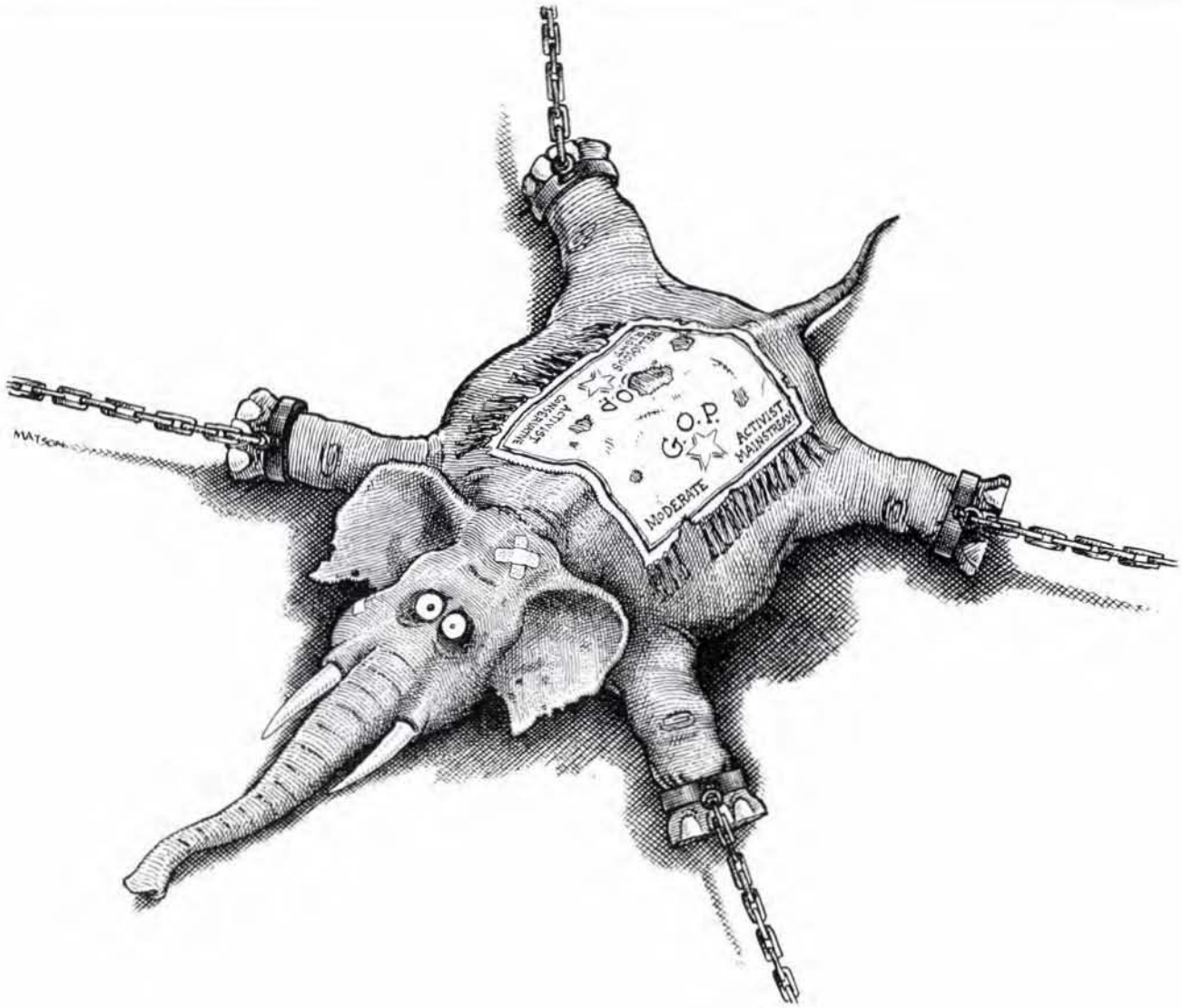
A look at the various factions and what they are doing:

Economic Conservatives

This wing of the Republican party is best typified by former Secretary of Housing and 1996 presidential candidate Jack Kemp. Kemp and his allies concentrate mainly on economic issues and have less fear of the deficit than more mainstream conservatives like Senator Phil Gramm of Texas. Kemp is unabashedly running for the 1996 GOP nomination and recently formed a new think tank and political group called Empower America. He has been joined in this effort by Vin Weber, former Reagan Secretary of Education Bill Bennett and former U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick.

"This organization is going to have a point and an attitude. We're not going to simply cogitate, we're going to agitate," said Bennett at the group's kick-off press conference.

During the past few years, economic conservatives have been one of the leading idea factories within the GOP and while many in the party don't agree with all of their issues, most Republicans recognize that themes like empowerment, less government, educational choice and free market problem solving will eventually become part of the messages that a new Republican party will begin broadcasting in its



coming effort to unseat President Clinton.

The alliance of Bennett and Kemp to found Empower America is especially interesting because of the presidential ambitions of both men. At the very least, this group represents a strong and formidable coalition within the Republican party which will certainly be a favorite horse in the race for the 1996 presidential nomination.

It's obvious from the early statements from Empower America's founders that they will begin trying to appeal to a broad range of Republicans by walking the fence between divisive social issues such as abortion and homosexual rights. When Weber recently said that these issues were "the two most divisive and contentious issues in American politics. I would urge that we not allow this organization to become divided on the basis of those issues," many wonder whether that would placate either pro-choice moderates or the religious right.

The Religious Right and Movement Conservatives

Many in America thought that the political involvement of the religious right was on the wane after the 1989 demise of Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority. However, a new and much more effective organization, The Christian Coalition, has sprung up under the leadership of Pat Robertson.

While the Christian Coalition isn't the only political organization with its roots in evangelical Christianity, it is by far the largest and most technically sophisticated. With a membership base in excess of 350,000 and chapters in all fifty states, Pat Robertson is seeking to elevate the political activity of his followers with the objective of placing a "Christian in the White House" by the end of the decade.

Much to the dismay of many conservatives and moderates, the religious right has become a powerful force in the Republican party by supplying shock troops that have won election after election. By identifying voters who vote on the basis of value issues, The Christian Coalition has been able to put together a highly sophisticated and effective grassroots network.

The cultural conservatives who make up the religious right

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are interested in value based issues such as abortion, school prayer, homosexual rights and censorship of literature that they find offensive.

The alliance between cultural conservatives who make up the religious right and movement conservatives is a natural one because both groups believe in extreme positions. Over the past several months, that relationship has become closer than ever.

Paul Weyrich is a key ally of Robertson and was a main speaker at Christian Coalition's last national conference, The Road to Victory II. In the past several months, the themes of conservatives like Weyrich have begun to parallel the social agenda of Pat Robertson and other politically active evangelicals.

"The final straw for moderates came at the national convention in Houston when extremist conservatives controlled both the platform and the tone of the convention."

During a recent speech at the Heritage Foundation in Washington, Weyrich spoke about his vision of a new Republican coalition to win back the White House. "The coming campaign will have a greater emphasis on values questions... these issues have to be the center of any new coalition. We have to get back to real morality, to accountability, to people who at least pray every day so that God will guide them... We are in decline because we are not leading moral lives."

A particularly interesting project run by Paul Weyrich and supported by the Christian Coalition is National Empowerment Television (NET). This new communications network broadcasts conservative issue based programming to satellite dishes across the nation and is targeted towards conservative and religious activists. The mission of NET is to supply activists with current and useful information to help them organize politically on a local level. As Weyrich says, "when we achieve [NET] in all 50 states, we will have put together a national movement again." Ralph Reed, the executive director of the Christian Coalition, sits on the board of NET and new Coalition chapters are required to subscribe to the service.

Moderates

Moderate Republicans have long been considered one of the most populous segments of the Republican party and the least well organized. Generally, moderates are fiscally conservative, concerned about the deficit and tolerant on social issues. Many moderates are pro-choice and believe that individuals should decide the construction of personal values as opposed to having values imposed by government or other outside forces.

While elected moderates like Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania and Congresswoman Nancy Johnson of Connecticut firmly supported President Bush in his re-election bid, rank and file moderate voters fled the Bush camp and made up a large portion of the "Clinton Republicans" who helped the Democrats win.

Many moderates felt that once George Bush was in the White House that he would return to his roots in their wing of the Republican party. However, as the months grew to years following Bush's 1988 win, most moderates were disillusioned. They saw a President who they considered their own veto bill after bill solely because it contained language offensive to the nation's pro-life movement; they saw him break his "no new taxes" pledge and they saw him court the religious right.

The final straw for moderates came at the national convention in Houston when extremist conservatives controlled both the platform and the tone of the convention.

Since the election, many moderates licked their wounds and began to realize that if they are to influence the coming agenda of the Republican party, they have to be better financed and well organized. Several groups have sprung up to do this including the Republican Majority Coalition and the Unity Platform. More established organizations such as the Ripon Society (the parent group of this publication) are realizing that they need to compete with the right wing on an intellectual and political level. It is no longer enough just to espouse policy ideas, but for moderates to be successful, they have to successfully articulate and put together the political organization necessary to influence elections.

At a recent moderate organizational conference hosted by the Republican Mainstream Committee in Washington, Peter Smith, a former member of Congress from Vermont and the president of Ripon, said, "If we intend to move the Republican party towards the tolerance that typifies the best of our party, then moderates need to pull together. It's not enough to just be involved in party politics, individuals and organizations need to work together and play a bigger role in defining the values of the Republican party. And that means winning elections."

GOP, ***continued on p. 31***

A Conversation
With Jim Pinkerton

PROFILES
AND
PERSPECTIVES

Did This Man Have the Answer?

James P. Pinkerton might have been called a policy wonk at a very young age. When he was only 20 and a soon-to-be graduate of Stanford University, Pinkerton worked for both the Reagan for President and Reagan-Bush campaigns in 1979-1980. After graduation, he went straight to the White House Office of Policy Development and the White House Office of Political Affairs.

After three years at the White House, Pinkerton went back to the campaign and joined Reagan-Bush '84 as the Political Staff Director. After their success that fall, Pinkerton gave up the White House and at the age of 27 became director of research for George Bush's political action committee, Fund For America's Future. In February of 1987, Pinkerton assumed the same role for the George Bush for President and Bush-Quayle '88 campaigns.

Election success proved beneficial for the young Pinkerton who was sworn in as Deputy Assistant to the President for Policy Planning. After three more years at the White House where he tried to launch his domestic policy plan, the "New Paradigm," with little success, he again left to join the President's re-election campaign as Counselor to Bush-Quayle '92.

Now a Senior Fellow at the John Locke Foundation based in Raleigh, North Carolina, Pinkerton talked to ***The Ripon Forum*** *about his time at the White House, President George Bush's campaign for re-election, and the future of the Republican party.*

RIPON FORUM: In a recent article in *The New Republic*, you wrote that the Bush Administration existed in a state of "intellectual negativeness." Do you think George Bush lost the presidency because of mistakes made at the campaign level or was it just the mood of the American people?

MR. PINKERTON: I think victory has about 1,000 fathers and defeat has 1,000 explainers. I always felt that the overriding trend that we had to fight against, throughout the Bush Administration, was the fact that the period from 1980 to 1992 was the longest stretch that one party held the White House since 1952. Usually the rule had been 8 years or 4 years in power. It's a cliche that the second terms for presidents tend to be sort of disastrous too, with Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon's second term and so on.

In many ways, the Bush presidency was a third Republican term, and President Bush made a great effort early on to establish some differences and some useful evolutions from the Reagan years, but ultimately I think history overcame us and the entropic trend was stronger than our ability to consistently sum up a "new ideas" agenda.

RIPON FORUM: You were an insider both in the '88 Bush campaign and the '92 campaign. What were the key differences that you saw between the two of them? And what were the differences between George Bush, the pure candidate of '88, and the President/candidate of '92?

MR. PINKERTON: In '88 we had a united party, and we managed to put economics front and center, which I think is oftentimes the Republicans' strongest suit, or certainly perhaps the Democrats' biggest vulnerability. In '92 we shattered our coalition, with the breaking of the tax pledge: that was foremost. Any election where you have someone like Ross Perot who gets 19 million votes, you know that the house of cards of politics has been thrown up in the air and it's destined to rearrange itself. They're all still fluttering down.

continued on next page

PINKERTON, *continued from previous page*

We all were slow to realize how much the post-Cold War era had changed the political arena -- it wasn't just winning a war, it was the end of a whole era, it was the end of a discipline on politics that was so much a part of our lives for 45 years prior to that because it was everything. It was nothing in terms of day-to-day realization from 1947, say, to 1991 or '92.

In a previous campaign, an incumbent president could have said to his challenger, or challengers, "Okay, guys, tell me the difference between an SS-18 and SS-19. Tell me the last time that you thought seriously about what an arms control treaty ought to look like, or how would you deal with the latest East-West Checkpoint Charlie\Vietnam kind of crisis?" And it would be unlikely that those guys, especially Perot, with no government experience, and a few eccentric theories about U.S. foreign policy, and Clinton, the governor of a small state, would have had good, effective, credible answers. That would have been a major point in our favor, but it was all gone. The polls showed that nobody cared about foreign policy in '92. They wanted to hear about the economy. The Republican party actually did reasonably well in '92 below the presidential level and gained nine House seats.

"They looked at Bush and they said, 'If we reelect this guy, nothing is going to change.' That might not be a fair statement, but that's what they thought."

RIPON FORUM: But that was far less than anybody had expected to win.

MR. PINKERTON: You're right, but it wasn't a disaster. It was not a 1964 type disaster or a '74 type disaster. My feeling about this election all the way through was the country was with the Republicans on big issues, they just didn't know where Bush was.

RIPON FORUM: What are the issues the Republican party must look at and articulate in order to gain back power in this country?

MR. PINKERTON: First and foremost, the Republicans have to take the posture that we hope Clinton succeeds. We're Americans first. It's not so much that we want power for ourselves if we can help Clinton make a better country. Then we'll want to help him. If Clinton can't make a better country and the country turns to us, we need to have an attractive agenda. We've got to get our feet back on the ground on economics. We've got to be the party of limited government, lower taxes and lower spending. I certainly support the late Lee Atwater's "big tent" theory on abortion.

At the same time, I think we've got to avoid the danger of just turning this into an inter-party conflict. It would be very easy for us to split the Republican party in two, if we wanted to, and we would lose the next 10 presidential elections. The challenge has got to be to find issues that unite us as opposed to divide us and focus on them. I think all Republicans are "conservative" on economics.

We should be focusing on issues, for example, like what's going on in New York City, where they are not only trying to impose a curriculum of AIDS education on first and second graders, and so on, but then they're firing the local school board members who are opposing this. Republicans ought to look at this almost as a decentralization issue as well, that it's outrageous that a bunch of centralized bureaucrats are dictating to neighborhood people how their kids get educated.

Now to me, those kinds of dilemmas and similar crises of school strikes and collapsing education around the country are a result of the overpoliticization of schools. You take one big entity, and, of course, everybody from the Christian Coalition on the right to ACT UP on the left is going to want to have a piece of it, so they're going to come to blows, and you're going to wind up with a sort of overpolicitized mishmash of different rules and regulations. The only thing that's guaranteed to happen is that no kid is going to get an education.

So the answer is we've got to "desovietize" the schools. I think that's something that most Republicans could rally around. We could then go and say, "Listen, we Republicans have really studied carefully what President Clinton says, President Clinton says that the most important long-term issue in this country we face is an educated workforce. It's not just a question of deficits and so on and so on.

If we agree on that -- and we Republicans I think should -- then we should say, okay, that's the challenge, what's the best solution? Is the best solution just to go to the National Education Association and say, "Here's a 10-percent raise for all your members. Just keep doing exactly what you're doing. Never mind the fact that we spend half a trillion dollars in education, which is more than any other country in the world, and our

students are 21st in terms of achievement. We just want to give you guys a 10-percent raise and hope for the best"? That's not going to do it.

RIPON FORUM: What you say is very interesting because you're speaking to issues that most Republicans would agree with. Be it moderates, conservatives, evangelicals, whatever type it is. Recently, Paul Weyrich of the Free Congress Foundation gave a speech at the Heritage Foundation where he spoke for the first 13 seconds as an economic conservative, and then went on to the agenda that he thought the conservative movement should be pursuing. As a leader of the New Right, Weyrich believes Republicans should focus on issues that are almost entirely value based. Do you think that all Republicans we'll come to an agreement on an agenda or will the party just degenerate into factional fighting? Certainly, if we start talking up the family values and other value based issues the way the Bush campaign did, many moderates will go crazy.

MR. PINKERTON: The best way to have family values is to have individuals believe they thought of it themselves, and maybe they did.

I'll give you an example. I think by most measurements, Malcom X, as he is now remembered, would qualify as a family values conservative. He said "Don't look for handouts, don't ask the white man for this, just go out there and take care of yourself and get a job," and so on. I think that is a stripping away of the racial hostility.

History suggests that's the way it works. The biggest single thing that solved the underclass problem of 150 years ago was self help and the temperance movement, a lot of it religiously inspired. These were movements that came from within. If we sit and preach family values to people, they're just going to spend more time studying our motives and less time trying to absorb the message. And if we create a system where people are empowered, where they have choice, where they have jobs, where they have ownership and equity in the system -- I think family values will take care of itself.

RIPON FORUM: But Republicans are still going to have

"We've got to avoid the danger of just turning this into an interparty conflict. It would be very easy for us to split the Republican Party in two..."

the problem of certain segments of the party pushing a values-based agenda and other segments wanting to focus entirely on an economy based agenda. I used Paul Weyreich as an example because he speaks for much of the conservative movement and he is addressing a strictly value based agenda. It's the same type of thing that Pat Robertson and Ralph Reed are saying at the Christian Coalition. How do we bring everybody together and avoid an interparty war?

MR. PINKERTON: The Republican Party, post Bush, is looking for a leader of Franklin Roosevelt-like or Reagan-like stature, within the party, someone that says, "I know what you guys want, here's what I want, I'm the President, I decide, I got elected, let's go forward together." If we don't find some leader like that, we will have trouble.

RIPON FORUM: Any speculation of who that leader might be?

MR. PINKERTON: I think there is lots of talent out there, but I point out that as late as the summer of 1932, Walter Lippman was describing Franklin Roosevelt as the guy without

much qualification who very much wants to be president. As late as the summer of 1980, people were describing Reagan as some crazy nut actor who was going to blow up the world. So it would be foolish for me to sit here and try to project 3 years ahead. I just think that if the Republican party can create an attractive sort of issues constituency and attract a coalition, and bearing in mind that history is with us in terms of the great trend towards the decommunization and desocialization and debureaucratization of the world, I think somebody will pop up.

RIPON FORUM: You spoke earlier about supporting Bill Clinton. We have some severe national problems now, and everyone is hopeful that Clinton puts forth an agenda that solves some of those problems, or at least to begin the process. Do you see any role for the Republican party in helping Bill Clinton, or are we just too politicized?

MR. PINKERTON: I think we'll have to see what Clinton does. I think Clinton's dilemma is that in December of 1991, he was clearly vying as the "new ideas" Democrat. About this time last year, he spoke to the Democratic State Chairmen in Chicago and just blew all their socks off with talk of redefining government with new ideas. Then a couple of things happened.

First, Paul Tsongas got in the race, and he was appealing in a different way to the same constituency. And then Gennifer Flowers. And Clinton was just completely derailed for a while.

PINKERTON, ***continued on p. 25***

CLINTON WATCH

The Clinton Urban Policy: Is There One?

President Bill Clinton Needs to Get Moving If He Hopes to Satisfy His Big City Constituents

By Donovan D. Rypkema

Donovan D. Rypkema is a real estate and economic development consultant based in Washington, DC.

Among the charges and countercharges which pervaded the 1992 presidential campaign, among the most valid was the Clinton claim that for the past twelve years the Reagan-Bush administrations simply had no urban policy. Issues raised by Jack Kemp, apparently the only ranking administration official that even thought about cities, were consistently shuffled to the bottom of the docket. Only after the Los Angeles riots was there any attention paid to cities and those "too little, too late" efforts were ultimately so encumbered with Congressional pork that Bush vetoed the bill.

Now that Clinton has been elected (not insignificantly with large margins among city voters) does this administration have an urban policy of its own? Unfortunately, for those of us with an interest in and commitment to cities, the answer is clearly "no."

I have no inside track to the Clinton campaign. But the words of Clinton himself, those of his closest advisors, the pattern of the transition appointments, and the position papers of the Clinton-oriented think tanks tell us a great deal.

In the two policy defining speeches of the Clinton campaign — the announcement and the acceptance — the words "city" or "urban" were virtually unspoken. Other than the throw-away lines "...making our cities and our streets free from crime and drugs" and "the most important family policy, urban policy, labour policy... is an expanding entrepreneurial economy..." the mention of our urban areas was conspicuously avoided. Perhaps the campaign managers concluded that the importance of attracting suburban voters to the Clinton fold necessitated purging urban references.

Now the President could well respond, "But we have a whole chapter in *Putting People First*, our plan for changing America, dealing with cities." True. But this chapter is simply a rehash of issues elsewhere dealt with on their own: crime, homelessness, health care, education, infrastructure, housing. Certainly those are important issues (in cities and elsewhere) but where is the urban policy within which these issues are addressed? There is none. Defining approaches to crime, health care, and education as the national "urban policy" is like calling membership in NATO, troops to Somalia, and aid to Egypt the national foreign policy. Certainly each needs to be a component of an overall strategy, but a grocery list is not a policy. Further, this approach only reinforces the perception that cities are only containers of problems, instead of hot beds of opportunity. The decisive role cities play in the emerging global economy is absolutely unrecognized.

But this piecemeal problem approach as substitute for a policy is a direct outgrowth of the thinking of those who most influenced the Clinton campaign. Over the last four years the Progressive Policy Institute (PPI), the think tank arm of the Democratic Leadership Council, issued forty-three publications — position papers, lectures, and essays — many of which found their way, often verbatim, into Clinton campaign vernacular. While perhaps a half dozen dealt with urban issues (public housing, national service, microenterprise, et. al.) none remotely prescribed an underlying urban policy.

Likewise the post-election PPI publication *Mandate for Change* has not a single chapter devoted to cities. Crime is addressed (fund a 100,000 person police corps and pass the Brady bill); infrastructure is mentioned (speed up the disbursement for state and local grants from the 1994 budget into 1993); and federal/state/local relationships are considered (appoint a study commission and a Federalism Czar.) But if *Mandate for Change* fulfills its press packet pledges and becomes the blueprint for the Clinton administration, an urban policy is not on the horizon.

Clinton's intellectual alter-ego, Labor Secretary Robert Reich, is arguably brilliant in a

number of areas. Understanding cities is not among them. To author a prescription for "preparing ourselves for 21st century capitalism" (the subtitle of Reich's *The Work of Nations*) with barely a reference to the role of cities in that context demonstrates either a philosophical myopia or a political bias than cannot serve the future of cities well.

Even one who ought to be demanding a cohesive policy toward cities, Chicago mayor Richard Daley, responded to Clinton's question, "what should the federal government do to help Chicago?" by saying, "Have no urban policy." Clinton apparently heard and heeded.

It is no accident that there was not an "urban cluster" in the transition planning process. Clinton is limiting the issues to be tackled early in the Administration and those seem to be jobs, education, and health care. The only positive signs for those concerned with an overall policy for cities is the selection of Henry Cisneros, former mayor of San Antonio as HUD Secretary and the transition work of Frederico Peña, former mayor of Denver. During their terms of office both demonstrated great creativity in the management of their communities and a fundamental understanding of the nature of cities. Each also garnered considerable Republican support while in office. The ultimate influence either will have in the Clinton administration has yet to be seen.

What does this lack of an overall urban policy by the Clinton administration mean for moderate Republicans? It creates two opportunities, one intermediate term and the other short term. In the intermediate term moderate Republicans could create a comprehensive urban policy. As it took Nixon to go to China, perhaps it can be Republicans who can disregard the assumptions and approaches of the past and define a new role for our urban areas. In the November/December issue of *The Ripon Forum* Congressman Boehlert urged "...the revival of the Tidewater Conference... to discuss and debate issues of long range significance..." A comprehensive urban policy should be among those issues.

In the short run there are a number of proposals that Republicans in Congress should attach to whatever urban-related legislation the Clinton administration proposes. The strength of these amendments is that they are simple, they will have an immediate and positive impact on the revitalization of our cities yet have negligible effect on the federal deficit.

1. Direct the General Services Administration and the Postal Service to immediately stop their pattern of departure from central cities. The relocation of those public institutions has had dramatic adverse effect on other jobs, property values, use of public transportation, retail sales, and other economic components of cities. We can no longer afford the fiscal irresponsibility of having the expenditure of scarce public resources serving only one purpose. By keeping federal government activities in the cities we are doubling the use of taxpayers' funds — providing the government service itself and helping to sustain struggling urban areas.

2. Repeal the application of the Davis-Bacon Act in inner-city projects. The prevailing wage requirements of Davis-Bacon often add twenty to forty percent to the overall cost of projects. Particularly in times of increasing public deficits and high construction unemployment, we simply cannot afford that.

3. Remove the passive activity loss limitations and income caps for investors in the rehabilitation of older and historic structures. Prior to the 1986 Tax Reform Act, the rehabilitation tax credit had earned its place as one of the most effective urban revitalization tools ever created. Billions of private sector dollars were reinvested in our central cities. Because of its effectiveness the rehab tax credit was of the only "tax shelter" tools retained after tax reform. However the passive activity limitations and the income caps have resulted in a 75 percent decline in rehabilitation investment.

4. Direct that ten percent of all Community Development Block Grants monies be allocated to non-profit entities. This is currently done with the low income housing credits. Over the last ten years it has been the non-profit sector that has been the most effective in identifying and responding to urban problems on the local level. Non-profit economic development organizations, housing groups, and neighborhood associations ought to be provided part of community development funds to spur their continuing innovation.

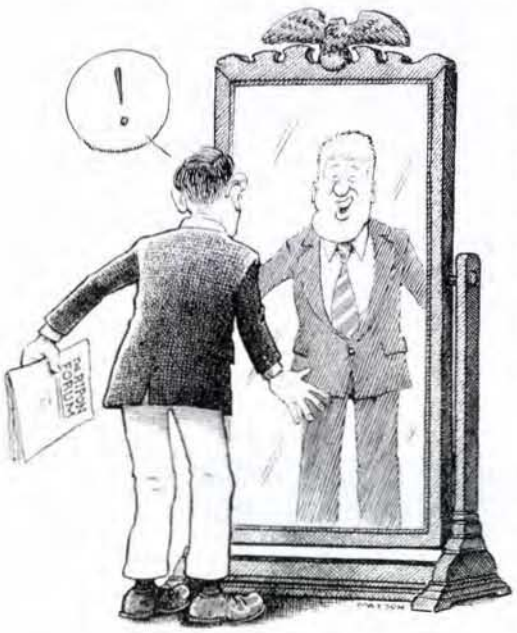
"Defining approaches to crime, health care, and education as the national 'urban policy' is like calling membership in NATO, troops to Somalia, and aid to Egypt the national foreign policy...."

5. The consolidation of financial institutions will continue apace and one of the side effects of this consolidation is the redundancy of banking facilities, often in urban areas. Bank buildings are often difficult to reuse for market driven functions — offices, retailing, housing. But they can be effectively adapted for public and quasi-public functions — day care, meeting facilities senior centers, court rooms, etc. In the applications for acquisitions, mergers, and branch openings and closings, financial institutions should be required to submit disposition plans for their redundant facilities. Approvals and Community Reinvestment Act credit should be given to those institutions who convey these excess facilities to public or non-profit entities.

In summary, there is no Clinton urban policy. There is simply a piecemeal packaging of issues masquerading as an overall approach. Given the intellectual and philosophical bent thus far evident, it is unlikely that a comprehensive urban policy will emerge soon. This provides great short and intermediate term opportunities for moderate Republicans to begin designing an overall urban policy for the future, and to enact simple and effective measures to aid cities today. ■

CLINTON WATCH

Bill and Al's Excellent Adventure



By William McKenzie

William McKenzie is an editorial writer and columnist for the Dallas Morning News.

When Bill Clinton and Al Gore placed their hands on a historical bible on January 20, and pledged to uphold the Constitution of the United States, the new presidential team reinforced America's standing as the only nation to peacefully transfer power throughout its history.

Of course, Bill Clinton has already assumed one important pledge: to not only redirect the Democratic party, but also the federal government. As Mr. Clinton and the Democratic platform state, this administration's aim is to reinvent government.

Sound familiar? It should. Moderate Republicans, who've advocated a progressive conservatism long before Jack Kemp appropriated the title, have made their mark pursuing such public policy aims as "market-oriented" solutions and "results-driven" government.

What Ripon Republicans may not like, however, is that centrist Democrats beat them across the electoral and organizational finish line. If the November results are not convincing enough, consider the new spate of profiles of reform-minded Democrats like Al From.

The executive director of the Democratic Leadership Council, From formed a new organization, raised the necessary dough, and commissioned new Democratic thinkers — each of which helped elect the 42nd president of the United States. What's more, Al From and his DLC Democrats did not begin until 1985.

That self-flagellation aside, the question is how shall progressive Republicans live in the Clinton-Gore era? After all, many of the new Administration's aims sound similar.

First a word must be said about George Bush: he never had the same finish line in sight. As a member of the World War II era, and as a product of America's business class, ideas like "reinventing government" were never close to Mr. Bush's heart. Such thinking was pretty removed from the business class that emerged from World War II.

In some ways, the new political language is purely generational: Baby boomers came of age searching for a new social ethic, but later were forced to earn a living. It's not surprising that while boomers like Bill Clinton and Al Gore believe in government to secure justice, they also wish to make government more cost-effective.

But now that a new era is here, the best advice progressive conservatives could adhere to is quite simple. It is offered by Ripon Society Peter Smith, who says that just because Bill Clinton agrees with moderate Republicans, it doesn't mean they should change their minds.

That paradox is important to understand. So, too, is it essential for Republican centrists to help Bill Clinton define the political center. That task will mean holding his feet to the fire in several areas.

Consider campaign finance reform. While reform legislation was offered and defeated in 1991, the Democratic-pushed bill fell short of meaningful change.

Political Action Committees (PACS), for example, would still have been able to contribute up to $200,000 of a House candidate's overall funds, or $5,000 per House race. A PAC would have been able to contribute only $2,500 per Senate race, but overall PAC spending could have comprised 20 percent of a Senate candidate's funds.

If you agree that special interest politics has reached a new level of intensity, and that intensity is not necessarily good, then reducing the money special interests can spend on behalf of candidates is a worthwhile goal. But will Bill Clinton take the lead on this issue and push his Democratic colleagues toward more serious reform? If not,

why not? Hardly is there an issue that strikes more directly at improving the way government works.

Consider also the federal deficit. The nation is in the hole approximately $300 billion annually. That figure does not take into account refinancing Resolution Trust Corp., which needs an additional $40 billion soon.

Yet despite that glaring budget hole, President Clinton advocated spending $20 billion a year on domestic investment. His list included rebuilding roads, creating high tech networks, guaranteeing college loans for national service, and expanding community-based policing.

To be sure, some of these needs are worthwhile. But how do we pay for them? As far as I can tell, three options exist: deep budget cuts, higher taxes on more than just those earning over $200,000 annually, and more deficit spending.

President Clinton is now formulating a new budget, but until it's released let's take candidate Clinton's proposal..... During the campaign, he only suggested $4 billion in entitlement spending reforms over the next four years. That's the political equivalent of offering a crumb to a starving child. When the entitlement pie is $636 billion annually, trimming $1 billion a year is irrelevant.

Bill Clinton also proposes saving $16 billion through reforming the RTC. That sounds nice, but it would mean recouping one out of every four or five dollars the thrift resolution agency spends from now until its extinction in 1996. To put it Arkansas terms, that dog won't hunt.

At best, Bill Clinton's campaign budget cuts are quasi-serious. That leaves him with only two other options to pay for his spending plans. My hunch is that he extends his tax increases to include wage earners over, say, $80,000 a year. But it's not clear that move — along with quasi-budget cuts — would raise sufficient revenue.

That leaves the deficit, which is the political equivalent of an oil gusher: keep on tapping it and it keeps on spewing out money. But like oil, the deficit is not a renewal resource.

To be sure, casting one's self as a "deficit hawk" is a bit like portraying one's self as the "Church Lady" of *Saturday Night Live* fame. Reproving errant sinners is never fun. But if being a centrist means being fiscally conservative as well as socially liberal, then centrists in both parties should not hesitate to reprove President Clinton if deficit reduction becomes a secondary issue.

With Democrats like Lloyd Bentsen, Leon Panetta and Alice Rivlin in key economic positions, perhaps that won't be the case. But the great threat of the Clinton Administration is that four years from now, the nation will have swell bridges and super computer networks but enough debt to render such improvements meaningless in terms of international competition.

Something moderates can and should focus upon is Bill Clinton's "reinventing government" ethic. He is completely correct to embrace the themes of author David Osborne, whose book *Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector* focuses upon a number of creative concepts.

For instance, Mr. Osborne and President Clinton both speak of "preventive government." That means striking at root causes before they spring into full blown problems.

Moderate GOP governors William Weld and Pete Wilson also have picked up on this idea, and pushed Massachusetts and California, respectively, for increased funding for early intervention programs like prenatal care and Head Start. If you can provide sufficient services to a child at an early age, then it becomes more likely that a child of limited economic means can focus on economic achievement.

Other Osbornian concepts include introducing competition into government services, linking spending to results and creating governments that are "flexible, adaptable, quick to adjust when conditions change." Since these concepts are dear to liberal-conservative hearts, why not be aggressive in finding areas of commonality with the new Clinton crew?

If the reason is partisan Washington politics, which Ross Perot served a shot against last year, then consider the mutually advantageous gains. Bill Clinton can be made to look good in assembling bipartisan coalitions, while being stopped from appropriating essentially liberal Republican ideas. Moreover, GOP moderates can link themselves with a governing philosophy, which is needed to prevent them from being associated with only one issue: abortion rights.

"It's not surprising that while boomers like Bill Clinton and Al Gore believe in government to secure justice, they also wish to make government more cost-effective."

In sum, the Clinton-Gore era will provide progressive conservatives a challenge. On a personal level, the new president is a likeable fellow. He leaves you with the sense that you are the only person in the room. That trait is natural, and certainly a political gift.

Bill Clinton and Al Gore also possess first-rate minds, and they think conceptually. Those are pluses for them as well as the nation.

But it's not at all clear Bill Clinton will live most of his presidential life in the political center. He will face tremendous pressure from Congressional warlords, who love power and thus money and programs. It's quite likely that Bill Clinton — whose stepfather's alcoholism enhanced his need to be liked — will try to please both centrist and traditional liberals.

As he tries to walk that line, centrists should be on guard: Bill Clinton may try to redefine the language of the political center. This is a man, after all, who loves the sound of his own voice. It is thus the challenge of those who live in the center to be true to themselves and honest with the new White House. If the Clinton Administration can be made to stay in the middle, Bill and Al — and all Americans — can have an excellent adventure. ■

HUMOR BY H.P.

The Honor of Your Presence was Requested at the Inauguration of William "Just Plain Bill" Clinton As 42nd President of the United States

In keeping with this year's inaugural theme, "An American Reunion," President Bill Clinton urged the entire nation to stop by Washington on January 20. Those without hotel accommodations were cordially invited to stay at the White House. The following was the intinerary:

6 am — President-elect took a break from all-night policy discussion. Jogs to Cleveland and back. Keeps mind occupied by reeling off assorted 10-point plans to exhausted Secret Service agents. During rest stop, learns advanced kung-fu and becomes the first Rhodes Scholar to make it all the way through Al Gore's book.

6:30 am — Meet with several European ambassadors for breakfast at McDonalds. Dutch treat.

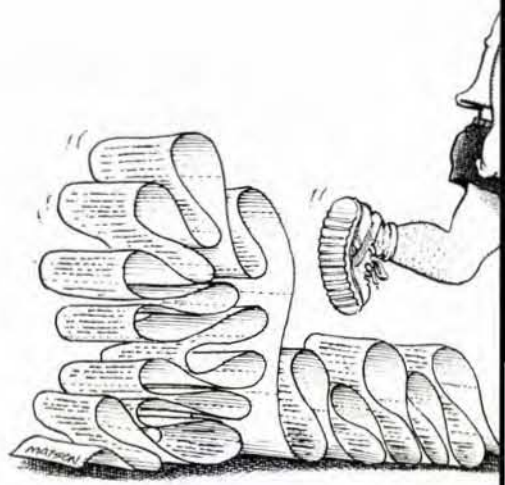
7 am — Drop Socks off at the vet. Remember 10 am appointment to get Hillary de-clawed.

9 am — Fulfilling pledge to appoint Republicans to his administration, Clinton names John Sununu as US pitbull-at-large to the UN. Jerry "Moonbeam" Brown pushed for NASA administrator. Gennifer Flowers rumored in line for Commerce Assistant Secretary for textiles and lingerie.

9:30 am — An open house at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue is abruptly canceled after second floor collapses under weight of several thousand visitors.

10:30 am — Arrive at Greyhound terminal for trip to the Capitol. Box lunches from McDonalds. Dutch treat.

10:45 am — Police report busjacking under Anacostia Freeway. Marine One dispatched to pick up Clinton party. Marine Two dispatched to free Republican pets held hostage by Socks at vet clinic.



12 noon — Aides to Vice President Al Gore lift and prop him up at the podium for swearing in. He is then picked up and moved to VIP section. After several apparent miscues, ("We the Clintons, do solemnly swear...") Chief Justice Rehnquist administers the oath of office to the new president.

12:10 pm — In an effort to "let by-gones be by-gones," Sister Souljah is invited to sing national anthem.

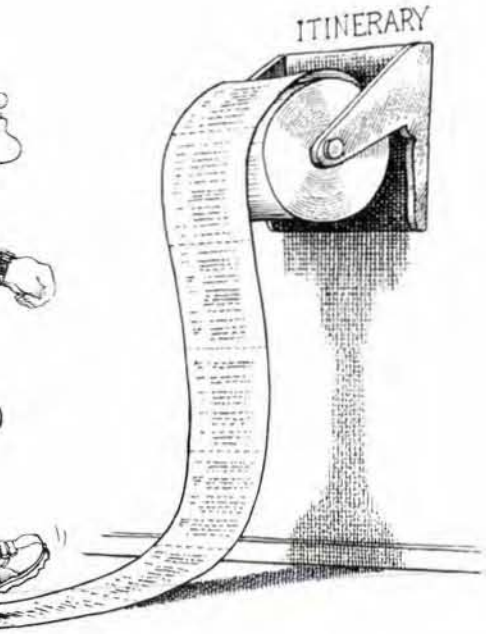
12:20 pm — The new president begins his inaugural address.

By Harry Phillips

Harry Phillips is a Washington-based writer and humorist

Five hours later — Clinton is still talking. Committee organizers decide to begin inaugural parade anyway. Half of audience frozen in place on west lawn of US Capitol. The other half debating whether to go home for dinner or take in some sight-seeing while speech continues. One spectator overheard complaining before kneeling over dead, "we are being ten-pointed to death."

5:30 — Longest inaugural address in nation's history comes to an end. Clinton handed attache case containing nuclear codes. Delivers approving thumbs-up sign to thoughtful aide who has filled it with Big Macs. Taxpayers treat.



6 pm — Presidential motorcade escorted by slightly-tipsy Shriner bikers from the Volunteer State proceeds down Pennsylvania Avenue.

6:15 pm — On way to inaugural ball, Secret Service startled when Clinton bolts out of Limo to work crowd at Metro Center. Vice President Gore, mistaken for a cardboard cutout, finds himself posing for photo with tourists in town for the boat show.

7 pm — Catered dinner featuring: Le Quarter Punder avec cheese; succulent chicken pompoms a la Chef Krok; deep fried sliverettes de potato; fresh garden salads; French vanilla or Royal Dutch chocolate frappe; lightly-sugared deep-baked apple torte. Canine pouche provided.

8 pm — Peter, Paul and Mary and other music groups heretofore thought to be deceased highlight inaugural ball activities. Tijuana Brass, Ukranian dancers and whirling dervishes from Tajakistan demand equal time. Vice President Gore periodically picked up and moved around dance floor.

9 pm — Entire state of Arkansas joins presidential party on stage for a rendition of "We Are the World." Upon hearing this, other 49 states prepare to ask Arkansas for foreign aid.

"10:45 am—Police report busjacking under Anacostia Freeway. Marine Corps One dispatched to pick up Clinton party...."

9:30 — Not one to let opportunities for a colloquy pass by, Clinton enthusiastically discusses health care with a little old lady from Milwaukee. She gives him an earful. He asks her to be HHS secretary.

9:45 pm — CBS reports trouble at UN as Sununu tries to take his seat before a confirmation hearing can be scheduled.

10:15 pm — President Clinton sneaks out to 'you know where' for a quick burger and fries. Invites Americans throughout the world for a midnight cocoa on ground floor of White House.

3 am — Crowd is enjoying themselves so much, inaugural organizers having difficulty getting people to go home before lease on ballroom expires. Moments later, crowd pours out of every available exit after Clinton threatens to deliver brief remarks. A slightly inebriated Al Gore signs bar tab "Ronald Reagan."

5 am — The president goes out in search of staff aides to debate NAFTA agreement. Finding none, he launches into a lively soliloquy-like discussion with Socks about the trade deficit. Finishes off inauguration day festivities with a quick jog to Baltimore.

6:30 am — The first major crisis of the new Clinton administration gets underway as more trouble is reported at the UN. National Guard units put on alert. ■

THE GOVERNORS

Turning Taxachusetts Back into Massachusetts

He talks about Rock 'n' Roll and he acts on deficits. He revels in the words of Nabokov and provides balanced budgets. He is the sportsman, the family man and the tax man. He is the Governor of Massachusetts, Bill Weld.

Over the last two years, Governor Weld has made friends, enemies, headlines and maybe most importantly, a national following. He is the son of a New Yorker; he is married to a Roosevelt; he plays squash and essentially leads what some people would call the perfect life. At the same time, the fledgling governor has taken the economic maelstrom of Massachusetts and transformed it to a calmer sea of hope. Like the boats he sails, he is moving quickly and steadily to tackle a bureaucracy that he says has strangled the Commonwealth for the last eight years.

As President Bill Clinton hosts economic conferences, makes trade trips and speaks of tax credits to revamp the nation's economy, the 47 year old Weld has been following a similar game plan since his 1990 election. While Clinton is not the "No New Taxes Man" nor the supply-sider Weld is, Clinton's ideas to encourage companies to reinvest in themselves and other small U.S. businesses is not unlike programs Weld began implementing two years ago. In fact, Massachusetts' first Republican governor in twenty years has not only acted on these initiatives, but has combined them with spending cuts and tax breaks to move Massachusetts away from the financial nightmare it was, towards investment dreams of jobs and prosperity. An advocate of industrial policy, Weld says his state's government and economy will work in tandem, like a well-oiled machine. It is time for both, he says, "to slim down, get faster and more customer oriented."

After Weld narrowly won the gubernatorial election in 1990, the former U. S. Attorney for Massachusetts and Reagan appointee knew he had to have a game plan. He had to make good on a promise. He would not only tame the ornery "beast" of state government, as he calls it, but would encourage "entrepreneurial government" to economically rejuvenate Massachusetts without raising taxes.

But when this theory of economics is applied to a state where its constituents are suffering from the worst recession since the Depression of the 1930's, eyebrows raise. Every man, woman and child in Massachusetts will tell you times are still tough: unemployment is at nine percent, incomes continue to shrivel and 400,000 jobs have been lost since 1989.

In a state where only 14 percent of registered voters are Republican, some say desperate situations call for desperate measures and that may be why they elected Weld over his Democratic opponent, Boston University President John Silber. They know something must be done. They also know it is they who must make the sacrifices.

When Weld first took office, Massachusetts was literally on the brink of financial collapse. The gubernatorial reign of Michael Dukakis was not the "Massachusetts Miracle" he had claimed but a Massachusetts mess instead. As *U.S. News and World Report* said last year, under Dukakis, "Massachusetts never saw a social program it didn't like."

The leftover problems of the Dukakis years are deep. From 1983 to 1988, he increased the state payroll from 78,500 people at a cost of $1.5 billion a year to 96,000 people costing $2.5 billion. Spending rose at an average of nine percent annually,

Profile: Governor William F. Weld

Career Highlights:

1974 Associate Minority Counsel to the US House Judiciary Committee During theWatergate impeachment inquiry.

1981 US Attorney for Massachusetts, appointed by President Ronald Reagan

1986 Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Criminal Division, resigned in 1988 in light of superiorAttorney General Ed Meese's apparent conflict of interest with the corporation Wedtech.

Education:

1966 Harvard University, graduated *summa cum laude*

1967 Oxford University, received diploma in economics and political science

1970 Harvard Law School, graduated *cum laude*

Family Background:

Weld was born in Smithtown, New York in 1945 and is 47 years old. He lives in Cambridge with his wife Susan Roosevelt and their five children.

By Mimi Carter, Associate Editor of The Forum

equivalent then to almost three times the rate of inflation. Massachusetts quickly became known as "Taxachusetts." The results of such spending were disastrous in conjunction with the recession which was at its darkest when Governor Weld took office. Increased spending for services like government salaries, education or family assistance was now impossible because the state was virtually bankrupt. Even Wall Street rating agencies gave Massachusetts' bonds the worst rating in the country because they were considered barely above junk bond status.

So what's a new governor to do with a $2 billion deficit and a bloated budget?

Cut it.

In his first year of office, Weld slashed $2.6 billion from the '92 budget, the absolute maximum amount that would allow current state programs to operate. As predicted, most cuts came in places where Dukakis had increased spending the most, including social services, state government and higher education. Although the entire state was facing hard times, spending on social programs had increased so dramatically that this was where Weld trimmed first. In 1991, he cut almost 15,000 people from the 39,000 who already received welfare and will probably cut more this year by revamping the federal assistance program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children. He has also limited the eligibility for the health care program, Medicare, for those

WELD, ***continued on next page***

Massachusetts Revival

WELD, *continued from previous page*

between the ages of 18 and 21 who are not disabled or pregnant, thereby cutting almost 9000 more from the relief rolls. Weld says those of this age bracket are better equipped to withstand the loss of health care than older recipients.

Weld's sweeping cuts did not leave state employees unscathed either. During his first year in office, 10,000 jobs were cut from the government payroll. Even civil servants who managed to keep their jobs have yet to see an increase in their salaries which have been frozen since 1990.

The final swing of Weld's ax fell on the Commonwealth's university system forcing its higher education community to withstand some of the highest cuts in the country.

During his first year, Weld made these cuts with very little argument from the legislature. Shortly after his election, Weld also repealed the 5 percent tax on professional services, implemented a research and development tax credit for new business, closed 9 of 35 state and mental hospitals due to under use and proposed to reduce the income tax from 6.2 to 5.95 percent.

Even though many in the state house were uncertain as to whether Weld's moves could begin to alleviate the toll of the "Massachusetts Miracle," their support was imperative. But with a collapsing economy and a Republican state senate, the state house seemed to have little choice but to go along. With political support behind him, Weld not only eliminated the $2 billion deficit but presented the first on-time balanced budget the state had seen in six years.

"So despite what economic indicators may tell them, the Bay Colony wants to see some proof of purchase and soon. The problem is that this kind of proof may not be apparent for 10 or 20 years."

But this was only part of the Weldian solution. Tax cuts and business incentives are what this governor sees as the ultimate key to restoring the Bay State's fiscal sanity. The governor is determined to invest in small businesses, decentralize the bureaucracy through goal-oriented projects and push control of services from the state to the communities. Weld has proposed the privatizing of almost everything from highways to health insurance for prisoners. He sees lucrative gains from investing in biotech industries and reducing the capital gains tax on investments held longer than six years. In short, he is shrinking government and inflating business potential as quickly and as swiftly as possible.

While sound in theory, critics say these ideas are expensive and close to impossible without raising taxes for a state with little or no state funds. It is not surprising then that these Weldian solutions are not always popular at a time when Massachusetts is still so financially weak, generating only enough revenue to keep programs alive and the state running.

"The fiscal '94 budget will be very tight," said Michael Widmer, president of the business backed Massachusetts Taxpayer Foundation. "We will probably have a balanced budget, but there will be little to no surplus."

Critics say if Governor Weld is unable to balance the budget this year, which presently has a gap of about $700 to $900 million, it will be his own fault. Weld's repeal of the 5 percent business tax, his 0.3 percent reduction in income tax and his business tax credit for research and development implemented last year costs the state between $50 and $ 200 million in lost revenue each year. Today, state workers are demanding a 13 percent pay raise which the governor says he will veto because the state doesn't have the money. He says the Massachusetts' budget does not allow for increased expenditures for items not dedicated to the Bay Colony's future

" The Massachusetts economy is recovering very slowly," said Barry Bluestone, senior fellow at the John W. McCormack School of Public Policy at the University of Massachusetts. "Every analyst believes the economy will continue to lag and may never fully recover because of structural problems." This situation, he said, compounded with Weld's long term cuts "leave little room for his new incentives."

Nevertheless, Bluestone also said that the Commonwealth must position itself for the long term, which is exactly what Weld is trying to do. After Wall Street firms raised the Bay State's bond rating to only the second worst in the country last September, Weld took the event as a sign of improvement and a time to move. Shortly thereafter, he proposed a job creation program complete with tax cuts and public financing for business expansion. Although some of the ideas in this package, including the reduction in capital gains tax, were proposed last January and nixed by the legislature, Weld keeps hoping and will push to have them passed.

"With the fiscal crisis behind us, we really should let nothing interfere with job creation," Weld said last September. "My economic development plan will be targeted at that sole objective."

And off he goes. Weld's latest venture requires him to take trade trips to Mexico where he has met with experts to open a dialogue to prepare Massachusetts for a potentially lucrative export business. There is not a lot of extra money for trips such as these, but Weld says he is planning for the future. Yet some voters aren't patient enough to wait for the future. Three years have passed since they voted for Weld and they want jobs, or salary increases or more money for their schools. So despite what economic indicators may tell them, the Bay Colony wants to see some proof of purchase and soon. The problem is that this kind of proof may not be apparent for 10 or 20 years.

"Our economic recovery will be long and slow," said Widmer. "There is very little he or any governor can do right now to turn this state around." ■

GOP POLITICS

Pennsylvania Meets David & Goliath

One more biscuit for breakfast. Baseball announcer Harry Caray uses the phrase whenever a batter hits a deep fly ball that almost clears the fence for a home run but ends up instead in an outfielder's glove.

One might hear it these days in the Capitol Hill offices of the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC) and at GOP gatherings in southwest Pennsylvania.

For in Pennsylvania's 20th Congressional district "one more biscuit for breakfast" or the political equivalent — more money — might have given a little known Republican one of the most stunning upsets of the 1992 campaign. A stronger candidate at the top of the ticket would have helped, too.

The race in the 20th pitted Bill Townsend, a 27 year-old businessman, against veteran Democratic Rep. Austin Murphy. Conventional wisdom said Townsend didn't have a prayer. But the political neophyte almost pulled off what could have been the biggest upset in Pennsylvania that evening and one of the biggest in the country. Townsend came within 3,337 votes of defeating Murphy who received 50.7 percent of the vote in the heavily Democratic district.

"All we had to do was sway three votes in every precinct," Townsend said.

Republicans may be used to writing off a region whose Democratic leanings can be traced to Albert Gallatin, Thomas Jefferson's Swiss born Treasury Secretary who made his home near Uniontown, 50 miles south of Pittsburgh.

But the 20th district, where abandoned coal mines and shuddered steel mills litter the landscape, represents a missed opportunity for Republicans to make electoral inroads in a Democratic stronghold — an opportunity that might not come again for a long time.

Murphy hadn't received less than 60 percent of the vote since his first campaign 16 years ago. Despite a House reprimand for ethics violations in 1987 and links to the House Post Office scandal, he appeared to be the prototypical congressman for life pitted every two years against anemic opposition.

Indeed, in 1988 a year after the House reprimanded Murphy for diverting congressional resources to his law firm and ghost voting, Murphy received 72 percent of the vote against a no-name Republican opponent.

But the heavy baggage of a scandal-tainted

incumbency began to take its toll on Murphy. In 1990 he faced a spirited challenger in the Democratic primary who alleged Murphy led a "secret life" in Washington and charged that the lawmaker had fathered a son out of wedlock — a charge Murphy responded to by stating that he had "never abandoned my responsibility to any of my children."

Murphy won that primary battle, but was in the race of his life two years later. Facing four challengers in the 1992 Democratic primary, he won 36 percent of the vote.

Adding to Murphy's woes was his association with the two major congressional scandals of 1992: the House Post Office and the House Bank. Murphy invoked the fifth amendment to avoid testifying to a grand jury after being subpoenaed in the investigation, and the lawmaker wrote six overdrafts on his account at the House Bank.

Nonetheless, Townsend making his first run for elective office was the decided underdog in the race against Murphy, an eight term lawmaker who serves as the chairman of the House Labor

GOLIATH, ***continued on p.24***

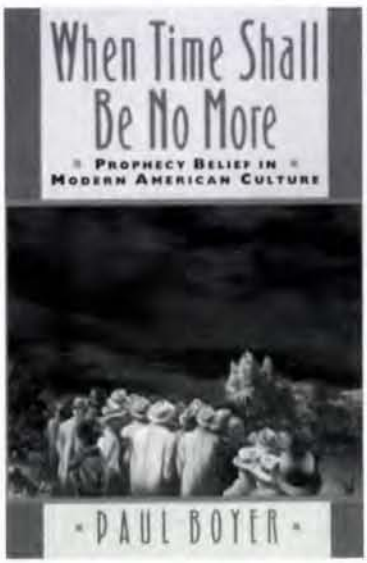
By Bob Mitchell

Bob Mitchell is a Washington- based writer

BOOK REVIEW

Strange Bedfellows

Review By
Bill Tate



When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture
By Paul Boyer
Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1992.
$29.95

The Bible is unique among the sacred writings of the world's religions in that it purports to provide an account of the whole of history. Opening with the words "In the beginning" of the creation story of Genesis 1:1 and closing with the vision of the new Jerusalem descending from heaven at the end of time in the concluding chapters of Revelation, it presents history as moving linearly between a divinely established inception and a preordained conclusion.

Most would agree that the Old and New Testaments have had a defining effect on the mind and imagination of the West. But the claim that the Bible — taken as containing a literal account of what took place in the past as well as a foretelling of what will happen in the future — continues to be an important influence on the politics of the United States will strike many as bizarre. Yet this is precisely the thesis of Paul Boyer's important and troubling book, *When Time Shall Be No More*.

The majority of Boyer's book is given over to a detailed discussion of "prophesy belief" or "dispensational premillennialism" in America. This is the conviction that history is divided into a series of historical periods and will end after the Second Coming of Christ and a millenium or thousand-year period of peace and holiness on earth. It teaches, Boyer says,

> that God at the beginning of time determined a specific, detailed, plan for history's last days—a plan revealed in the Bible with minute particularity, though in symbolic language and veiled images.

Boyer believes that the enduring appeal of this way of thinking exists because of the larger religious belief system of "fundamentalism." According to Boyer the rise of premillennialism in this country accompanied the rise of the fundamentalist movement within U.S. evangelicalism. Disturbed by "Modernism" — the rise of evolutionary theory, the reforms of the Social Gospel movement and liberal theology in general, and particularly the application of historical-critical interpretative methods to the Bible — evangelicals in the early twentieth century responded by clarifying and systematizing their basic beliefs.

The movement took its name from the World's Christian Fundamentals Association founded in 1919 and from twelve brief manifestos entitled *The Fundamentals: Testimony to Truth* mailed free to over 3 million U.S. Protestant leaders between 1910 and 1915. Among the beliefs listed as essential to a true understanding of the Christian faith was the inerrancy of the Bible, including the literal truth of the creation stories, the accounts of Jesus' virgin birth, resurrection, and the texts which told of his physical return to earth at the end of history.

"A leadership willing to do anything to win has attempted to secure the support of fundamentalist Christians through the manipulation of professional religionists willing to trim their theological sails to every popular whim. The result is a party in danger of losing both its mind and its soul."

Boyer identifies the principal biblical sources of prophecy belief to be the books of Ezekiel and Daniel in the Old Testament and the Book of Revelation in the New, and he makes two points about these "apocalypses." The first point compares them with the writings of the classic prophetic tradition. These used plain language to speak of contemporary events, understood good and evil in terms of individual and corporate behavior, and

called for action to bring about change. The writings in the apocalyptic tradition, on the other hand, used symbol and allegory to "unveil" the divine plan at work behind the events of the day. They tended to understand good and evil in dualistic terms as opposing forces in a cosmic drama to which individuals and nations were primarily passive spectators.

Boyer's second point is that these apocalyptic texts were produced at times of extreme threat to the audiences to which they were addressed. Ezekiel and Daniel both date from eras when the Jews faced extinction as a nation at the hands of powerful neighbors. Similarly, the best known Christian apocalypse — the Revelation of John — is addressed to the Christian churches of Asia Minor during the persecution instituted by the Roman Emperor Domitian.

These two aspects of prophecy belief — its dualism and it's tendency to increase its hold on the popular imagination in times of external threat to the community — continue to be central to the phenomenon to the present day. Thus, Boyer writes:

> At the popular level, particularly in America, the apocalyptic texts remained what they had always been: a vital source of doctrine, reassurance, and foreknowledge. Ordinary believers continued to pore over their pages and to look expectantly for the events they found predicted there. Even at this level, however, interest in prophetic interpretation fluctuated, waning in tranquil times and intensifying during periods of uncertainty, upheaval, and danger—most recently in the post-1945 decades of nuclear menace Cold War alarms, and unsettling technological developments.

While they vary in details the writers' predictive schemes, which Boyer calls "prophecy popularizers" contain the same main elements. The timetable put forth by John Darby in the late 19th century is representative. Based on a careful, if often strained, reading of selected apocalyptic texts, Darby taught that the present or "Church Age" began with the crucifixion and would include the reestablishment of a Jewish state in Palestine and the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem. He said the next will begin with the "Rapture" — the moment when all believers will be caught up to meet Christ in the air. This will be followed by the seven-year rule of the Antichrist, the so called "Tribulation," which in turn will end with Christ's return and the defeat of the Antichrist in the "Battle of Armageddon." Then will follow the "Millennium," Christ's thousand-year reign; a final unsuccessful uprising by Satan, the resurrection of the dead, and history's closing event, the Last Judgment.

Boyer's discussion of the influence of prophecy belief on U.S. foreign policy and domestic politics during the Cold War is both fascinating and somewhat frightening. The era's bipolar tensions and accelerating social change have provided the authors of these schemes with much material on which to speculate. The collection of quotes from such prominent political figures as Ronald Reagan, James Watt, Caspar Weinberger and C. Everett Koop, as well as from such professional fundamentalists as Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson and Billy Graham is illuminating and troublesome.

So, too, is his explanation of the continuing appeal of prophecy belief, which he links to the comparatively high level of evangelical faith and practice in the United States. Pointing out that in a 1986 Gallup poll 32 percent of the respondents identified themselves as "born again" or evangelical Christians, Boyer finds even more revealing the fact that *the* nonfiction bestseller of the 1970's, with 9 million copies in print by 1978 and 28 million by 1990, was a popularization of premillennialism, Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth* (1970).

"We need to be more true to the "small d" democratic traditions on which the party was founded, and make clear to fundamentalists they are welcome to participate in the debate on how best to represent these values in the future only if they observe the terms under which this debate must take place."

Boyer concludes that "the impulse to uncover coherence and overarching meaning" in the "aimlessness of secular history" has always been an important attraction of prophecy belief. Its strength in this country springs from its sharing with other American grassroots religious movements an ability "to communicate with people at the culture's edge and to give them a sense of personal access to knowledge, truth, and power."

This is the most benign source of premillennialism's appeal. Far more troubling is the authoritarianism on which prophecy belief and ultimately fundamentalism rests. Millennial writings are overwhelmingly concerned, Boyer writes, "with order and harmony, often explicitly contrasted with the disorder and disharmony of contemporary social existence."

But it is an order and harmony imposed from outside the messy work of politics, not achieved through taking part in that work. Prophecy writing reveals a deep longing for a leader, Boyer notes, "who will at last lift the burden of responsibility from humanity's shoulders." It is a longing humanity has sought to satisfy at uncounted cost.

When Time Shall Be No More is a long and scholarly treatment of a subject which Boyer admits could be dismissed as "a trivial blind alley in human thought," but one which hovers "on the brink of major intellectual issues." The book will repay manyfold the effort it requires. It contains a particularly important lesson for Republicans.

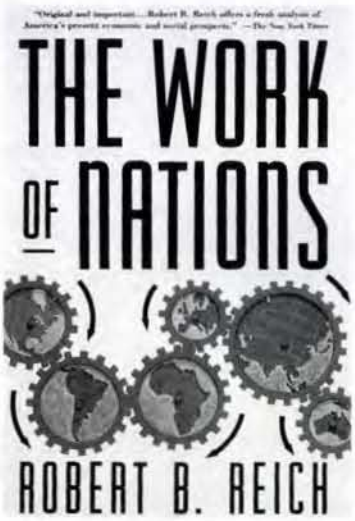
An old saying has it that politics makes for strange bedfellows and never has this been more true than it is now for the Republican Party. A leadership willing to do anything to win has

BOYER, ***continued on p. 31***

BOOK
REVIEW

A Guru's Gleanings

Review By
Andrew H. McLeod



The Work of Nations: Preparing Ourselves for 21st Century Capitalism
By Robert B. Reich
First Vintage Books, 1991, 1992

Might it be that the new Secretary of Labor has hanging above his desk a portrait of... Calvin Coolidge?

Perhaps not. Yet, it was to that taciturn Republican predecessor of Bill Clinton that Robert Reich looked for the words that open his 1991 book *The Work of Nations: Preparing Ourselves for 21st-Century Capitalism*: "Patriotism is easy to understand... It means looking out for yourself by looking out for your country."

And it is a "new patriotism" to which Reich aspires for this country as it encounters a new economic world order. His is a "positive economic nationalism" that strictly defines and bolsters the essential factors of production, rejects protectionism, encourages the transition from fading traditional industries to new technologies, and, most profoundly, demands greater social responsibility on the part of the most privileged in our society.

In presenting his vision of the new world economic order, Reich, the non-economist from Harvard's Kennedy School of Government who shared the experience of a Rhodes Scholarship with Clinton 20 years ago, pours through a wide range of social, economic, and public policy issues with clarity and conviction. And despite its shortfalls — both substantive and methodological — *The Work of Nations* is a provocative and instructive defense of a philosophy vying for preeminence in the nascent Clinton Administration and of the need for dramatic political and social change in America. Reich's premise is that the rules of the international economic game have changed over the past quarter century. Gone is the era when "the well-being of individual citizens, the prosperity of the nation, and the success of the nation's core corporations seemed inextricably connected."

Instead, the world economy is now dominated by "global webs," multi-nationals whose defining characteristic is that they seek out and exploit low-cost production around the world. More important than the home location of a firm and the nationality of its investors is where the actual production occurs and who adds value.

"Intellectual and financial capital can come from anywhere, and be added instantly... (this) ecumenical company competes with similarly ecumenical companies headquartered in other nations... (that) the strength of the American economy is synonymous with the profitability and productivity of American corporations is thus an axiom on the brink of anachronism."

Numerous examples of such global webs are offered, and they are not surprising. For example, the sports car financed in Japan, designed in Italy, assembled in Indiana, Mexico, and France, using components invented in New Jersey and fabricated in Japan. To argue that the automobile is American, Japanese or Mexican is almost meaningless, the author maintains.

The factor of production that is most critical is determined by where the work takes place and by what nation's citizens benefit. The workers who possess the specific skills necessary to create value and wealth are capable of doing so anywhere in the world.

Says Reich: "... so much of the value provided by the successful enterprise — in fact the only value that cannot easily be replicated worldwide — entails services: the specialized research, engineering, and designed services necessary to solve problems; the management services for brokering the first two... the only true competitive advantage lies in skill in solving, identifying, and brokering new problems."

These people, to whom he gives the awkward label of "symbolic analysts," are lawyers, management consultants, civil engineers and also advertising executives, journalists, and film makers. They comprise approximately 20 percent of the American workforce (up from 8 percent in the 1950s). Their talents are the linchpin to the world economy.

However, in the United States, unlike other nations, these symbolic analysts are "seceding" from the society. They have chosen to enjoy their advantage and to consume, withdrawing from social and political activism and failing to look out for the majority of their countrymen who are producing less, earning less, and competing less successfully with their international counterparts.

"As the economic fates of Americans diverge, the top one-fifth may be losing the long-held sense of connectedness with the bottom fifth, or even the bottom four-fifths, that would motivate such generosity," Reich writes, "... (no) longer are Americans rising or falling together, as if in one national boat. We are increasingly, in different, smaller boats."

This secession by symbolic analysts, Reich believes, is manifested in the recent and current decline in "public investment" — a phrase whose usage in the new Democratic era is widespread and, thus, a reason for wariness. The wealthy and productive are unwilling to expend real and political capital to enhance American competitiveness. As a result, the policies that Reich believes are necessary to increase productivity and ultimately to remedy widespread social ills are not politically viable and are not enacted.

Reich properly advocates public investment in education, training and infrastructure. But because he backed such spending whatever the cost to support it, he stumbles into the most fundamental flaw of *The Work of Nations* and places himself squarely at odds with other leading voices of the new Administration.

His rejection of the notions of "national capital" and of the "crowding out" of private investment by public spending causes him to have no worries about the national debt. "When capital moved less freely across national borders, it was generally true that its cost in any one country depended on the level of national savings... (by) the 1990's, however, the savings of many nations were combining into a vast pool which sloshed across national borders in search of the highest returns." Thus, he argues, "there is nothing terribly wrong with being indebted to foreigners — so long as the borrowings are invested in factories, schools, roads, and other means of enhancing future production... (debt) is only a problem if the money is squandered on consumption."

While few people who lived through the 1980s will challenge his admonitions about over consumption, the author's disregard for the current $4 trillion national debt (approximately half the gross domestic product) is reason for serious reservation about this aspect of his prescription. The broad mainstream of American thinking—keep in mind that Reich is an attorney and lecturer — agrees that the $300 billion annual deficits contribute to high-long term interest rates. Can the international flow of capital be so perfect and unhindered that there does not exist an unsustainable level of debt?

Yet, even given his serious blind spot about the influence of the public dis-savings and the insufficient means with which to pay for his investments, Reich's defense of public spending — particularly spending for education — as critical to future competitiveness is a passion for increased spending with the political will to properly raise the necessary revenue. His call for a more progressive tax code simply is not sufficient.

At the same time, it is important to recognize that while Reich's belief in the absolute primacy of global webs over traditional national firms causes him to dismiss the importance of the trade balance, it also makes him a strong proponent of free trade. This is a significant and promising development for an individual whose previous writings endorsed an industrial policy for the United States.

"the only value that cannot easily be replicated worldwide — entails services... the only true competitive advantage lies in skill in solving, identifying, and brokering new problems."

All of which, finally, leads Reich to his powerful concluding sentiment. "Who is 'us'?" he asks. "The question is whether the habits of citizenship are sufficiently strong to withstand the centrifugal forces of the new global economy. Is there enough of simple loyalty to place — of civic obligation, even when unadorned by enlightened self-interest — to elicit sacrifice nonetheless? We are, after all, citizens as well as economic actors; we may work in markets but we live in societies. How tight is the social and political bond when the economic bond unravels?"

Silent Cal was right. And on this point Secretary Reich is right. It is time to look out for our country. ■

Andy McLeod is an Assistant Secretary for Resources in the Administration of Governor Pete Wilson of California.

Young Challenger Comes Close

GOLIATH, ***continued from p.19***

Standards subcommittee.

Townsend faced the disadvantages that typically encumber challengers in congressional races: no name recognition, little money and a well known opponent with easy access to the political action committee contributions that fuel congressional campaigns.

Murphy raised $220,250 in contributions in 1992, with 79 percent — or $174,650 — coming from special interest political action committees. By contrast, Townsend raised $51,680, with 68 percent — $35,170 coming from individual donors.

Townsend said he had enough to run his campaign, but conceded that a larger war chest would have helped. "It didn't allow us the opportunity to get in television, that type of thing," he said of his campaign budget.

TV exposure would have been especially crucial in the 20th. The two Pittsburgh newspapers, which would have raised Townsend's profile with extensive coverage of the race, were not publishing because of a strike by teamsters.

"We didn't have the attention of the Pittsburgh TV stations at all," Townsend said.

In addition, Townsend was hobbled by a weak candidate at the top of the ticket. Pennsylvania was George Bush country in 1980, when he defeated Ronald Reagan in the state's Republican primary, and again in 1988 when he carried the state over Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis.

But Bush managed 36 percent of the vote losing the state to Bill Clinton this time around. In each of the Democratic counties that make up the 20th, Bush's percentage of the vote fell between 9 and 13 percent in 1992 from 1988 levels.

"Had we had a normal presidential performance, it would have been enough that it would have put him over the top," said Tom Cole of the NRCC.

Despite his ethics problems and the close call in the Democratic primary, Murphy and district Democrats apparently believed that he would have smooth sailing in the fall against Townsend.

Democrat Kenneth Burkley, one of Murphy's primary challengers, said he ran into some Democrats close to the lawmaker's campaign who claimed to have polling numbers showing Murphy winning by landslide proportions. "I walked away and said to one of my friends, 'they're full of ___,'" Burkley recalled.

While many political pundits had written Townsend off, Cole, the NRCC and Burkley had not. Cole said the NRCC spent $40, 396 on Townsend's behalf--most of which went for direct mail.

Republican interest was sparked by what Cole says was a "lazy and arrogant index" that identified potentially vulnerable Democrats. "Austin Murphy scored very high," Cole said.

"What he mostly had going for him was what Austin Murphy had going against him," Burkley said of Townsend. "Everybody marvels, myself included, at how Austin had been able to weather storms on the big scandals. I think the cumulative effect helped Bill Townsend."

Townsend said his campaign organization knocked on the door of more than 20,000 homes in the district but was hurt by a small and demoralized local Republican Party.

"There's just not much organization there. They really had a shot at doing something. Everybody in the campaign knew we could win this thing, but it was very difficult convincing the Republican Party locally that we could," he said.

Townsend had nothing but praise for the NRCC: "I think they did everything they could do," but some said funding for the direct mail operation came too late. The campaign's last mailing arrived at some homes November 4, one day after the election, Townsend said.

GOP prospects in the district in 1994 are uncertain. Townsend said he hopes his strong showing convinced Republicans and other voters in the district that he is a competitive candidate. "If I would have been blown out, I would have felt kind of stupid. But being so close I feel confident we can make another run at it in two years," he said.

Others are less optimistic. Cole said Republican chances are good if Murphy seeks another term but not so strong if — as rumored — he retires.

"That's going to be a very difficult district for any Republican to win," said David Buffington, publisher of the Pennsylvania Political Report. ■

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H. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete: William Ozonoff.

PINKERTON, *continued from p. 9*

And Clinton then wound up getting nominated on the backs of New York Mayor David Dinkins and Coleman Young and Ray Flynn, the mayor of Boston. These guys nominated him, and these guys aren't interested in new ideas, they're interested in the old ideas, they think the old ones are fine, and they certainly have been good to them personally. So Clinton has got to sort that out.

I think anybody who thinks about the state of the roads in this country and the schools and the state of health care, would probably say, yeah, there's a heck of a problem here. And if we agree on that much, then the question becomes: What do we do about it?

It's hard to see how anybody can talk seriously about reforming education or the public housing system or the welfare system without moving towards a nonbureaucratic empowering model of this. If that's the case, then what do you do with the bureaucrats?

Now, the Republicans don't really have this problem because by and large this kind of old paradigm, centralized, bureaucratic constituencies all reside within the Democratic Party. So if Clinton simply spends more money and writes checks, he can just simply roll the Republicans in Congress and pass his agenda without any help from us. I suspect if he does that, he'll have a hard time getting reelected because he only got 43 percent of the vote to begin with. If you take the Bush vote and the Perot vote, that's an overwhelming majority. I did not see a lot of liberals, guys in ponytails and women with cat's-eye glasses, at Perot rallies. They look like Reagan Democrats to me and Bush supporters from the '80s.

But if Clinton wants to go to a new ideas system, then he's going to have to reach out to the progressive Republican elements, and say, "We're here to solve problems together."

RIPON FORUM: You've said that the Bush White House was somewhat reluctant to take chances and try new ideas. To what extent is Bill Clinton going to have to take chances in order to be successful?

MR. PINKERTON: I think that he's going to come to grips, come to blows, pretty quickly with the left wing of his party, and if he wants to get legislation through Congress, he's going to need us.

RIPON FORUM: Let me ask you a personal question. A lot of people in the Republican Party classify themselves as libertarians or moderates or hard-core conservatives. Have you ever classified yourself?

MR. PINKERTON: Well, I have trouble with that. I voted libertarian in '76, and I voted Republican in the last four presidential elections. I've never quite felt comfortable calling myself a conservative because you just buy into too much baggage, and yet I'm not liberal. I have trouble with the term "moderate" because it implies the desire to split the difference, it implies to me an inability to deal with conflict.

I think I'm a Hegelian. I apply radical thinking to wind up in the middle. One might say to the American people, "Mr. and Mrs. America, you got what you wanted. We agree on these goals: We're going to educate everybody, we're going to take care of people, we're not going to have homelessness, we're going to have health care."

Now, having agreed on those goals, which would be defined as sort of centrist goals, the last thing we want to do is simply take the same incompetent, creaky, senescent system that we've had for the last 75 years and simply pump another gallon of gas into it and hope that it wheezes through with some solution.

Hegel described history not as a pendulum going back and forth, where you could freeze the pendulum in the middle and stay halfway between the left and halfway between the right, but as a spiral, where people would use new knowledge to advance the ball.

RIPON FORUM: A couple of years ago, you gave a speech in which you outlined a domestic program , "The New Paradigm," which got a lot of attention, yet didn't get much play at the White House. What were the consequences of ignoring such a domestic policy agenda?

MR. PINKERTON: I think Bush would have won if Bush had an active domestic policy. Call it the New Paradigm, call it the Old Paradigm, call it whatever. People don't entirely vote on just present day evaluations of circumstances; they vote based on future evaluations. They looked at Bush and they said, "If we reelect this guy, nothing is going to change." That might not be a fair statement, but that's what they thought. ■

Ripon Forum's Moderate Republican Picks for the 103rd Congress

Tillie Flower — Florida

One of only three Republican women elected to the House this fall, Mrs. Fowler brings the number of women to 12 altogether. Unlike many others who were running an anti-incumbent race or a dirty tricks campaign, Fowler managed to run a no-nonsense campaign and beat her Democratic opponent 54-44 percent in the race for this open seat. Fowler says she plans to leave the House of Representatives after eight years just as she left her councilwoman position after the same amount of time. She has said elected officials should serve no longer. Like the other GOP women in the House and Senate, Fowler is a moderate Republican and supports not only abortion rights, but a balanced budget amendment as well.

Jack Quinn — New York

Jack Quinn's unexpected win in this Democratic stronghold of up state New York's Buffalo district, might have caught him by surprise. An English teacher and self-described moderate Republican, Quinn ran a strong anti-incumbent race against political insider Dennis Gorski for this open seat vacated by Rep. Henry Novak. Quinn's new district, which is apparently suffering real economic hardship, will require some innovative handling if he is to keep his seat after two years.

Peter Torkildsen — Massachusetts

A Governor Weld appointee, this former commissioner of the Massachusetts Department of Labor and state representative was a traditional conservative until he launched his campaign for the House this year. But now at 34, Torkildsen has revamped his political stance since being a legislator and will craft what his new Administrative Assistant Steve Sutton called a more "Weldian" voting record. Already in that mode, Torkildsen has already promised to co-sponsor the Freedom of Choice Act now pending in Congress.

Steve Horn — California

Although originally from California, Horn was a politico early on when he came to Washington in the 1950's as a political appointee in the Eisenhower Administration. Afterward, he was an aide to Republican senator Thomas Kuchel where he worked on legislation such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. He is the author of several books on Congress and a former Brookings Institute fellow.

Robert Franks — New Jersey

A New Jersey native, Robert Franks is the new House Representative for its 7th district. A natural successor to incumbent Rep. Matt Rinaldo who announced unexpectedly he would seek his fortune in the private sector, Franks has been involved with the GOP since 1979 when he first won his state assembly seat. Franks had also been state party chairman since 1988, where he was head of the policy and rules committee for the Assembly. One of the only Republican members who ran without an endorsement from the NRA, Franks is also an advocate of abortion rights.

Deborah Pryce — Ohio

Deborah Pryce, municipal judge for Franklin County, mother of two and now US Representative of Ohio's 15th district ran a tough race this fall. Not only did she have to defeat Richard Cordray, a Democratic state representative, but also had to take on independent candidate Linda Reidelbach, who entered the race merely to protest Pryce's pro-choice position. Pryce supports the balanced budget amendment and term limitations but said during her campaign that she believes that the language in the Freedom of Choice Act is too vague because, she said, it is not specific on whether states will be able to apply the parental notification restriction.

Jim Greenwood — Pennsylvania

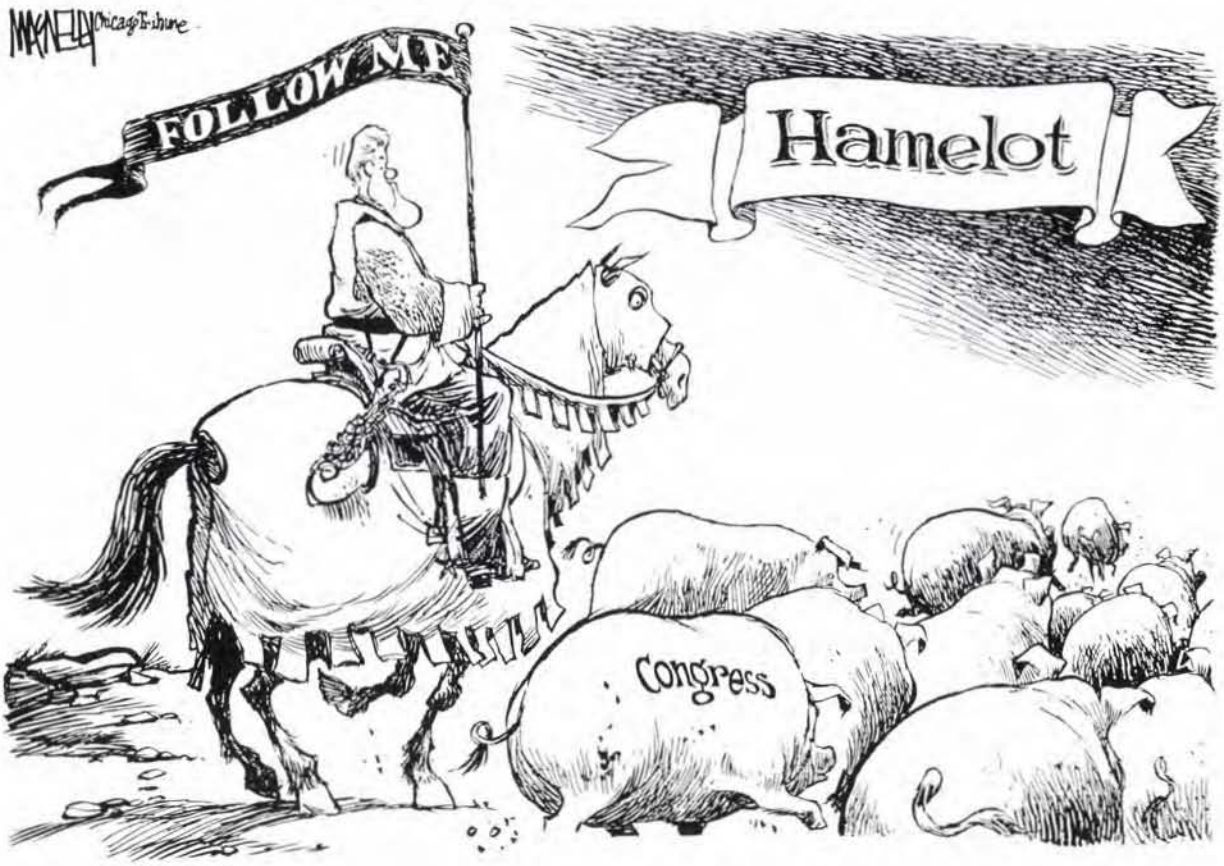
With experience in both state house and senate, Greenwood is not new to politics or the typical fights in party leadership in his traditionally conservative home of the party leadership in Harrisburg. A moderate on social issues but fiscally conservative, Greenwood appears to also hold the Weldian model in mind during his career in politics. Greenwood is an abortion-rights advocate as well as a proponent of term limits.

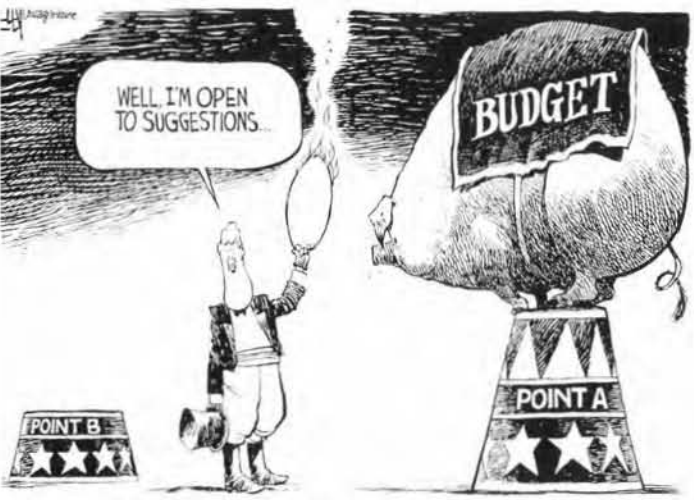
Henry Bonilla — Texas

Texas news anchor Harry Bonilla, who beat four term incumbent Rep. Albert Bustamante (D) by 61 percent, will be one of the three Hispanic Republican members in the 103rd Congress. But the native San Antonian is different than most Hispanic legislators in that he does not see the Republican party as the natural home for Hispanics because it is anti-Castro, but because it is the working man's party. ■

by Jeff MacNelly

LIGHTER SIDE





OPINION

Moderates or Progressives?

By Mark Uncapher

Mark Uncapher is a New York communications attorney and was Ripon Society president from 1987 to 1990

The inability of "moderate Republicans" or "progressive Republicans" to agree on what to call themselves reflects an underlying tension between moderate/centrist Republicans directed at "making goverment work" and "progressive" Republicans focused on a philosophy of individuals' rights and "classical liberalism." The dividing line also splits over the balance of power between elite "experts" and individuals.

Following an unusual year in which incumbents were rejected in record numbers, the public is particularly hostile to agendaless politicians and those whose primary purpose seems to be staying in office. Rarely has a strategy of governing by accomodating contrasting ideas enjoyed less support. The term limitation movement reflects the appeal of a wholesale rejection of a career political elite. A free minds/free market agenda appeals to disenchantment with the domination of both party structures by activists wanting government power to serve their own goals. Average voters are far more likely to be both fiscally conservative and socially tolerant than those most active in either party.

"All party factions change over time."

All party factions change over time. The Republican right of Pat Robertson has come a long way from the Goldwater movement of the Cow Palace, just as the voting rights revolution transformed Southern Democrats. The Republican moderate/progressive wing has undergone many changes. Beginning with the abolitionist movement, it emerged as a reform wing later in the 19th century. At the turn of the century the progressive spirit of Teddy Roosevelt gave it new direction. Between the wars, this wing of the GOP evolved into a cross between the midwestern progressives and the Eastern internationalists at odds with the party's dominant isolationist outlook. After World War II we tried to make the party accept the results of the New Deal era, both out of conviction and as a potentially successful political strategy. But the electoral successes of Nixon, Reagan and Bush undermined the claim that only Republican moderates could win. The Reagan era policy shifts have reduced the appeal of accommodation with a liberal agenda.

The increased economic conservatism of moderate/progressive Republicans reflects Reagan's successes. Many assumed, before 1980, that Republicans should strive for the best accommodation possible with liberal Democrats even thought Reagan had no realistic prospect of success. His triumphs encouraged a more a determined adherence to conservative economics. Moderate/progressive Republican governors such as John McKernan of Maine, Bill Weld of Massachusetts and Pete Wilson of California now follow his example by fighting to cut spending and resist tax increases. They are a long way from John Lindsay's liberal Republicanism.

Another aspect of the divide between moderates and progressives reflects an old debate. It sets the Hamiltonians, who prefer reserving power for knowledgeable elites, against the 'Jeffersonians,' who prefer limiting government's power over individual. In a recent article in *The Ripon Forum*, Peter Smith's "Changing Tides" reads as an appeal to political elites to "get governing right" or else be swept aside by political wrath.

As Smith notes, communications technologies are reshaping society, allowing individuals more freedom from intervening "gatekeepers." In the last twenty years the *Fortune* 500 corporations' share of total American employment has dropped from 21 percent of total employment to 10 percent. The number of Americans reporting self-employment income now exceeds the number of unionized workers in private indusrty. The reluctance of

PROGRESSIVES, ***continued on p.31***

Will the Real Evangelicals Please Stand Up?

The battle between the religious right and the Republican centrists for control of the Party has begun. But before the troops are fully committed to an inextricable engagement, we should be clear about who is fighting whom. The common tendency is to associate the "evangelical wing" of the Republican party with the extreme television-funded fundamentalist political right. Leaders of the religious right are doing their best to foster this impression so they can manipulate this huge and influential constituency to remove "moderates" and "progressives" from the party leadership.

The tactic is simple: pick an issue on which developing public attitudes are in conflict with traditional hard-line religious doctrine and force moderates and progressives to denounce the importation of religion into public life. The latter are then susceptible to charges of lack of moral principle, or even Godless "secular humanism," irrespective of their personal convictions.

The reason why this works is that Christian fundamentalism is the most vocal element of the renewed, and far-broader, evangelical movement. That broader group is much more diverse and tolerant than its most vocal representatives. But the broader group will rally against any blanket denunciation of the public importance of religious belief or of spiritually motivated public activism.

For the most part, Republican moderates have no beef with the evangelical movement. Many progressive moderates, Christian and non-Christian, also qualify as evangelicals in their private lives. They do not wish to see religious beliefs become part of governmental regulation but they are pained to see Republicans denouncing evangelicism generically.

While they do not feel that the religious right speaks for them, they welcome the renewal of faith in the United States and hope that it will assist in public as well as private improvements. Indeed, daunted as the nation is by difficulty, they see the prospects of government dimming, and the need for faith increasing. Many see no other answer.

Evangelicism is firmly rooted in the history of American thought and practice. Its most general theme is that of placing primary reliance for the moral improvement of America outside governmental institutions. That view is shared by the "moderate/progressive" wing of the Republican party, and indeed it is this theme that distinguishes centrist Republicans from mainstream Democrats. But that theme goes hand in hand with taking democratic government seriously, and barring the door to subversion of democracy, and evangelicism itself, by the charlatans and witch-doctors of the religious right.

Instead of cutting themselves off from these attitudes, Republican moderates should be speakingto that key constituency more than ever. The danger facing the party now is that it will play directly into the hands of the self-styled Christian Coalition, who would like nothing more than for Republican progressives and moderates to declare war on all evangelicals. ■

By Fred Kellogg

Fred Kellogg is a regular contributor to the Ripon Forum

GOP POLITICS

Dance to the Left, Dance to the Right

By Congressman Sherwood Boehlert

New York Congressman Sherwood Boehlert is Chairman of the Ripon Society

For the majority of House Republicans serving in Congress with a Democratic president will be a new experience, one that requires some reflection especially for Republicans of moderate, independent persuasion.

The first matter to reflect upon, and the chief concern for an elected representative, is the mood of the electorate.

"The first matter to reflect upon, and the chief concern for an elected representative, is the mood of the electorate."

What the people have been seeing in Washington is politics as usual; gridlock, divided government, rampant partisanship, and frankly a degree of irrelevance. What Americans desperately want is to see their president and the Congress actually working together dealing with the problems the people care about.

Well, the people elected Bill Clinton as president, and they gave him solid working majorities in the House and the Senate. So much for divided government and gridlock as excuses for the failure to act. But it's not certain that the left-wing-dominated House Democrats will see eye-to-eye with President Clinton on solutions to the three great concerns of the day: economic growth, deficit reduction, and health care reform.

Thomas E. Mann, director of government relations at the Brookings Institution, has said "I have long felt that if Clinton wants to govern as a new Democrat as well as campaign as one, he will need to build a centrist coalition that includes a number of Republicans." That notion will be tested early in the Clinton Administration because the congressional wing of the Democratic Party is demonstrably more liberal than the Governor of Arkansas. I don't pay much attention to all of the cooing and billing going on these days. There will be an extended Clinton honeymoon only if he as president makes major concessions to the congressional wing of his party or the liberals to him. The alternative that Tom Mann suggests is that the president will look to progressive Republicans to supplement his congressional majority and compensate for the defection of the most liberal Democrats on critical issues.

Matters of war and peace, the size and scope of the defense budget, intrusive government regulation of business, the extensive federal mandates on state and local governments, program reforms for those such as public assistance will all combine to present a leadership crisis for President Clinton.

If, as some have said, he is a liberal who campaigned cynically as a moderate New Democrat, we will see it in his proposals, and he will run the immediate risk of alienating the Reagan Democrats who gave him his margin of victory. Governor Clinton has no natural national majority base of support. He will be required to build it. If he can do this by successfully blurring the major differences between the liberal and moderate wings of the Democratic party, he will be a most successful president.

Meanwhile, in the congressional Republican camp, at least on the House side, the New Right is firmly and fully in charge and will craft our party's strategy to deal with President Clinton. If he bends strongly to the left, that strategy will be self-evident and will gain widespread support from moderates in the ranks. If he takes on the left wing of the Democratic caucus, and actively seeks moderate Republican support for a center coalition, there will be exciting times in the halls of the House and the Republican conference.

The New Right has proven repeatedly that its tolerance level is near zero. Even a hint of a center coalition produces nightmares among those who seek to strike the word compromise from our vocabulary.

Exciting times indeed! ■

Moderate Views Continue to Evolve

PROGRESSIVES, *continued from p. 28*

institutions to change themselves is a striking feature of this transformation. The priveledged role of "gatekeeper" seems too hard to give up. Dense corporate structures are losing the competitive advantage to smaller, often newer, more responsive organizations. The largest organizations usually show the greatest reluctance to reforming themselves.

The influence of this decentralization is being felt in politics. Jefferson's vision enjoys renewed strength. Governor Bill Weld reflected this reappraisal in a recent *New York Times Magazine* interview: "I was brought up a Hamiltonian. When I was at Middlesex I wrote a fawning paper about Alexander Hamilton and how wonderful he was. Now I don't agree with one thing the guy stood for. I was brought up to think: Oh, the Adams family was so wonderful and Jefferson was an upstart. Last 10 years, 180 degrees."

The thread of this internal realignment divide is visible with specific issues. The 1990 budget agreement reflects a "grand compromise" approach to government that Peter Smith advocates. Without rehashing the arguments for and against it, one can reasonably conclude that many disagreements about it existed among moderate/progressive Republicans.

Unquestionably, though, future Republican presidential candidates will set the demarcation lines within party politics and among moderate/progressive Republicans. Pete Wilson or James Baker might revive the coalition of moderates and moderate conservatives that supported Gerald Ford and George Bush. Jack Kemp might fashion a coalition around his "bleeding heart conservatism." Bill Weld could succeed offering a new fusion to old line "Progressive Republicans" and Republican libertarians sharing a free market/free minds outlook. ■

Republicans Can Learn From Boyer

BOYER, *continued from p. 21*

attempted to secure the support of fundamentalist Christians through the manipulation of professional religionists willing to trim their theological sails to every popular whim. The result is a party in danger of losing both its mind and its soul.

Republicans need to be more honest with themselves and with their fundamentalist friends. We need to be more true to the "small d" democratic traditions on which the party was founded, and make clear to fundamentalists they are welcome to participate in the debate on how best to represent these values in the future only if they observe the terms under which this debate must take place.

The constitutionally enshrined ideal of the separation of church and state is not intended to exclude faith from the public arena. Doing so would be impossible. Every political debate is ultimately a contest between competing human priorities and thus inevitably will have as its basis conflicting religious values. What the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment does attempt to do is ensure that such debates are settled through appeal to the persuasive force of open argument, not by calling on the coercive power of religious authority, no matter how heartfelt the faith in that authority may be.

Our system of governance is founded on the conviction that no one individual or group will ever possess the absolute truth, and that we can hope at any one time to arrive at even proximate truth only through free and unrestricted debate carried on in a context of mutual respect. When the Apostle Paul spoke of his having his knowledge of the divine in "earthen vessels," he was reminding the church at Corinth of the limits inherent in all human knowing. It is a lesson all Republicans, from the most cynical politician to the most fervent fundamentalist, should keep in mind. ■

GOP Has Differences

GOP, *continued from p. 6*

The Democrats have spent twenty of the past twenty-four years outside the White House and during the powerless period, they have had to redefine their party many times, each effort has been an attempt to construct themes and messages which resonate with the American people. With President Clinton, they were obviously successful in winning a national election, but the question still remains as to whether or not their political message truly reflects the feelings of the American people.

Over the nexty four years, Democrats and Republicans will be spending a great deal of time, effort and money trying to discover if they control the ideas which will improve our nation and move us forward as a people. Certainly, as the head of his party, Bill Clinton has the upper hand in this struggle because he can form the shape and substance of the Democrats' message.

The Republican party faces a far more difficult task because the various factions within the party have serious differences. Republicans do not have a central force to suppress ideology and thus no clear path for the formulation of political messages exists. However, the internal debate, discussions and fights should be good for the GOP. At the very least, the party of Lincoln has the opportunity to shape its own future. The makeup of that future is still to be determined. ■