

THE RIPON FORUM

VOICE OF THE REPUBLICAN MAINSTREAM VOL. XXXI, No. 2, SUMMER 1996 / \$3.95



OUR SOCIAL CRISES:

The Moderate Manifesto, Part II

1996
GOP
NATIONAL
CONVENTION

SPECIAL
EDITION



The Rise of GEORGE II

The Ripon Society

presents its video sale of

A Salute to Republican Women Leadership

FEATURING:



Sen. Maj. Leader
Bob Dole



Representative
Jan Meyers



Representative
Barbara Vucanovich



Senator
Nancy Kassebaum



Representative
Susan Molinari



Representative
Nancy Johnson



Speaker
Newt Gingrich

The Ripon Society's *Salute to Republican Women Leadership* video is a 20-minute program honoring the strides made by women in the Republican Party. This video makes it clear, that for all the rhetoric of the Democrat Party, it is the Republicans who actually have promoted and elected Congressional women to leadership positions throughout history.

YES! Send me a copy of the Ripon Society's
Salute to Republican Women Leadership Video for only **\$15.**

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

You may FAX your order to (202) 547-6560. Or mail it to *The Ripon Society*,
501 Capitol Court NE, Suite 300, Washington, DC 20002.

FEATURES

7 The Learning Bush

New Governor George W. Bush is as popular as peppers down in Texas. Is a presidential son preparing to reclaim the old family homestead?

By William McKenzie

25 United Government?

Is the GOP ready to be in control of the White House and Congress?

By Bill Frenzel

27 What's Wyoming got on the RNC?

The RNC has an historic opportunity to appeal to minorities.

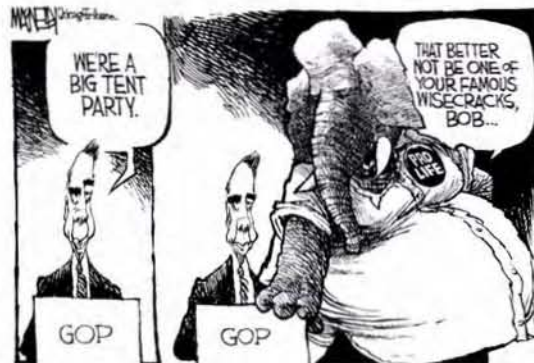
By Mike Murphy



POLICY ON PARADE

13 The Moderate Manifesto, Part II: Social Issues and Social Programs

The conclusion of our combination issue primer/campaign platform/strategy memo, designed to produce a Republican supermajority for the new millennium.



DEPARTMENTS

4 Editorial—May Elephants Never Forget

5 Feedback—Manifest Controversy

10 The Analyst by Christine Matthews

11 The Pulse-Stir—Women Won't Weep

23 Capital Comix by Jeff MacNelly

24 Under the Big Tent by Paul Peter Jesepe

32 Research & Reviews—Partners in Power
Reviewed by Melissa Pezzetti

33 Washington Notes & Quotes

35 Beyond the Beltway

38 Jim Ramstad—Tort Reform Now!



May the Elephant Never Forget

After a dreary Winter and an apocalyptic Spring, Republican electoral prospects finally began to brighten with the coming Summer sun. But this short-term reprieve must not deflect us from learning our long-term lessons. The stark truth: were it not for the ethical lapses of the Clintons and their cronies, we would be facing the loss of both houses of Congress and a forty state/fifteen-point blowout in the presidential race.

The reasons go far deeper than the shortcomings of Bob Dole as a candidate, the deft footwork of Bill Clinton or the velcro nature of Newt Gingrich. They go to heart of contemporary Republican philosophy, as defined by our leadership and naive freshman class in Congress.

After a long period of stagnation, Capitol Hill witnessed a Revolution at the polls in 1994, but the victors badly misread the intentions of the American electorate. Much as Clinton interpreted his 43 percent plurality of 1992 as a mandate for expanding paternalistic government, Republican leaders and freshmen saw a green light for slashing domestic spending, stripping constraints on business and awarding tax breaks to investors. Wrong on all counts.

The combined message of '92 and 94 is now clear: Americans want a net under them, but not over them. They want an efficient government responsive to their needs, not an intrusive, bloated bureaucracy beholden to powerful special interests.

Contrary to the hindsight of many pundits, the Contract With America played an important role in the Republican triumph of '94, but its most popular features were never enacted. The voters voted for government reform, but the GOP leadership proved indifferent or hostile to term limits, deep-sixed campaign finance reform and emasculated the Federal Election Commission. The people cried out for fiscal responsibility and deficit reduction, but congressional Republicans tried to give them a tax cut weighted toward the wealthy and failed to deliver on a balanced budget amendment.

Combined with GOP efforts to gut appropriations for education and the environment and slash Medicare, this regrettable agenda reinforced the popular perception that Republicans look at the world from a boardroom window, an anchor that has held the party back from true majority status since the Depression. And although little was done legislatively to further the designs of the Intolerant Right, the continued pandering to that element by Republican leaders has kept many suburban voters at arms length from our ranks, despite their devotion to free enterprise.

Had Gingrich, Armev, Archer & Co. bothered to read these pages at the start of the 104th, we would be looking toward GOP supermajorities in the 105th and Bill Clinton would be preparing for retirement. The sage advice came from Sen.-elect Fred Thompson (R-TN), perhaps the greatest success story of the '94 elections:

...The driving force behind what happened [at the polls] was the fact that we were there; we were a tool the people used to express their dissatisfaction. It has to do with reform issues; it has to do with changing the way the federal government does business—particularly in regard to special interests. If Republicans think we were given an overwhelming mandate—that people all of a sudden woke up and started loving Republicans and all the details of our programs—we're making a terrible mistake. But if we can take the lead on reforming ourselves, thereby putting us in a position to move outward, we're going to have much more success enacting these substantive issues.

Can the damage be repaired? It won't be easy. Bob Dole's escape from D.C. has left the vague impression that the GOP there is now run by Georgian Gingrich and a bunch of reactionaries from Mississippi. But the platform offers an excellent opportunity to raise the big tent and make a pitch to the mooringless moderate majority.

Send your opinions to: FORUM/501 Capitol Ct. NE, #300/Washington, DC 20002.



THE RIPON FORUM

EDITOR
David Beiler

PRODUCTION
Michael Dubke

EDITORIAL BOARD
Michael Dubke
Bill Frenzel
Melissa Pezzetti

Copyright 1996
by The Ripon Society.
All Rights Reserved.

One Year Subscriptions:
\$20.00 for individuals
\$30.00 for institutions
\$10.00 for students

Second class postage paid at
Washington, D.C. and
additional mailing offices.

Postmaster, send address
changes to:
The Ripon Forum
501 Capitol Court, NE
Suite 300
Washington, D.C 20002

The Ripon Forum
(ISN 0035-5526)
is published bi-monthly
by The Ripon Society.

The Ripon Society is a
research and policy
organization. It is
headquartered in
Washington, D.C., with
National Associate members
throughout the United States.
Ripon is supported by
chapter dues, individual
contributions, and revenues
from its publications.

'Manifesto' Musings

Your readers should know the Moderate Manifesto in the February 1996 *Ripon Forum* represents the Editor's thinking, rather than that of the Society. It was run to elicit comment from the *Forum's* readers.

It worked as intended. I am now obliged to comment that the Manifesto is certainly not my image for the Society, and I emphatically reject the entire section on trade.

Bill Frenzel

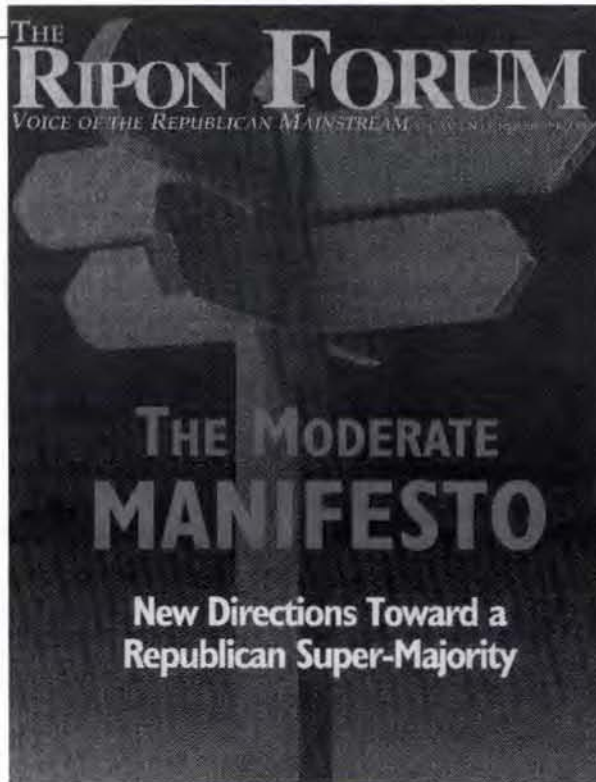
President, The Ripon Society
Washington, DC

Editor's Note: Although I wrote the piece in question, it does not represent my thinking, nor that of any other individual. It was woven together from cloth provided by several sources: articles by various moderates previously published in the magazine, the joint ruminations of myself and Executive Director Michael Dubke, and the solicited reactions of various policy experts within the Society. The intended product was a recipe for a 60-percent majority GOP, not a detailed reflection of the Ripon creed.

The February 1996 *Ripon Forum* was outstanding!!! I especially enjoyed reading "The Moderate Manifesto." It reminded me of Representative [Jim] Leach's "A Manifesto for the Mainstream Republican," issued at the 1984 Republican National Convention.

I believe your manifesto reflects a strategy and policy moderate Republicans can unite behind. It is well-written and organized. What has been the reaction of other members? As a member of the Ripon Society, I am proud to support and defend this important document.

I eagerly await the following



issue to read Part II. Please keep up the good work.

George N. Harben
Richmond, VA

The Moose is Not Alone

I was shocked by the statement in "The Moderate Manifesto" (February 1996) that "moderate Republicans have...no political action committees whatever."

That is not so. Since 1983, MODRNPAC has been raising money and contributing to the campaigns of modern Republican candidates throughout the country. Alas, we have never been able to raise as much as political action committees at the political extremes, but our donor lists and contributions have been growing in recent years. Examples of candidates we have supported include Cong. Tom Campbell in the recent California special election, Pennsylvania Gov. Tom Ridge, and Maine Sen. Olympia Snowe.

In short, MODRNPAC is alive

and well, welcomes contributions, and will put them to good use on behalf of moderate Republican candidates.

Bill Green
New York, NY

Editor's Note: Apologies are due the former congressman from New York. What we were referring to (and should have explicitly expressed as much) were candidate support committees not devoted to a single issue and operating on a national basis. We were under the impression that MODRNPAC had a regional focus, and are delighted to be disabused of that mistaken notion. In fact, the support infrastructure for moderate GOP candidates is growing by the hour, as witnessed by our next letter:

I read with interest your current issue of the Ripon Forum and thought it is time that I introduce myself. I serve as the Political Director of the newly formed Republican Pro-Choice PAC.

Our PAC was launched to financially assist pro-choice Republican men and women in their campaigns. We are registered for federal elections and at the state level in New York. In the brief time we have been open, we have raised over \$100,000 through direct contributions and bundling. We have already made numerous contributions to candidates and hope to make a significant contribution to our cause through this election cycle.

I hope you will consider listing us in your next edition as one more "Centrist Republican Organization. If you have any questions, or would like to discuss our PAC further, please feel free to contact me at 212/207-8266.

Lynn Grefe
Washington, DC

A Manifestly Fair Document

Big shots of both parties have argued for well over a year—and gotten nowhere—on tax reform.... Well, if I had a lot of money—an awful lot of money, invested in stocks, bonds and boom-town property—I'd love the Forbes-GOP "flat tax." And if I had enough money to keep an accountant on call, I probably wouldn't mind the present system so much. But what could be wrong with something in between, something simple, but seemingly fair?

As it happens, I recently ran across just such a proposition...The proponents of this scheme suggest that a "postcard" system [one with virtually no deductions] that keeps indexed brackets but reduces them by one-third "will be enormously appealing to middle-class voters," and "embracing it will immediately

liberate Republicans from the widespread assumption that we are merely shills for the rich."

Who are these proponents? Well, who else could it be? It's the Ripon Society, trying again to reform its party. In a series of articles in its magazine, the *Ripon Forum*... it is putting forth what it calls the "Moderate Manifesto."

Take note. Here's a loyal (though often critical) Republican organization that still has the guts to call itself "moderate."

—CHARLES ROOS, editor emeritus of the *Rocky Mountain News*, the largest newspaper (circulation 360,000) in the Rocky Mountain region. Excerpted from Roos' May 10, 1996 column in the *News*.

PAC-a-Day

Yes! We'd love to have a PAC like the BullMoose Brigade that could help good candidates like Bill Weld.

Those of us who believe in individual rights and freedoms of choice are being whipsawed and torn apart from both sides. We who adhere to reproductive rights and are opposed to state censorship of textbooks are attacked by the Religious Right.

Then we have the health police from the Left, with their incessant drumbeat against the use of tobacco products (when there are far more serious health problems in these United States, such as obesity). We have draconian smoking bans, sky-high tobacco taxes, and a media onslaught that doesn't seem to cease—all in a vain attempt to "have a smoke-free America by 2000." One third of us American adults smoke, and we are REALLY beginning to get upset about the Big Brother mentality of federal, state and local governments. They've developed the attitude that they can tax smokers to death and no one will complain. Guess again.

From the Left we have outra-

geous environmental laws, trying to convince us the life of some mudlizard is more important than the livelihood of 5,000 people! This has gone too far, and "political correctness" should be ended before it destroys what made this nation great: individual initiative, without undue government interference.

I was going to vote against Dole because of the GOP's stupid stance on reproductive rights, but have

changed my mind. Now I will vote to get Clinton out the White House and urge everyone I know (and there are plenty!) to do the same. Clinton has forever alienated 58 million American smokers, and we will make certain they continue hear about it via the Internet and NSA HotLine.

Anne M. Witte
Issaquah, WA

Deep Foreground

By chance I read your February editorial where you quote my letter of October 24th. Now I would just like to suggest that, in the future, you acknowledge letters such as mine, particularly when you are going to quote them in a future editorial.

Secondly, I strongly question your rationale. What a horrible excuse you have given, namely that we must respond like "Limbaughs" when politics so desperately needs leaders who will set examples for civil discourse.

Fortunately, I believe there will always be the Bill Frenzels to provide that leadership for representative government.

George S. Pillsbury
Minneapolis, MN

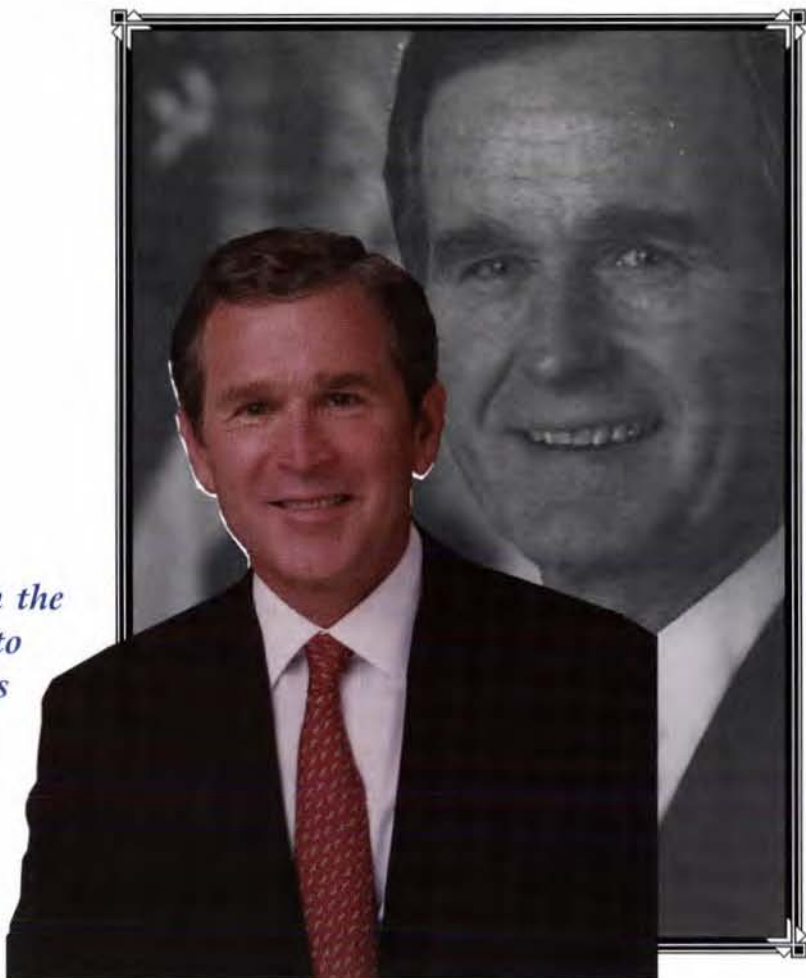
Editor's Note: Mr. Pillsbury's original letter asked that it not be published; we thought we were in bounds to quote two sentences from it without attribution.



THE SON ALSO RISES

How George W. Bush is emerging from the shadow of his presidential parentage to become a national political figure in his own right.

BY WILLIAM MCKENZIE



Here's the most important thing to know about Texas Governor George W. Bush: The former president's son is no mere political wannabe trying to play his father's game. Since the 49-year-old Bush has been hailed around Texas as a shrewd politician, a person who's willing to reach into unpredictable corners to achieve his goals. His style has made him popular and successful.

Bipartisan Ranger

Much of the GOP leader's progress can be attributed to his ability to attract both Democrats and Republicans to his aim of making Texas "a beacon state." His leadership style also reflects a newer managerial streak at work in Texas politics, mirroring the transition in Texas' economy from farms and oil to computers and services. And he has been noticeably low-key, letting others share his spotlight.

Even Democratic Lt. Gov. Bob Bullock—whose knowledge of Texas

government spans four decades—gushes about the governor. Speaking to Dallas business leaders, Bullock said "I like that boy." The feeling must be mutual. In an unprecedented move, Bush dropped by Bullock's Austin fundraiser last October.

State Rep. Paul Sadler (D-Henderson) also speaks highly, almost glowingly, of the governor. Sadler worked so well with Bush on redefining the Texas education code that the Governor went to Sadler's district to sign the new code into law. Reports Sadler, chairman of the House Education Committee: "He would talk philosophy with me, asking me if we were on the same page. He would let me know which way he wanted to head. But he also would ask me how we can come together."

Some Republicans feared Bush might build Sadler into a prominent statewide figure. But the governor didn't care. Along with Sen. Bill Ratliff (R-Mount Pleasant) Bush and Sadler fashioned the new education code. Its

emphasis on freeing campuses to make decisions and holding them accountable for results reflects the recommendations of such organizations as the Brookings Institute.

Zealous Zelig

One Austin lobbyist describes Bush another way: The governor "takes his personality and blends it to the need." He does that, the lobbyist says, "for the sake of getting the job done." Indeed, the governor said last April that "reaching out helps defuse the environment." Karl Rove, the governor's political strategist, says Bush's practicality should not be misinterpreted as a lack of beliefs. "He just doesn't want to make the train run on time, he also knows where he wants the train to go," Rove observes.

Bush is committed to his core philosophy of less government and more personal responsibility. And he is a Republican almost down to his bones. But like his father before him, as

well as pragmatic Texans such as Lloyd Bentsen, James Baker and Robert Strauss, Mr. Bush's managerialism reflects a greater interest in sensible results from government, not a narrow partisanship or zealous hatred of government. "Government if necessary, but not necessarily government," the new governor declared.

Texans evidently like the get-it-done style. The most recent polls indicate an overwhelming majority of Texans think Bush is either doing a "good" or "excellent" job. Austin political consultant Bill Miller summarized the results this way: "Bush is like good whiskey—he seems to be getting better with time."

Bush has said he will not campaign against any Democrat in the Legislature with whom he has closely worked.

Legislative Results

Of course, non-Texans have had no reason to watch the Texas Legislature work under Bush's leadership. They may assume he is just a dilettante. Before his election in November 1994, Bush's political experience involved being the son of the former president and the grandson of a senator. He worked in his father's presidential campaigns but had held no office. What did this guy know? Ann Richards and Democratic Party high-ups hammered that point home during the campaign, often referring to him as "Shrub."

Bush knew a lot more than they assumed. His work in the 1995

legislature, and the unconventional way in which he achieved his goals over the last year, indicate political astuteness. GOP candidates should take notes as they begin the 1996 campaign. For starters, the Republican Governor has already convinced the Democrat-controlled Legislature to turn his four 1994 campaign goals into public policy. Ralph Wayne of the Texas Civil Justice League said during the legislative session that Bush "made the Legislature his turf and it shows."

As he wished, Texas legislators gave local public school campuses more authority; implemented new liability laws; toughened the juvenile justice system; and created new welfare rules, such as requiring welfare recipients to immunize their kids.

The bipartisan work toward Bush's goals was striking, especially in contrast to Washington, where partisans play a nasty game of one-upmanship. Some Democratic legislators openly said that they had had more policy conversations with Bush than with Richards. *Texas Monthly's* Paul Burka elaborated on this point on Dallas radio station KERA, saying "George W. Bush's best friend in the Texas House was a Democratic trial lawyer." That trial lawyer was none other than Sadler, the House Education Committee chairman.

Outside the Box

Bush also has thought "outside the box" on several national issues. He has drawn notice for opposing a Texas version of California's Proposition 187, which denies public services to undocumented immigrants. In August—as most GOP presidential candidates were talking tough about illegal immigration before United We Stand's Dallas convention—Bush said he would work to see "that there is no immigrant-bashing" during the 1996 presidential primaries.

While the governor favors many new measures to control illegal immigration, he does not want to curtail education and health care benefits for undocumented aliens. ("I believe it's good public policy," the governor told the Associated Press in explaining

his support for benefits.)

Likewise, Bush has taken a different posture from fellow Republican Gov. Pete Wilson of California on affirmative action. Bush was noticeable absent last year when David Sibley—an ally and Republican state senator—proposed to end Texas' affirmative action policies. Although he has never come out swinging for affirmative action like Massachusetts Gov. Bill Weld (R), Bush has opposed removing such policies at Texas universities.

Ross Perot voters in search of less national partisanship especially should like this fact: Bush has said he will not campaign against any Democrat in the Legislature with whom he has closely worked. The governor even wrote *The Dallas Morning News* last summer complaining that it had given him too much credit for the Legislature's successes.

The major downside to Bush's leadership is his occasional political nativism, which carries a dangerous edge.

Texas Managerialism

The Yale and Harvard graduate's focus on achieving results—and his willingness to take risks to reach his goals—resemble a shift in Texas itself. University of Texas political scientist Bruce Buchanan says Texans now live "on the cutting edge of international economic issues. Our political style is making the transition, too." Forty years ago, Texas was still a rural, agriculture state. But as its urban centers started burgeoning, Texas' attitudes

began to broaden as well. The state's politics has been racing to keep with the changes.

Oil, agriculture and defense contracts are no longer dominant in the Lone Star State. And neither is the type of politician who has represented those industries: Lyndon Johnson, John Tower, George Mahon and Jim Wright, for example. Entrepreneurs, financiers, international traders, health professionals and high-tech wizards now dominate the landscape. As state Comptroller John Sharp (D) noted in his recent book, *Forces of Change*: "from 1982 to 1992, (Texas) high tech jobs grew by 24.7 percent, while total employment in nonfarm sectors rose by 15.8 percent."

Some of Texas' largest or most prominent employers today are large medical complexes in Dallas and Houston; firms doing business in Europe, Japan and Mexico; companies flying products in and out of Fort Worth's Alliance Airport; high-tech entrepreneurs and biomedical firms around the Austin and San Antonio; the space center near Houston; and communication firms in North Dallas. And Texas politics—with its emerging managerial streak—is starting to reflect the shift.

Rove describes the governor's emphasis on education reform as a product of his understanding that without a solid work force, Texas is in deep trouble. John Connally sounded a similar message three decades ago. Indeed, he and Bush bear several striking similarities.

After World War II, Connally was the state's first forward-looking conservative governor. He knew the state needed to compete in a larger economy, and staked his governorship on building up the base of Texas' flagship universities: the University of Texas and Texas A&M. Connally particularly helped place Texas A&M on a higher plane, urging the Legislature to

invest more money in the once-sleepy ag school. Now, A&M and Texas—with all their resources and branches—allow the state to compete for service industries looking for a home.

But not many Texas governors between Connally and Bush projected such a

populism, or as vituperative as the class warfare good ol' boy Democrats Jim Mattox and Jim Hightower prefer. Nevertheless, managerialism is the "new Texas."

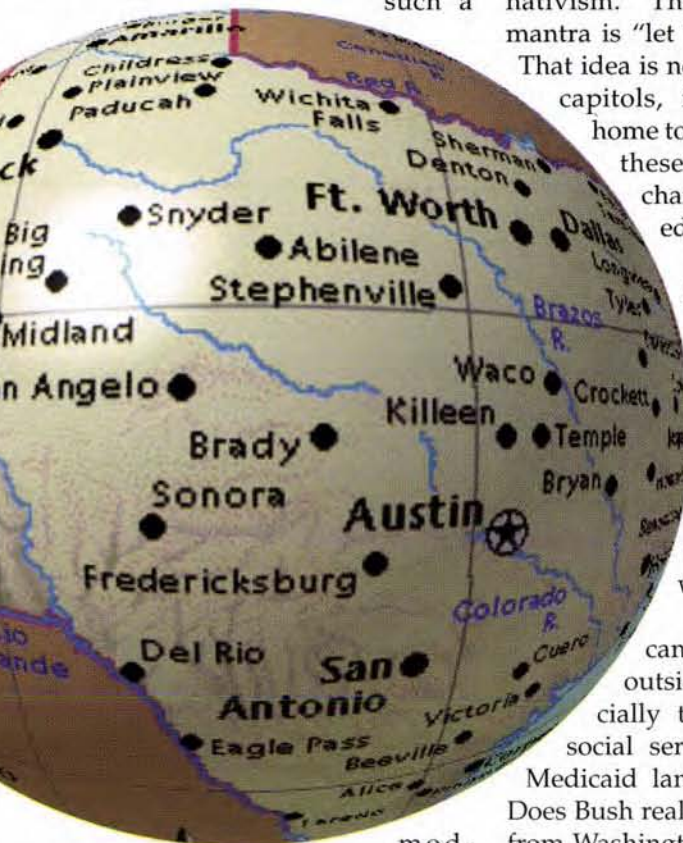
The major downside to Bush's leadership is his occasional political nativism. The oft-repeated Bush mantra is "let Texans manage Texas." That idea is not bad on its face. State capitols, including Austin, are home to much creative thinking these days. But the Bush chant carries a dangerous edge.

Texans used to boast that their oil-based economy was the engine that ran the entire country. But it all came crashing down in the 1980s, forcing Texas to realize that its future was tied to a much larger world.

Likewise, its politics cannot be cut off from the outside. That will be especially true if the delivery of social services like welfare and Medicaid lands on state doorsteps. Does Bush really want to be cast adrift from Washington? Can the state really afford to meet all its social responsibilities on its own? If so, Texans may see their budgets go through the roof. Hunkering down—like an old-fashioned Texas Republic—could hurt the state politically, just as it did economically.

Yet Bush's style of governing is one worth noting, especially by GOP presidential hopefuls. His managerial approach has strengths: define common goals, demand results, share power. Many voters would surely welcome that approach in Washington.

The question is, will any eyes be cast upon Texas?



modern path. As recently as 1978, Dolph Briscoe was a quiet rancher-governor who would often disappear to his Uvalde home. Republican Gov. Bill Clements was more engaged in the 1980s. But the blunt, feisty Clements did not project the modern style of Connally and Bush. And though Richards also did a masterful job of pitching Texas to industry leaders, Austin insiders almost universally claim she never set a strong legislative agenda, like Connally and Bush.

Wave of the Future

One final thing: Texas managerialism—practiced also by Housing Secretary Henry Cisneros and U.S. Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison (R)—does not receive as much national media attention as the ideological politics Texas Sen. Phil Gramm (R) relishes. Nor is it as colorful as Perot's twangy

A former editor of the Ripon Forum (1981-91), William McKenzie is currently a columnist for the Dallas Morning News, in which a previous version of this article appeared.



Beating The 'Heartless Henchmen' Rap

At the upcoming Republican National Convention, the party has an excellent opportunity to appeal to a broad audience, much broader than the narrow base they appealed to in 1992. Speaker Newt Gingrich is on the right track when he says he wants to see a "diverse" convention — one that showcases people across the spectrum, such as small business owners, working mothers, those who have overcome adversity. I also like his idea of building a house in San Diego with Habitat for Humanity. Let's put our hands where our mouths are and demonstrate the spirit of volunteerism and community activism that we so strongly espouse.

The Convention offers an important visual opportunity for us to demonstrate that we are a party of diversity and empathy. It is also a time in which to persuade 39% of Americans who view Republicans as "extreme" rather than "mainstream" (46%) to reconsider their assessment of the party. (*Public Opinion Strategies national survey, May 1996*)

Others have also begun important work in reaching out to those who do not feel at home within the Republican Party. The *Wall Street Journal* calls Sen. Dan Coats (R-IN) "a compassionate conservative," he understands it is critical that we as Republicans and as human beings express compassion. Along with House budget committee chair John Kasich (R-OH), Coats has offered an agenda called "Project for American Renewal" which includes grants to schools for mentoring programs, a \$500 "compassion credit" for taxpayers who provide home

care for people in need, and public housing set-asides for families headed by married couples, among other ideas.

The plan also includes provisions that require every federal dollar spent on family planning be matched with another dollar spent on abstinence education and adoption services. He also proposes federal funding for states to implement a 60-day waiting period for divorces and pre-divorce counseling when children under 12 are involved.

Some of these specific provisions may be controversial, but as Coats recently told the *Baltimore Sun*, his approach represents "a third alternative, a middle alternative" between advocates of the current federally dominated social service system and those who believe government should get out of social services."

Many independent voters find that too often, there is no "middle alternative" to be found within the major political parties. This may be

why a majority (56%) the country needs a third political party to compete with the Democrats and Republicans. (*CBS News/New York Times national survey March-April, 1996*)

Clearly the generic Democrat strategy this year is to label Republicans as extremists, i.e. those who would take America back rather than forward, and those who would pull the rug out from under those in need. Unfortunately, some of those accusations have some resonance with the public. Six in ten Americans said it concerns them "a great deal" that

A HOLY MAN'S SACRED VOW

A holy man was meditating beneath a tree at the crossing of two roads. His meditation was interrupted by a young man running frantically down the road toward him.

"Help me," the young man pleaded. "A man has wrongly accused me of stealing. He is pursuing me with a great crowd of people. If they catch me, they will chop off my hands."

The young man climbed the tree beneath which the sage had been meditating and hid himself in the branches. "Please don't tell them where I am hiding," he begged.

The holy man saw with the clear vision of a saint that the young man was telling the truth. The lad was not a thief. A few moments later, the crowd of villagers approached, and the leader asked, "Have you seen a young man run by here?"

Many years earlier, the holy man had taken a vow to always speak the truth, so he said he had. "Where did he go?" the leader asked.

The holy man did not want to betray the innocent young man, but his vow was sacred to him. He pointed up to the tree. The villagers dragged the young man out of the tree and chopped off his hands.

When the holy man died and stood before Judgement, he was condemned for his behavior in regard to the unfortunate young man.

"But," he protested, "I had made a holy vow to speak only the truth. I was bound to act as I did."

"On that day," came the reply "you loved vanity more than virtue. It was not for virtue's sake that you delivered the innocent man over to his persecutors, but to preserve a vain image of yourself as a virtuous person."

—Chin-Ning Chu, *Thick Face, Black Heart*

Nesting Instinct Still Strong

Assume for a moment you are married and have children. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with this statement: If my family could afford it, I would like to stay in my home and be a full-time mother.

Strongly agree	68%
Somewhat agree	11
Somewhat disagree	8
Strongly disagree	11
Don't know/refused	2

Source: Same February 19-25 Wirthlin Worldwide survey of 1,015 women.

"Republicans may go too far in cutting programs for the elderly, for children, and those in need in order to give tax breaks to the rich. (*Public Opinion Strategies national survey, May, 1996*)

If Republicans are to successfully refute charges of "extremism" we must not allow rigidity in our thinking, either ideological or moralistic. A parable from the Chinese book *Thick Face, Black Heart* illustrates how those on the right path can go wrong by putting their own righteousness ahead of the good of others. This tale's relevance today is clear; much of voters' cynicism and disaffection derives from the fact that they view those in power (on both sides of the political spectrum) as putting their own "vanity" (self-interest) and righteousness ahead of the common good.

Political leaders who, like the

Seventy percent of Republicans say the platform should include a declaration of tolerance on abortion.

Holy Man in this tale, smugly value the certainty of black and white cannot reflect the views of that most typical citizen who sees most issues in shades of gray. This phenomenon is most starkly represented by the issue of abortion. Fully 70% of Republicans (and 68% of voters nationwide) agree that, at a minimum, the Republican platform should include a declaration of tolerance on abortion. (*Time/CNN national survey, June 1996*)

Despite the cries from those on the far right, an expression of tolerance is not a compromise of moral principal it is a realistic expression of the diversity of tolerance on this, as well as other issues, that we find a clearer voice in which to be heard among the vast majority of Americans who do not reside at the ends of the continuum.

Christine Matthews is principal of CM Research, a Republican polling firm based in Alexandria, VA.

Women Weep Not For Welfare Cases

February 19-25 survey of 1,015 adult American women by Wirthlin Worldwide.

	Strongly Favor	Somewhat Favor	Somewhat Oppose	Strongly Oppose
Limit welfare benefits to 2 yr. term	43%	26%	14%	9%
Require single mothers to ID fathers before AFDC given out	52	20	12	12
Don't increase payments when AFDC mothers have more kids	52	16	12	16
Allow states to require able-bodied recipients to work	75	17	2	5
OTHER ISSUES:				
Allow homosexuals to adopt kids	12	21	13	45
Allow homosexuals into the military	31	31	7	20
Banning late term abortions	17	4	5	24

Abortion Issue Ebbs

Is there any one issue that you feel so strongly about that you would vote for or against a candidate based on that issue alone?

	July '92	May '96
Abortion rights—oppose	10%	9%
Abortion rights—favor	8	6
Health care	1	4
Gun control—oppose	0	2
Morals/family values	0	2
No one issue	55	53
Undecided	26	24

Source: Wirthlin Worldwide national poll of 1,006 American adults, conducted May 28-30, 1996.

Big Tent California

Responses of 123 of California's 165 delegates to the National Republican Convention, surveyed by the *Los Angeles Times*, June 10-27.

Veep Choice

Colin Powell	29%
Pete Wilson	7
Jack Kemp	6
Dan Lungren	6
Christy Whitman	6

"Do you favor or oppose a constitutional amendment to ban all abortions?"

Favor	11%
Oppose	70

Whitewater, Whitewater

Approve/Disapprove	Late June	March
Clinton job overall performance	56/39%	53/45%
Hill GOP handling of Whitewater	30/61%	33/63%

Media attention to Whitewater—

Too much	68%
Not enough	16
Right amount	14

Source: National survey of 1,011 adults, conducted June 27-30 by Chilton Research.

On Whitewater—	Yes	No
Did Pres. Clinton do anything illegal?	46%	44%
Did Hillary Clinton do anything illegal?	53	38

Spoiled Bill

Prez Heat	July	June
Bill Clinton (D)	54%	52%
Bob Dole (R)	29	32
Ross Perot (Ref)	16	15

Source: National survey of 871 registered voters by Harris, MOE +/- 3.5%.

In the FBI file controversy, the White House is—

Telling the truth	13%
Hiding something	60

Source: National survey of 769 adults conducted June 27-28 by Princeton Survey Research for Newsweek.



"But We Just Got Here..."

Generic House Ballot	
Democrat	48%
Republican	41

Source: July 10-11 national survey of 1,010 adults, by Yankelovich Partners, MOE +/- 3%.

Who's the Most Annoying?

Newt Gingrich	45%
Hillary Clinton	22
Ross Perot	17
Bill Clinton	12
Bob Dole	10
None of the Above	4

Source: July 12-14 survey of 804 registered voters for MSNBC, MOE +/- 3.5%.

† Religion & Politics †

The following analyses are based on 9,652 interviews conducted by the Pew Research Center between July 1994 and Oct. 1995.

Religious Affiliations in the U.S.

	General Public	Registered Voters
White Mainline Protestants	24%	25%
White Evangelical Protestants	24	24
White Traditional Catholics	11	11
White Progressive Catholics	10	11
Black Protestants	8	7
White Non-Religious	7	6
Hispanic Catholics	2	2
Jews	2	2
Mormons	2	2
Black Catholics	1	1
Black Non-Christian	1	1
Hispanic Protestants	1	1
Hispanic Non-Christian	1	1
Orthodox	1	1

Social Tolerance

	—Homosexuality—		—Public Schools Texts—	
	Society Should Accept	Society Should Discourage	Ban Dangerous Books	Let Schools Carry What They Want
All respondents	46%	49%	45%	52%
White Mainline Protestants	52	42	39	58
White Evangelical Protestants	25	72	60	38
White Catholics	52	43	42	56
White Non-Religious	66	30	24	74
Jews	79	18	25	71
Mormons	34	63	51	47
Orthodox	52	42	48	51
Black Christians	47	48	53	46
Black Non-Christians	56	38	44	53
Hispanic Catholics	55	42	47	51
Hispanic Non-Catholics	50	45	45	52

Religion & Party Affiliation

	GOP	Dem.	Ind.
All Respondents	30%	31%	35%
White Mainline Protestants	34	26	37
White Evangelical Protestants	42	25	29
White Catholics	30	32	34
White Non-Religious	18	26	52
Jews	15	46	37
Mormons	45	20	32
Black Christians	6	66	24
Black Non-Christians	6	52	39
Hispanic Catholics	18	39	41
Hispanic Non-Catholics	24	35	37

Spending Priorities

	—Helping the Needy—		—Environmental Regs—	
	Do More For Poor	Can't Afford More	Hurt the Economy	Worth the Cost
All respondents	48%	46%	34%	61%
White Mainline Protestants	42	52	33	62
White Evangelical Protestants	42	53	42	52
White Catholics	48	46	31	65
White Non-Religious	46	48	26	71
Jews	55	34	19	77
Mormons	46	47	46	50
Orthodox	51	44	36	61
Black Christians	72	25	36	60
Black Non-Christians	72	20	32	64
Hispanic Catholics	55	42	39	58
Hispanic Non-Catholics	60	35	36	60



The MODERATE MANIFESTO



Part II: *Social Programs & Social Issues*

As anticipated, our publication this Spring of Part I of the Manifesto (addressing defense, foreign policy and fiscal issues) inspired a spirited reaction from many of our readers (see "Letters" on page six). Several expressed concern that it did not accurately represent majority opinion within the Society on certain points. Others objected to the sometimes spirited rhetoric as unbecoming of an organization that has sought to raise the level of today's harsh political discourse.

These "rantings"—as one reader put it—were largely limited to the "Solution" and "Strategy" elements, and were intended as suggested talking points, to be used in selling these measures (and, consequently, the speaker) on the campaign trail. Precisely because the Manifesto is essentially a campaign document, it concludes in this edition without addressing several substantive issues: Financial reform is generally too convoluted and arcane for voters to grasp. Agricultural policy and telecommunications reform have already been dealt with by this Congress in a thorough manner. Crime is essentially a local issue, while foreign aid simply doesn't amount to much; both are commonly demagogued at the federal level anyway, but we chose not indulge in the practice.

While we tried to involve many Ripon activists in the drafting of the Manifesto, it was never intended as an ideological reflection of the Society's membership in every detail. Its objective is the ultimate Ripon goal of an inclusive, "Big Tent" Republican Party—one that can fashion and wield a durable "super-majority," the only means by which the entire context of government can be changed.

That means holding together a coalition that can include environmentalists and businessmen, plant workers and stockbrokers, religious conservatives and mainstream gays, southern whites and moderate blacks. But most particularly, it means co-opting the radical-centrist "swing" element of the electorate: the disaffected, largely middle-class voters who backed Ross Perot in 1992, and may again.

"This sounds more like a United We Stand platform than a Ripon paper," complained a Ripon Governing Board member at our annual May meeting; and in certain sections of the Manifesto, that assessment is probably accurate. This is not a conservative or liberal document; it is a majoritarian roadmap, a fairly comprehensive collection of policy directions that a majority of Americans can likely sign onto. Such stands win elections, and for good reason: a democracy is supposed to reflect the will of the majority, not the special interests and lunatic fringes that too often call the tune for both major parties today.

This is not a new idea. In the not-so-distant past, national party platforms reflected not the personal views of those on the floor of the convention, but rather those policies they felt most voters wanted. That was not pandering; that was a functioning democracy in action.

At this moment in history, Ripon can seize upon its virtually unique position at the political center to become the lodge pole of the Big Tent, the principal agent of a new Republican Age, one in which the values and interests of the general public is once again the guiding light of government.

Entitlements

PROBLEM/CONFLICT—When Social Security was first enacted during the Depression, the average life expectancy in the U.S. was 61 years. Sixty years later, the threshold for full Social Security benefits remains 65 years of age, but Americans now live to be an average of 76 years old. Not only are seniors drawing benefits for a much longer period of time (a median seven years longer), the size of those benefits is much greater than originally intended. Actuarial tables aside, the entitlement system which holds forth today is the result of politicians robbing children to buy the high-turnout votes of older Americans. If you doubt that, consider these facts:

1) If Social Security and Medicare are not reformed, the average child born today will pay out 83 percent of their lifetime income in taxes, largely to support entitlements.

2) A young child is now three times more likely to live in poverty than an elderly person.

3) The average couple retiring today will draw just under \$250,000 more from Social Security and Medicare than they contributed, including interest.

This unfair and ruinous state of affairs must be remedied immediately—or we shall face an unpleasant social future; one in which the funding of entitlements remains the most dominant and divisive issue in American politics for an entire generation.

It can be done. [See accompanying sidebar.]

POLITICS—This extremely serious problem can only get more difficult to solve with each passing day. Not only is the system increasingly out of balance, the political pressures against curtailing benefits will mount over the next 35 years, as the vote-heavy "Boomer" cohort moves into retirement. Unfortunately, the Democrat Party has shown little responsibility on this issue, preferring to make political hay out of Republican efforts toward solvency. The recent budget battle has shown the effectiveness of this strategy: Democrat approval numbers moved up while those of Republicans tumbled. It was a predictable result, given the popular perception that the GOP represents the well-to-do at the expense of the less fortunate. Republican leaders exacerbated this handicap by insisting on a concurrent tax cut weighted toward the high end of the income spectrum.

STRATEGY—Despite our political handicaps on this issue, Republicans must continue to take the lead on

entitlement reform or economic disaster awaits the country. We can do so while reaping some mitigating political benefits: entitlement reform remains a top drawer goal of the Perot bloc—the key swing element of the electorate—and a point of survival to "Generation Xers" (18-to-30 year-olds). Young voters are trending toward the Democrats; we must use this issue to appeal to their self-interest and ensure their lifetime loyalty—a sixty-year payoff.

There are, of course, perils along this course. The American Association of Retired Persons is the single most influential lobby on Capitol Hill, and wields enormous grassroots strength; their opposition to all these reforms is a virtual given. But even older Americans realize the system is becoming increasingly unfair and unmanageable; most would probably go along with a solution package that distributed pain equally among income and age groups. This set of proposals doesn't really do that, in recognition that the regressive entitlement levies are already excruciatingly high.

While hitting the Democrats for their irresponsibility on entitlements, we must

not provide them with fodder to demagogue the issue. Necessary entitlement reforms have little chance of gaining majority support if they appear skewed in favor of certain interest groups. Despite the supposed segregation of entitlements from the general fund (a contention made suspect by the government's use of the trust funds as loan sources), any tax cuts made before the budget is balanced should be restricted to those

which primarily benefit the middle class. Otherwise, Republicans reinforce their most damaging image problem: the perception they look at the world through the window of a big business boardroom.

Education

PROBLEM/CONFLICT—Our system of public education has increasingly come up short of expectations. We spend more per student on primary education than any other nation in the world, yet we rank no better than sixth in the most relevant tests of aptitude. The problem is especially critical in inner school districts where—beset by overwhelming social problems and inadequate tax bases—diploma mills are churning out large numbers of graduates who are not prepared to compete in the Information Age. We are increasingly relying upon higher education to take up the slack, but a high-quality college education is being priced out of the reach of most families, unless financial aid is offered. Inequality in per-student expenditures in the public schools has become so pronounced in some regions of the country, the courts are beginning to require states to



SOCIAL SECURITY & MEDICARE: Specific Problems, Specific Answers

While political landscapes and strategies are consistent across the spectrum of entitlement programs, Social Security and Medicare do present unique problems that require unique solutions. Here's an overview:

Social Security

Forty years ago there were almost nine people paying into Social Security for every one drawing out; fast forward about the same distance into the future and the ratio becomes 2:1. Up to this point, the practice has been to grant more generous benefits—a product of the lobbying and electoral power of seniors—while boosting the regressive entitlement taxes enough to forestall insolvency. But as the populous “Baby Boom” generation approaches retirement age, the system faces imbalances of astounding magnitude.

Although the steadily crushing imbalance in our Social Security system will soon demand draconian measures affecting most all Americans, a politically feasible set of solutions can alleviate the problem, if set in motion within the next two years:

1) Raise the Retirement Age. Life expectancy at age 65 has increased seven years since the enactment of Social Security, yet the retirement age has not moved—the most significant reason for the burgeoning imbalance. It is now slated to rise, but too little, too late. Beginning in FY 1998, raise the age at which recipients would begin receiving benefits by four months every year until it reaches age 70 in FY 2012. This will also alleviate manpower shortages that are anticipated as Baby Boomers begin to retire.

2) Institute Means Testing. Curtail the benefits of recipients with incomes of more than \$40,000 per year, sliding the payment scale downward with higher incomes to the point where individuals with income of \$125,000 or more would be ineligible for more than \$1,500 in annual benefits. Index these thresholds

for inflation.

3) Make Social Security Benefits Taxable. There is no honest reason why Social Security should be treated differently than private pension income. Subject it to income taxes, but keep it exempt from FICA to avoid double taxation.

4) Limit Benefit Increases. Increase entitlements only in adjustment for inflation, and calculate such COLAs by a more realistic, conservative formula.

5) Eliminate Early Retirement. With the growing imbalance between workers and entitlement beneficiaries, it makes little sense to allow people to retire early and begin drawing from Social Security—as is now done.

Enactment of this package by the next Congress would guarantee the solvency of Social Security for at least sixty years, and probably well beyond that. Allowing workers to personally invest their Social Security payments in approved plans is an attractive concept with a good track record in other countries, but it should be carefully studied and tested before being fully implemented on a national basis.

Medicare

Fueled by a quarter century of boosts in health care costs far beyond the rate of inflation, Medicare promises to become an even heavier burden on our economic future than Social Security. Part A—the segment which pays for hospitalization—constitutes about 60 percent of expenditures and is financed by payroll taxes in a trust fund system like Social Security; it will start running a negative cash flow this year and will be bankrupt by 2001. Part B—which pays for regular medical services short of hospitalization—makes up 40 percent of spending and is funded partly by premiums from beneficiaries (one quarter) and partly from general revenues (three

quarters); its costs have consistently risen 15 percent annually over the last two decades.

The current system provides little incentive for oversight by the patient, and thereby stifles competition and encourages fraud. Recipients are given an HMO option, but only ten percent have availed themselves of the opportunity, and Medicare costs—unlike health care costs in the private sector—have continued their ruinous rate of increase. The Clinton Administration has proposed shifting “non-acute” Part A costs to Part B, which would allow them to be paid with funny money (debt) and keep the trust fund afloat for another five years. A severed artery needs more than a band-aid, and the deficit doesn't need a booster shot. The proper treatment will not be painless:

1) Increase Accountability. Recent years have seen a gradual leveling of health care costs for under-65s, as such free market innovations as managed care and HMOs injected the health care field with its first dose of serious competition. To bring the same real world conditions to Medicare, recipients must be given private coverage options, bringing competitive pressures to bear on Medicare providers.

2) Increase Premiums. The astronomical rise in health care costs since the advent of Medicare 30 years ago was not anticipated at the time and recipients are—on the whole—much more capable of paying their own way now as then. The average Medicare beneficiary now receives \$5500 in medical services each year, for which they pay an annual premium of about \$1200. Making recipients responsible for half of Part B expenditures (which most would do with private plans) will not only lighten the burden on the general treasury, it will help bring spiraling costs under control, as recipients use more options and pay closer attention to the task of finding honest value.

Medicare demands are more difficult to project than those of Social Security, but adopting the above measures would bring them within manageable parameters.

institute "Robin Hood" systems that fund schools equally on a statewide basis.

POLITICS—In urban areas and the South, public education is beginning to take on the social stigmatization of welfare, with all its racial overtones. Voters are reluctant to support increased funding for any schools but their own, figuring (with some justification) that too much of it will go down a rathole of government corruption and inefficiency or be wasted on underclass apathy. (When the courts ordered Texas to institute a "Robin Hood" system three years ago, the politicians irresponsibly put it to a vote of the people, who overwhelmingly rejected the idea.) Public school systems are much to blame for flagging public support, as they have resisted effective reforms such as school choice, knuckling under to pressure from ever more powerful teachers' unions.

SOLUTION—Nearly a century ago, the educational philosopher John Dewey observed: "What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all its children. Any other ideal for our schools is narrow and unlovely; acted upon, it destroys our democracy." If we are to live up to our democratic creed of providing all our citizens with the opportunity to advance as far as their ambitions and talents will take them, we must overhaul our system of public primary education and broaden opportunities for higher education.

Because of economic inequities among states and the power of the teachers lobby at the state and local levels, leadership on this front must be provided by the federal government, using a system of incentives and competition that will ease economic inequities and induce reform in the most ineffective schools. It should start by increasing aid to primary education and basing it on need. Such largess would require assisted states to provide matching funds, and require assisted school boards to adopt public school voucher systems, a move that will increase parent options and reward teacher excellence.

The student loan program must be expanded—though much tougher policies must be pursued in the areas of collections and loan industry compliance with standards. No one should be denied access to higher education because of economic circumstance. Note: Education is one of only two areas of federal appropriations that should be significantly increased, (the other being workfare). The federal Department of Education, however, constitutes an unnecessary layer of bureaucracy, and should be abolished.

STRATEGY—After job security, perhaps the greatest middle-class concern is: "will our kids have a chance for as good a life as we've had?" As tuition costs for higher education have skyrocketed and most public school systems have failed to achieve world-class standards, parents have

become consumed by the worry that—even if their children manage to acquire the skills necessary for admission to a reputable college—they will not be able to afford a degree, even with existing scholarships and loan structures. Through polls and state and local referenda, voters have repeatedly shown a willingness to support increased funding for education if they are clearly shown how their families will benefit and are assured the money will not be a fungible bucketload tossed into a general fund pool—a shell game perpetrated by shifty politicians. It is time to guarantee that education's six percent share of the federal budget be spent on the students and not the bureaucrats.

Environment

PROBLEM/CONFLICT—There has been much federal regulation added over the last generation in the name of environmental protection, and there can be little doubt that they have largely achieved what they were designed to do: our water and air are now significantly cleaner and safer, our land is less scarred and ill-used, and several nearly extinct species have made robust comebacks. But many commercial interests and their political allies contend that this progress has come at much too high a cost, that the added paperwork and expense for businesses has compromised their ability to maintain a healthy job base and compete with overseas rivals.

There has also been a growing movement—primarily in the West—to expand property rights by curtailing government "takings," such as the regulation of land use and condemnation of private property for public projects. Opponents say these measures would promote pollution and adversely affect the quality of life.

POLITICS—Democrats are generally viewed as pro-environment while Republicans tend to lead the anti-regulation charge, but there is plenty of cutting across party lines here. Labor-oriented Democrats often line up against the regulators, while suburban Republicans often go with the "greens." Since there is little public support for cutting back environmental controls, GOP leaders in the 104th Congress have tried (as yet unsuccessfully) to slash funding for the Environmental Protection Agency, making the effective enforcement of those regulations all but impossible.

"Takings" are largely a state and local issue, and usually pit libertarians and businesses against environmentalists and community activists. The "green" movement has thus far been very aggressive and successful in its campaigns against both legislative and initiative measures to expand property rights.

SOLUTION—Environmental protection is one vital area where the federal government obviously should have an important role to play. Air and water pay no heed to man-made boundaries; environmental practices in the

"Which party is better able to protect the environment?"

Democrats	45%
Republicans	17

NBC/Wall Street Journal poll of 1,001 registered voters, taken May 10-14, 1996 by Peter Hart (D) and Robert Teeter (R).

Midwest have a profound impact on residents of the Northeast, etc. Our environmental perspective should be expanding into the international level, not retreating back to localities. Example: the World Trade Organization should uphold import restrictions based on national environmental laws. At the same time, state governments should be dealt more responsibility in dealing with environmental threats, resulting in more precise policy and the elimination of much red tape. Example: the Clean Water Act should be amended to grant states the authority to issue permits for the use of wetlands, pursuant to federal law.

Funding for the EPA must be maintained if these laws are to be enforced. Environmental regulations should be kept relatively intact, but fine-tuned to avoid obviously negative cost-benefit balances. Example: conservatives in the 104th tried to eliminate limits on storm water discharge (HR 961); a moderate alternative offered by Congressman Sherwood Boehlert (R-NY) and Jim Saxton (R-NJ) offered an alternative that would have exempted only light industry and communities with populations under 100,000.

Regulations bent on saving "endangered species" also deserve review on an individual basis.

STRATEGY—The GOP congressional leadership is at no greater odds with the voters than on this issue. Give it a rest, guys. You're marching off a cliff on this one.

The same could be said of anti-takings measures at the state and local level, which become very unpopular with suburban voters once the profile of the issue is raised by "green" activists.

Welfare

PROBLEM/CONFLICT—Despite the good health of the overall economy, the welfare state has expanded its grasp and tightened its grip on underclass society over the last three decades. Despite declining average payments, government at all levels now spends about \$300 billion each year on welfare programs, a sum that has grown rapidly as enrollments skyrocketed up nearly a third every five years.

More ominous than the mounting bills has been the spectre of people tangled up in the safety net and the cul-

ture of poverty it breeds. Traditional American values have been subverted in favor of handouts and irresponsibility, leading to explosive illegitimacy rates and rampant crime. When Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC—a \$25 billion federal welfare program) was instituted in 1935, 88 percent of the families assisted were in need because of the death of the father. Today, one out of every seven children is on AFDC, and 98 percent of them have two living parents, though 89 percent live with just one of them. Three-fifths were born to unwed mothers, two-thirds of whom were under 25. Most alarming: a child brought up in a welfare family is now three times more likely to become a welfare case as an adult.

In a recent, promising development, the national welfare rolls were found to have shrunk by 14 percent over the last three years. Four of the five steepest declines have been in states where tougher, less paternalistic welfare measures have been instituted by reform-minded Republican governors (Michigan, Massachusetts, Ohio and Wisconsin). It appears that merely the threat of shaking up the welfare state has pushed a large number of cases toward self-sufficiency.

POLITICS—No one has been pleased by the state of this "welfare mess," a dissatisfaction that politicians have dredged for votes for a least a generation. As the purchasing power of average wages has declined over that period, public support for the safety net has become perilously thin: In 1988, 74 percent of people surveyed by the Times Mirror Center agreed with the statement, "It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who cannot take care of themselves." By 1994, that figure had plummeted to 57 percent. American workers have become deeply

resentful of having to support an entire culture of non-producers—a key reason they have been deserting the Democrat Party in recent years.

SOLUTION—The obviously successful strategies of Govs. Engler, Weld, Voinovich and Thompson should be pursued by other state governments, with federal facilitation. The first step must be to get long-term welfare cases into entry-level jobs that will boost the value of their human capital. Toward this end, recipients should be allowed to

"...NEITHER SHALL THEY EAT"

Q: Do you think the government should cut off a single mother's welfare benefits after two years if she refuses to take a job, or do you think the welfare benefits should continue as long as she has children to support?

Response	June 1996	July 1993
Cut off benefits	65%	47%
Continue benefits	20	32
Depends on circumstances	11	17
No answer	4	3

Q: If a woman with a child on welfare has another baby, should her benefits increase, decrease or stay the same?

Increase	34%
Decrease	10
Stay the same	50
No answer	5

Q: Would you favor or oppose an increase in your own taxes to pay for job programs to put welfare recipients to work?

Favor	48%
Oppose	49
No answer	4

Source: National telephone survey of 1,008 adults, taken June 5-9, 1996 by ICR Survey Research Group for the Associated Press, MOE: +/- 3%.

earn higher levels of income before seeing a reduction in their benefits. Currently 33 percent, this "income disregard" should be increased to 80 percent, but then rapidly decreased over the length of the case, heightening the incentive to enter the job force. To break the cycle of dependence, teenage welfare mothers should be required to live with a parent or legal guardian; too many young underclass women now look to pregnancy and AFDC as a way to flee the nest and strike out on their own as adults. No one should be allowed to live off the welfare rolls for more than two years.

That means the government will ultimately need to provide work for those who have proven unemployable in the job market. Proposals to require welfare recipients to work for their stipends at government-arranged jobs ("workfare") have been a staple of successful political campaigns for many years, but such programs are hardly ever enacted.

A major stumbling block: it would cost significantly more than the existing welfare system, as infrastructure and overhead expenses would be required by the work activity to be performed. There are also legitimate concerns that such a "guaranteed job" program would create yet another wasteful government payroll, lavished on projects that are either unnecessary or could be more efficiently executed by private industry. Public opinion on increasing taxes to fund workfare is evenly divided (see sidebar on previous page).

That may not be necessary. This country is sorely in need of improved infrastructure: our roads and bridges are largely in substandard condition, and our mass transit system has lagged far behind that of most other post-industrial economies. Some \$80 billion to fund such projects has already accrued in a federal trust, funded by fuel taxes that cannot be used for any other purpose. This bizarre situation has arisen as part of a deficit charade: the government has deducted the unspent funds from general revenue shortfall each year, even though the money is (theoretically) not fungible.

It's time to stop the fun and games and spend the pent-up funds for their intended purpose, putting welfare recipients to work at vital tasks, much as the WPA did in the 1930s. This time, however, let's avoid most of the attendant federal bureaucracy by simply requiring private contractors on these government public works projects to hire a certain percentage of welfare recipients for the duration of the contract. Such a system will give the jobless a foot in the door of private industry.

STRATEGY—Govs. Thompson, Voinovich, Weld and Engler have all been re-elected overwhelmingly, thanks in large part to their successful "get-tough" welfare reforms, which often included an element of workfare. Since the voters have come to regard welfare as an intractable problem, they are particularly impressed by progress on this front. Since re-election is at the top of almost every politician's agenda, instituting versions of these reforms at the federal level should not be a hard sell.

Health Care

PROBLEM/CONFLICT—Health care costs have been rising much faster than the CPI for 27 years now, giving us a system that is a mediocrity when measured against those of the other world economic powers, who generally spend a third less. Granted, we occupy the pinnacle of medical technology, but our basic indices of public health status are unimpressive, and our ruinous system of health insurance has left us at a competitive disadvantage with our overseas economic competitors. As costs have continued to spiral in recent years, the medical benefits of American workers have begun to decline, leaving them in a state of high anxiety. A key problem: demand for health care services has been relatively inelastic, though recent innovations in provider organization—HMOs, managed care—have slowed the rise in costs, with attendant complaints of service deterioration. Also, more and more employees are going without health insurance as companies trim cost and mobile workers are denied coverage because of pre-existing conditions.

POLITICS—Coached by a manager who had won a big payoff with the issue in a special 1991 Senate race, Bill Clinton zeroed in on the health care crisis during the 1992 presidential campaign and made solving it the top priority of his young administration. Pushing a paternalistic, intensely bureaucratic approach that was easily picked apart by well-financed opponents in the public debate, Clinton met with complete defeat. The health care/insurance/pharmaceutical juggernaut was awe-inspiring in terms of delivering political muscle, and is unlikely to be seriously challenged again, anytime soon. Nevertheless, most voters remained deeply concerned about the security of their coverage.

SOLUTION—The rate of increase in health care costs is finally slowing, as the growing market share of managed care (now 71 percent of employer-provided insurance) has given the consumer more leverage. But costs are still much too high relative to the rest of the world, and access to adequate coverage remains an insurmountable obstacle to nearly 40 million Americans. The Kassebaum-Kennedy bill—which passed the Senate unanimously last April—advances many access reforms that few oppose: limit the ability of insurers and employers to impose pre-existing condition exclusions; prevent insurers from dropping coverage when an individual changes jobs or a family member becomes ill; and help small companies gain more purchasing clout in the market by allowing them to form purchasing coalitions.

More comprehensive health care reform depends largely upon the wider use of marketplace mechanisms. The success that privately managed care programs have had in reining in costs suggests this approach is a more efficient means of cost containment than government "command and control" regulations. Medical Savings Accounts should also be given the opportunity to prove themselves (though whether they are added to the Kassebaum bill should be a matter of legislative strategy).

STRATEGY—Leery of Hillary Clinton's big government approach, the great bulk of voters still demand greater health care security, access and affordability. They do not embrace right-wing, laissez-faire theories when it comes to caring for their health, but solidly endorse the moderate, market-inclined alternatives being advanced by Nancy Kassebaum. The Medicare debate powerfully demonstrated the political pitfalls Republicans face when we allow our anti-government fervor to run amok. Bolstered by public opinion and a probable alliance with the insurance industry, moderate health care reformers should be able to put our ailing system on the road to recovery in short order.

SOCIAL ISSUES

Abortion

PROBLEM/CONFLICT—According to the religious beliefs of some Americans, life begins at conception; others fervently contend life begins at birth. The issue is a profound one, for it decides whether or not a fetus is an individual entitled to the protections of the law, or part of the mother's body, to do with as she chooses. Convictions on this matter do not cleave consistently with general political philosophies, liberal vs. conservative: liberals may take a nurturing, "bleeding heart" attitude against abortion rights, while conservatives may see it as a civil libertarian matter, with the government having no right to interfere with an individual's most personal of affairs. Moreover, the Roman Catholic Church's strong opposition to abortion makes it difficult for its parishioners to be pro-abortion rights ("pro-choice"), regardless of their political stripe.

POLITICS—Despite this chaos of conflicting beliefs, a clear majority of the American people favor basic abortion rights. Since conservatives tend to be more fundamentally religious and liberals more secular in their orientation, the Democrat Party has become overwhelmingly pro-choice while the Republican Party's rank-and-file is only slightly more pro-choice. But since Republican activists now gravitate strongly to the right side of the spectrum, most GOP leaders are at least moderately "pro-life." This issue has inflated electoral importance because of the significant blocs of voters who cast their ballots based on the candidates' position on this question alone.

SOLUTION—The U.S. Supreme Court decided two decades ago (*Roe v. Wade*) that a constitutional "right to privacy" precluded government from completely banning abortion. It took a more scientific position somewhere in the middle of the philosophical conflict, suggesting life began at the point of "fetal viability"—the point at which a fetus

could survive on its own outside the woman's womb. Consequently, the court laid guidelines for a trimester system of abortion regulation: little or no legal restriction permissible in the first three months of pregnancy, allowing requirements of concurrence by medical professionals in the second three months, and permitting a virtually complete ban on abortions for women in the final three months of gestation.

The Court may have overreached its authority in this decision, but it was a good Solomonic solution, balancing the diametrically opposed views of the extremes with the majority's wish for moderation, all supported by scientific logic. Given the public's majority attitude, this decision will likely never be nullified by constitutional amendment, although the Court may eventually reverse itself if there are enough consecutive appointments to it by pro-life presidents.

STRATEGY—The platform's current endorsement of a "human life" amendment to the Constitution—in effect, nullifying basic abortion rights—must be dropped, as it divides the party and lashes an anchor to our candidates in the Fall elections.

On an issue that so severely divides the GOP, silence would be our best option.

Gay Rights

PROBLEM/CONFLICT—The public's attitude toward homosexuality is remarkably more tolerant than a generation ago, when few "gays" would admit to their lifestyle in public. However, more conservative, fundamentalist factions continue to regard same-sex relations as an abomination that should be driven back underground by social ostracism, if not prosecuted as a crime. These elements have strenuously resisted laws aimed at equating sexual orientation with race, gender and religion as a social subset worthy of civil rights protections. Social conservatives have also fought attempts to open civil marriage to gay couples and the military to gay recruits (see "Defense and Foreign Policy—Gays & Women in the Military").

A key issue to this conflict is the perceived origins of homosexuality: opponents of gay rights see it as an anti-social choice of lifestyle; many gays contend they were born with their sexual orientation. Scientific study suggests homosexuality results from both environmental and congenital factors. It is not a malady or character flaw as much as a condition or ability, such as being ambidextrous or myopic. Being gay may be an inclination shaped by life experience, but some people are more genetically predisposed than others to being shaped that way.

POLITICS—Gays first began gaining public acceptance in the 1970s, when laws including them under civil



rights protections were passed in many localities. With the resurgence of the Religious Right in the 1980s, such local ordinances came under attack, and have been the target of several statewide initiatives ever since. (A recent Supreme Court decision (*Romer v. Evans*) justifiably struck down such measures as contrary to the equal protection clause in the 14th Amendment.) Reacting against the modern breakdown of the family unit and what they perceive as general moral decay, social rightists have zeroed in on the gay community as a key contributing factor to this decline.

Gay rights is a difficult issue to track politically: most people think of themselves as tolerant of homosexuals, but many of those balk at gay rights when confronted with specifics. Polls indicate substantial majorities oppose legalized gay marriage or inducting known gays into the military. The issue of civil rights protections is a cloudy one for voters, who typically split down the middle when presented with such questions on the ballot. Opponents say such measures would give official sanction to homosexuality as a perfectly acceptable lifestyle choice, and extend "special rights" to gays. Supporters claim they would merely assure homosexuals the same legal standing as anyone else.

SOLUTION—The democratic, merit-based society to which we aspire demands that people be judged only by their character and qualifications. Manifestations of private life which do not intrude upon the rights of others—such as sexual orientation—are not the province of government and should not be a basis for discrimination in the workplace. Whether such discrimination should be explicitly prohibited by law is a matter best handled at the local level. Sodomy laws are an unwarranted intrusion on privacy, and though rarely enforced, should be repealed. Keeping unenforced laws on the books increases disrespect for civil authority and invites selective prosecution.

We maintain civil marriage processes to provide structure and security to familial obligations, particularly to children. Most of these reasons do not apply to gay couples, who are necessarily childless, barring extraordinary circumstances. But while same-sex domestic partners should not qualify as parties to legal matrimony, they should be able to contract for the same civilizing protections and obligations the law extends to married couples for issues not involving children. Such legal recognition of domestic partnerships should not be extended to heterosexual couples, just as legal marriage should not be extended to gays.

STRATEGY—To contain the inevitable backlash among Religious Rightists, we must focus the domestic partnership debate on the civilizing mission of promoting family values among homosexuals, and emphasize the distinctions that would be made between legally sanctioned hetero- and homosexual unions. In fighting laws that would preclude specifying sexual orientation for protection against discrimination, we should emphasize a general abhorrence to discrimination and extol the virtues of maintaining local control over matters of social mores.

Affirmative Action

PROBLEM/CONFLICT—Nearly one and a third centuries after slavery, black Americans continue to lag well behind whites in median income, educational levels, test scores, and basic measures of health. Hispanics fare somewhat better, but not much. Although racism persists, there can be little doubt that it is considerably less pervasive and severe than it was forty years ago, and still the social progress of these minority groups lags. As W.E.B. DuBois foresaw 75 years ago, the destruction of segregation has allowed the "talented tenth" of black society to prosper, but most African Americans continue to occupy the lower rungs of our socio-economic ladder. Paternalistic social engineering from Washington has produced diminishing returns since its inception in the 1960s, driving the minority underclass into increasing dependence upon government largess and special considerations. Racially discriminatory practices pursued or fostered by government—such as "set-asides," hiring preferences and college quotas—have had the unintended consequence of actually promoting racism: the advancement of blacks up the organizational ladder is now greeted with skepticism by colleagues, who often suspect race and not ability or accomplishment was the operative criterion. Conversely, many blacks may be leaning on these crutches, rather than putting them to their intended purpose of gradually building abilities to full potential.

POLITICS—As most American families have suffered from economic stagnation over the past 20 years, resentments have begun to simmer, leading to a search for scapegoats. Whereas demagogues of 60 years ago targeted the rich for such resentments, it is more fashionable these days to blame "wasteful" programs targeting the poor and—by implication—minorities. Such a blame game is wrongheaded, if only because of the scope involved. Wasteful or not, programs to assist the poor are a relatively small portion of government budgets, and affirmative action has advanced minorities past more qualified whites for only a minuscule percentage of available jobs.

Although the scope of affirmative action may be quite limited, the impressions it leaves and the principle it involves are very important. Americans know almost instinctively that truth and justice are not conditional. Racial discrimination offends their sense of right and wrong, no matter how it is directed or for what purpose. When examples of de-jure discrimination were fresh, most white Americans were willing to countenance reverse discrimination as a poisonous-but-necessary antidote, but only for a limited time. That time has run out. Lashed to each other, minorities and the Democrat Party are drowning together in this rising tide of reaction and resentment.

SOLUTION—There can be no exceptions to democratic ideals; none of us are free until all of us are free. Racial discrimination propagates racism: that was the whole idea behind *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, the 1954 Supreme Court decision that brought down segregation and started the civil rights revolution. Racial prefer-

ences of any sort are a debilitating wrong, particularly when mandated or encouraged by government. Such practices must be stopped, in all their forms.

Racism directed against blacks and Hispanics persists, but we must recognize why if it is to be eradicated. We are no longer, by nature, a racist society: Asians actually fare slightly better than whites in terms of income, education and aptitude. A key reason underclass blacks and Hispanics tend to have a tougher time achieving the American Dream: they are often not effectively motivated. Educated by insufficiently funded, poorly managed school systems and unable to afford college, they too often see only sports, entertainment or crime as career choices that promise financial success. The first two fields have precious few openings; the third is deadly and destructive.

Affirmative action is one of the very few tools underclass minorities have to dig their way out of poverty. If it is to be taken away, another means—more fair and effective—should be offered in its place. The most logical vehicle is an upgrading of educational opportunities. We offer such a plan in our “Education” section (see page 16). By 1) offering extensive financial aid to poor school districts that agree to clean up their act by instituting public school choice, and 2) expanding financial assistance to needy college students, we can attack these problems at both ends: insufficient funding and poor administration. The withdrawal of racial preferences must be accompanied by this measure in the same legislative package—“The Equal Opportunity Act”—as each action is inappropriate without the other.

STRATEGY—Affirmative action is perhaps the best example of paternalistic government regulation run amok. Most everyone considers its mechanism to be morally wrong, but many are reluctant to let it go, seeing no other solution to what is perhaps our most vexing social problem. This is an issue where Democrat dogma is squarely at odds with majority interests and values, but Republicans must be very thoughtful and cautious in exploiting it, lest we appear to be stoking racial animosities for political gain.

Too often, the swing electorate does not make the connection between government reforms relying on market forces and improved conditions for all, suspecting they are intended only to relieve the rich from any responsibility for assisting the less fortunate. Our “Equal Opportunity Act” will explode that myth, lifting the poor to parity in terms of educational opportunity while creating a color-blind government for the first time in our history. A true meritocracy free of the shackles of race consciousness will not be far behind, and Republicans will no longer be stigmatized as being the party of the privileged.

Gun Control & Militias

PROBLEM/CONFLICT—The Second Amendment to the Constitution states: “A well regulated Militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to bear arms shall not be infringed.” Following the last

phrase but ignoring the previous two, gun aficionados have cited this Amendment as a constitutional prohibition of gun control. They have half a point.

Having just thrown over one abusive central government, the founding fathers were acutely aware they might have to do so again. State and local militia units—which included all or most men of military age in many areas—were seen not only as a line of defense against Indians, but a check on the power of the federal government as well. After the Civil War had submerged state rights and the frontier had closed, state militias were all federalized into the National Guard by the end of World War I. There no longer being “well regulated militias,” the individual right to bear arms would seem to be without purpose. That is not to say a state military check on federal power is outmoded; it simply no longer exists. The private militias that have sprung up in recent years are no doubt a reaction to that void, but they hardly represent the “well regulated” units the framers of the Constitution had in mind.

Ironically, the 1994 ban on assault weapons was itself a direct assault on the Second Amendment. While it did succeed in outlawing seven or eight weapons that were frequently used in the commission of a crime (mostly machine pistols), another nine or ten specified weapons were rifles only very rarely used by criminals. They were banned simply because they were military weapons with features that appeared to be menacing, no doubt a reaction to the rash of drive-by bayonetings that have terrorized every hamlet. Unspecified weapons with such features were also banned.

“Military-style weapons should only be in the hands of the military,” thundered several gun ban advocates, either ignorant or disdainful of the diametrically opposed intent of the Second Amendment. Federal gun control is on even shakier ground when it comes to the Tenth Amendment: such matters would appear to be the province of state governments.

Gun violence is a severe problem, particularly in our inner cities, but such violence is almost always conducted with short-barreled weapons that can be easily concealed. Such weapons are virtually useless for hunting or military purposes, the two most compelling reasons for allowing civilians to bear arms. (“Protection” seems a dubious purpose: studies have shown owning a handgun actually increases the likelihood you will be killed by one.)

POLITICS—Americans typically approve of new gun control measures by overwhelming majorities, largely because the police community routinely endorses them.

Among voters who are actually swayed by this issue, the numbers are far more even, and gun groups (particularly the NRA) are very active with direct mail, phone banks and direct contributions during political campaigns. Consequently, while it is politically expedient to be pro-gun control in urban constituencies, such a stance invites trouble in rural areas.



SOLUTION—Enact tighter federal restrictions on weapons that are often used in the commission of a crime, but ease restrictions on weapons which rarely see such use. State measures that would allow anyone to carry a concealed weapon—unless they have a criminal record or history of mental illness—are ill-advised and should be defeated or repealed. They invite potentially fatal crimes of passion and provide little deterrent to crime.

STRATEGY—By splitting our allegiance along these lines, we will be recognized as thoughtful by the voters, and will probably avoid both the pro-gun/anti-gun group hit lists.

Moral Decline

PROBLEM/CONFLICT—The renaissance of religious conservatism that took hold in the 1980s and continues today was largely inspired by indications of moral decay: burgeoning rates of crime, divorce and illegitimacy; increased evidence and acceptance of sexual deviance and promiscuity; rampant social incivility, including domestic violence, child abuse, and the general use of profane and abusive language; and the continuing rise of a youth culture seemingly based on mind-altering drugs and disrespect for authority—particularly parental. Some of these perceptions are commonly overblown; but on the whole, traditional values have unquestionably been losing influence in recent years.

Alarmed by this development, the Religious Right has laid blame at the feet of secular powers: government and the media, and much of the criticism is warranted. Since the advent of television, the entertainment industry has steadily increased its cultural and political influence to the point where it has become the most influential segment of our economy. Graphic, gratuitous violence and sex and celebrations of loose morality routinely infest cablelines and the public airwaves, gaining ready access to impressionable young minds. The result has been a more tolerant America, but one which is also more self-indulgent and prone to violence.

Part of government's contribution to moral decline is centered in its creation of a debilitating welfare state, addressed in the previous "Welfare" section. But social conservatives are also exercised over policies gaining favor among public school administrators that promote "political correctness," cultural diversity, and broad social tolerance among students. A particular sore point: the recent introduction in many school systems of "outcome-based education," an approach that tries to monitor and modify a child's social development beyond basic knowledge.

Civil libertarians and the broadcast industry have decried conservative attempts to curb these influences as censorship that violates First Amendment rights.

POLITICS—As in the abortion debate, divisions occurring on these issues do not follow traditional liberal/conservative fault lines, although Republicans are more

likely than Democrats to favor some sort of corrective action by government. Nevertheless, these topics can be a key wedge toward fashioning a GOP super-majority. Middle and working class "Reagan Democrats," most Perot supporters and even a sizable bloc of the black community are deeply disturbed by the Democrat establishment's defense of exploitative elements in the entertainment industry and proselytizing liberal educators. Parents are particularly outraged, as the excesses of these groups threaten the psychological/ideological formation of their children.

There is some aisle-crossing in the opposite direction as well: a number of libertarian and moderate Republicans are extremely leery of anything that smacks of government censorship and reject calls for controlling the content in recorded music and television and directing the practices of local school systems.

SOLUTION—Boycotts have been organized against the most egregious purveyors of youth-oriented mind pollution with some effectiveness. Aggressive use of this approach, combined with jawboning the industry into self-regulation and use of new control technologies (such as the television "V" chip) may be enough to filter out the worst effects of the entertainment industry. But the federal government has also taken a far too lax view of its stewardship of the public airwaves. Freedom of the press does not extend into this realm, nor has it ever. Those broadcast outlets which make a regular practice of making a fast buck by cynically poisoning the minds of kids should not have their licenses renewed. Tough commissioners with mainstream values and a serious commitment toward upholding the mission of their charter must be appointed to the FCC.

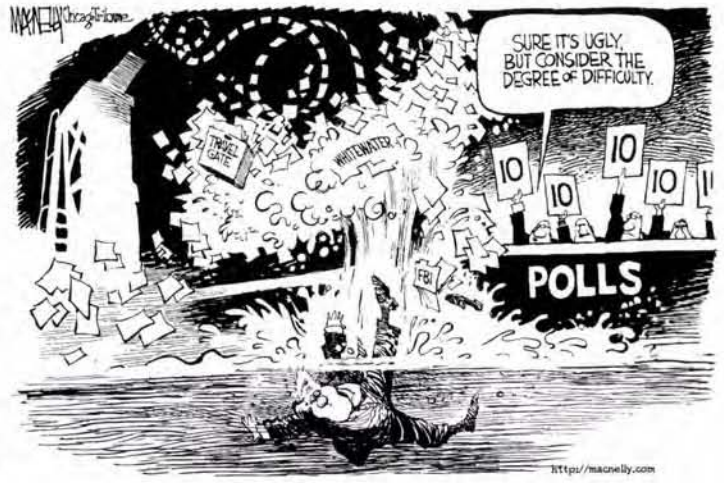
On the school front, parent activism is once again the best antidote against self-righteous social programmers. Curriculum focus and the content of educational materials should be closely monitored by parent organizations. If a school board refuses to reflect the mores of the community, it should be voted out of office or (in the case of appointed bodies) removed by public pressure.

Just as the doctrine of separation of church and state demands we reject the temptation to allow organized prayer in the public schools, so we should reject the doctrine of outcome-based education. Permitting the government to mold the ideologies of impressionable children is a usurpation of power in direct parallel with the "Hitler Youth" programs of Nazi Germany. Such designs are in direct conflict with the tenets of democracy and should be eradicated by law.

STRATEGY—By simultaneously rejecting the proposed constitutional amendment to allow organized prayer in the schools and calling for a legislated end to outcome-based education, the Republican Party can unite moralists and libertarians in the common cause of freedom and strike a vital blow against forced-fed morality and "political correctness." Such a move would go a long way toward forging the bonds of coalition for a GOP supermajority.

CaPiTOL COMIX

BY JEFF MACNELLY & FRIENDS



DOLE NEEDS TO PROJECT A SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE GOP

Rush Limbaugh, Ralph Reed and Pat Buchanan do not speak for all Republicans. They represent one element. These vocal, dogmatic, government-bashing members have dominated the party for well over a decade. Not all members of Abe Lincoln's party subscribe to their spirited conservative fiscal and social agenda.

Many Republicans champion libertarian social values, disdain the diatribe of Rush Limbaugh, reject the political agenda of the Christian Coalition, and believe that government can be limited and still compassionate.

Pat Buchanan maligns them as "Rockefeller Republicans" after libertarian New York governor and later Vice President Nelson Rockefeller who believed in government's social responsibility to help people. Members of the Ripon Society wear the label with enormous pride.

Although government is hardly a solution to every problem, Riponers have long recognized its responsibility in helping people. Airline safety, national defense, meat inspection, environmental protection, garbage pickup, regulation of credit card interest rates and Head Start (hot meals for indigent schoolchildren) are services that many take for granted. They are also some of the many useful things government provides to the citizenry.

New York Gov. Thomas E. Dewey clearly showed that government could be "progressive and solvent." In the 1940s, Dewey used government to pass some of the first civil rights legislation in the country. Republican U.S. Sens. Margaret Chase Smith of Maine and Jacob Javits of New York later fought for civil rights in the Senate and pushed for expanding the social welfare system.

In New Hampshire, Gov. John

G. Winant in the early half of the century used government as a means of social engineering. He worked tirelessly to restrict the exploitation of children in the textile mills. Winant championed a massive welfare program dubbed "The New Hampshire Plan" a that assisted 35 percent of the population left unemployed by the Great Depression.

Government does have a social responsibility to help those in need. It is a responsibility that should be undertaken without chastising those in need with dehumanizing, mean-spirited labels. After all, if welfare programs were completely eliminated, the federal budget would not



come close to being balanced. It's a fact too often overlooked.

Progressive or Rockefeller Republicans, not Buchanan or Limbaugh Republicans, will give a hungry person food. If a progressive Republican sees that same person still hungry the next day, he'll teach him to fish and fend for himself. A Democrat lets emotion dictate reason and keeps handing out the food. Rockefeller Republicans are compassionate but teach self-reliance. Buchanan or Limbaugh Republicans stress Darwinism.

Recently, the Republican National Committee began airing commercials on New Hampshire television on illegal immigrants. The commer-

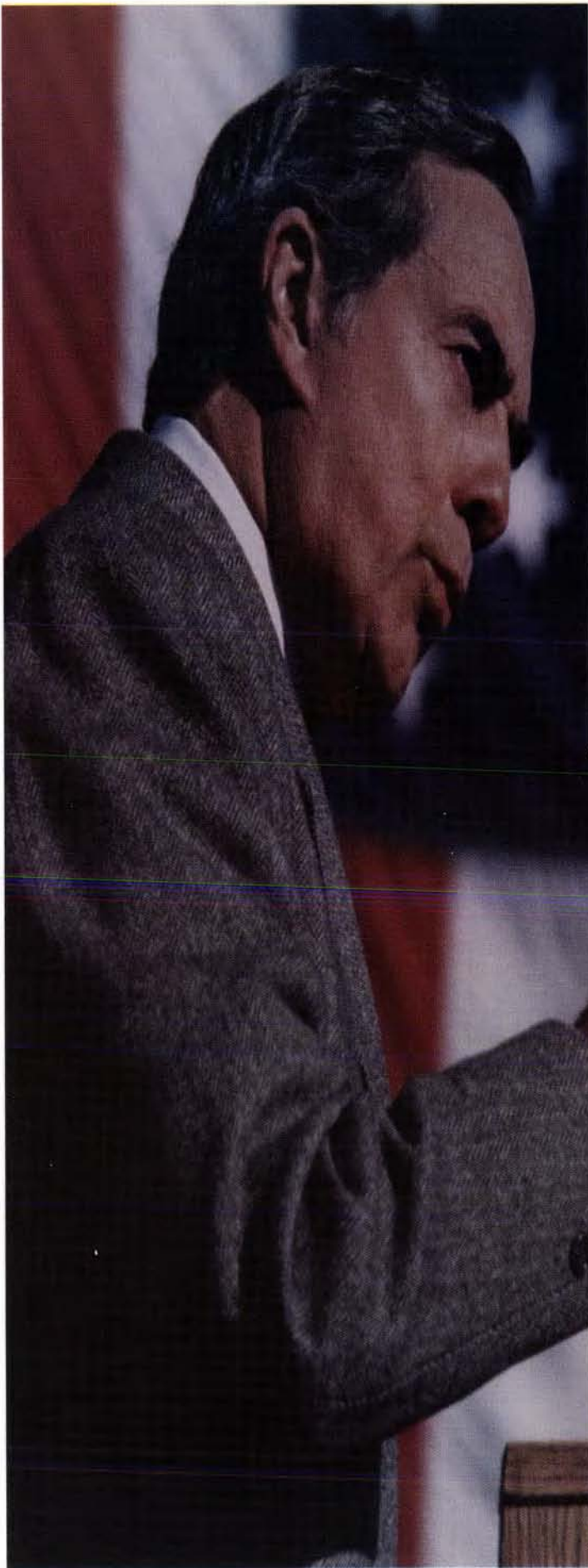
cial are ugly and play on the fears of the unemployed, overtaxed Americans. Bob Dole deserves to lose the fall election if this is the message of the Republican Party.

As New York City Mayor David Dinkins once noted of his city, the United States is a "beautiful mosaic." The cost of illegal immigration is a fraction of the overall national budget. In short, it's irrelevant. Sadly, non-speaking immigrants serve as convenient scapegoats for those who call themselves leaders. Established residents like Pat Buchanan should remember the signs that greeted his ancestors in shop windows during the early part of the century — "No Irish Need Apply."

In the spirit of Tom Dewey, John Winant, Millicent Fenwick, Nelson Rockefeller and Margaret Chase Smith — Bob Dole has supported Head Start, the Disabilities Act and Martin Luther King Jr. Day, among other progressive issues. He should be proud of these accomplishments and his ability to show that a compassionate, but limited government can be successfully used to help people. He must also show the inner strength to put the intolerant Rush Limbaughs and Pat Buchanans in their place.

This is the Bob Dole America must see to achieve victory in November. Dole would do well to remember the philosophy of Gov. Thomas E. Dewey: "It is our solemn responsibility to show that government can have both a head and a heart; that it can be both progressive and solvent; and that it can serve the people without becoming their master."

Paul Peter Jesep is a political science lecturer at Boston University's Metropolitan College and chairman of the Portsmouth Republican City Committee.



Why We Have To Win It All

Moderates at ease with the prospect of continued divided government better think again.

BY BILL FRENZEL

Too many Republicans are ready to give up on the 1996 presidential election already. They are intimidated by the relative poll strength of the President over challenger Bob Dole, and discouraged by the fact the "character issue" has not seemed to affect the people's feeling about the campaign at all. Personal pessimism is understandable, but exposed on one's sleeve, it is politically virulent.

Another group, perhaps not wholly enthused by the apparent Republican nominee, is disinterested rather than discouraged. These people have come to believe that it is more important—not to mention easier—to re-elect the Republican majorities in the House and Senate. They are willing to pass on the presidential race in favor of concentrating all their energies on the Congress. Apathy is a familiar political disease, but in these cases, it is misguided, as well as counter-productive.

A third cluster of Republicans finds Bob Dole too liberal, too conservative, or too something-else. "Selective Republicanism" gave us Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton in recent memory. It could have given us Humphrey, McGovern, more Carter, Mondale and Dukakis. If significant numbers of Republicans indulge in such excessive selectivity, it will surely deliver another four years of President Clinton.

All three attitudes—pessimism, apathy and hyper-selectivity—are forms of political suicide. Republicans have lived off the Presidency since 1968; for a quarter century, it was the single federal branch within the grasp of the GOP. For reasons of demography and Electoral College tilt, the presidency could be won even at a time when the Democrat majorities in Congress were unassailable.

With control of Congress now in Republican hands, taking the White House should again become the top priority.

Control of the Congress was an unexpected prize. Obviously, it is worth protecting at almost any cost. So far, however, it has been a frustrating achievement, Congressional control alone has not been able to make the profound changes necessary to right the ship of state after so many years of control by the Democrats. Now we need some offense. The blunt fact is that no single branch can enact major change by itself.

The Founders of our Republic had a profound distrust of government. The Framers gave us a system they hoped would not produce much government. They were surprisingly successful. In our system, major change takes more than a majority. It requires a consensus for quick change, or an enduring majority for gradual change. However—despite the Framers' intentions—a persistent Democrat majority over the last half of this century has burdened the Republic with more government people, processes and programs than most Americans believe necessary. Congressional Democrats built those extra layers of government, almost always with the help of friendly presidents. Change is overdue but the sys-

tem has proved to be at least as resistant to getting rid of government as it has been to adding government.

Our Republican congressional majorities now seek to remove a few of those burdensome layers. Their ambitions for change are fundamental; but fundamental change does not occur in our Republic without control of both Executive and Legislative branches. Good ideas and good work notwithstanding, without a friendly president, the Republican congress will require many years to enact the repairs, reforms, devolutions and deficit reductions needed to put our society and our economy back on the right track. Only a Republican president can speed up the process.

Even though some Republicans have given up on the presidential race already, the fact is it has not even started yet. In our modern, real-time world, the period left until November is the equivalent of several political lifetimes 20 years ago. There is plenty of opportunity left for either candidate to win or lose the election more than once. Polls will change. The election will be close.

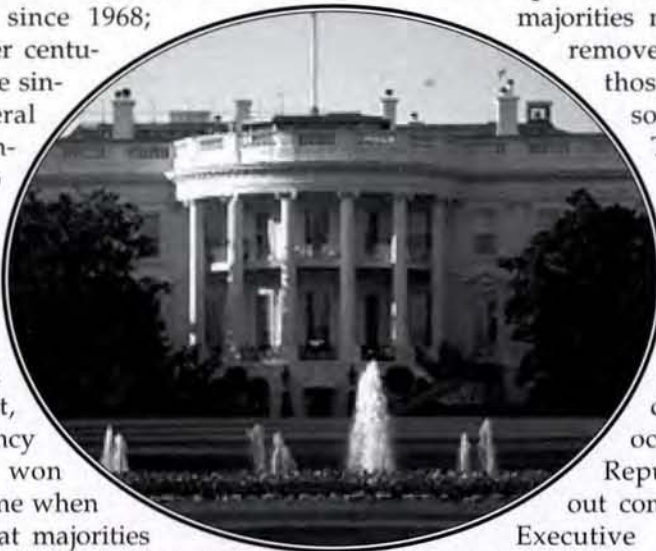
Presidential campaigns are always crucial, and this one is no different. Without presidential success, to achieve needed change, legislative majorities will have to endure longer than we can reasonably expect. And, if

we give up on the presidency, it is likely that the Republican legislative majorities will not endure in both Houses past 1996. Usually not a factor, coattails grow when one side concedes.

Republicans who are ready to throw in the towel ought to quit complaining about the President's poll strength, the lack of vitality in the Dole campaign, or any other factor or issue. They ought to begin looking for the rainbow. They ought to give the Dole presidential effort a little help. They will find that drab campaigns look better from the inside. They may also find that presidential campaign work is the best way to boost congressional campaigns.

The Clinton team has given us lots of opportunities to reverse the tide of public opinion, and plenty of grounds for optimism. The rest of the country is talking about the President in unflattering terms. The right campaign both for Bob Dole and the Congress is to seize on all these advantages.

Pessimism, apathy and selectivity will probably always be with us. But, the party which resists them most vigorously is the party which celebrates on Election Night. In politics, winning is everything but in American politics you have to win both branches. The prize is the fundamental change of Republican reform. It is possible to achieve, but we have to want it badly enough.



A former Republican congressman from Minnesota, **Bill Frenzel** currently

serves as national President of the Ripon Society and is a Guest Scholar at the Brookings Institution.



One Wyoman is Worth Seven Ohioans

That's what the GOP convention rules say about the party rank-and-file. It's a scandal that will doom Republicans to failure until it's cleaned up.

BY MICHAEL M. MURPHY

As Republicans turn their attention to their national convention in San Diego this August, they find the GOP trapped in a political paradox of its own making. This calculated but little discussed paradox—if not reformed—may not only reprise its role as a key contributor to a GOP presidential rout at the polls in the Fall: it may even have severe consequences for the party's stunning, yet all too brief House majority. Swift and decisive action on the part of standard-bearer Bob Dole and the party leadership, however, could dramatically and significantly turn the convention and election into Republican triumphs.

That paradox is the GOP's national party rules. That the Rules will be altered this year is undoubted. Whether the party reforms those rules wisely or foolishly will dictate in no small measure whether the GOP can shed its tarnished image and that of its standard-bearer.

Hyped Hypocrisy

In a speech before the Middlesex Club of Massachusetts before Governor Pete Wilson of California, I stated that our party's "lack of rules reform renders its inclusion and outreach as campaign marketing shams, window dressing, hollow rhetoric, a myth. It insults the party of Lincoln."

An effective party must channel and consolidate political interest into the party process, not ignore or suppress it. Party rules should serve as a neutral guardian of party process. They should provide a level playing field for all Republicans.

Contrasting the party's public stances with its internal rules policy reveals a hypocrisy that has hampered Republican campaigns, as the follow-

ing examples illustrate:

- Republican leaders often promise to end affirmative action quotas that help minorities, yet its party rules leave the GOP the most quota-driven party in America, with quotas that hurt minorities. Party rule no. 24 (d) provides for an advisory body—misnamed "Executive Committee"—which contains seats designated by race, religion and national origin: one for the chairman of the National Republican Heritage Groups Council—i.e. someone of Asian, southern European or eastern European heritage; one for the chair of the National Black Republican Council; one for the chair of the Republican National Hispanic Assembly; and one for a representative Jewish-American appointed by the Chairman of the Republican National Committee.

These "auxiliaries" have no vote on the RNC itself and cannot vote on resolutions or for chairman. One writer has termed these racial and ethnic slots as "not quite as broadening as quotas and ... something more invidious than tokenism. They are a mocking, distorted image of 'affirmative action' without any inclusive substance." But that's not all.

- Republican leadership denies that its stance against illegal immigrants and the education of their children is grounded in the nativist prejudices of an earlier and odious era of overt racism; yet the party rules it insists on maintaining produce a wide disparity in voter-to-delegate ratios from state to state, consistently under-representing those states with large proportions of minorities: African-Americans and the children and grandchildren of prior battles over prejudice (Catholics, Jews, Southern and Eastern Europeans, Asians and Hispanics). Republican voters from Wyoming, for example, enjoy *seven times* the delegate represen-

tation of Republican voters in Ohio or New Jersey (see Table 1).

The party highlights Governors George Voinovich (R-Ohio) and Christie Whitman (R-New Jersey), yet these two leaders of populous states with significant racial and ethnic constituencies—states with Republican majorities in their respective state houses—find their convention delegations the two most under-represented at the convention. Such inequity eventually translates into party policies that reflect the views of small, rural, homogenous constituencies while ignoring those of large, urban, diverse ones.

The Road to Ruinous Rules

How did we arrive at such an inequitable system?

Through the 1912 convention, delegate apportionment was a simple multiple of the Electoral College, reflecting that institution's bias toward small states. In that year's contest for the GOP presidential nomination, ex-president Theodore Roosevelt defeated incumbent William Howard Taft in every primary but one, yet lost the nomination. Angry pro-Roosevelt progressives bolted the party, and ran their hero on a separate line in November—a venture so successful, Republican entry Taft actually finished third.

A key progressive complaint was the so-called "rotten boroughs:" delegations representing southern states that held almost no Republican voting constituencies whatsoever. Republican officials in these states were generally conduits of patronage from Washington, and thoroughly under the thumb of the White House. Solidly for Taft and controlling about a quarter of the convention's vote, these delegations had proven decisive in a close contest.

TABLE 1**1992 GOP Presidential Vote
Represented by each
1996 Delegate**

State	Delegate/Vote Ratio
District of Columbia	1,487
Wyoming	3,967
Alaska	5,368
Vermont	7,344
North Dakota	7,569
South Dakota	7,595
Rhode Island	8,225
Delaware	8,526
Idaho	8,811
Hawaii	9,773
Montana	10,304
Utah	11,523
New Mexico	11,824
Nevada	12,559
New Hampshire	12,655
West Virginia	13,443
Maine	13,767
Nebraska	14,320
Kansas	14,515
Arizona	14,669
Mississippi	15,244
Oklahoma	15,603
South Carolina	15,608
Arkansas	16,866
Indiana	19,026
North Carolina	19,563
Iowa	20,196
Texas	20,293
Washington	20,312
Oregon	20,685
Alabama	21,165
Connecticut	21,419
Colorado	21,648
Virginia	21,708
Massachusetts	21,758
Maryland	22,097
California	22,138
Florida	22,161
Minnesota	22,662
Tennessee	22,738
New York	23,006
Missouri	23,176
Georgia	23,696
Kentucky	23,738
Pennsylvania	24,546
Illinois	25,132
Wisconsin	25,857
Louisiana	27,162
Michigan	27,280
New Jersey	28,268
Ohio	28,273
Average	19,273

As part of the price for luring Progressives back into the Republican Party, a rule was adopted that awarded additional delegates to a district casting a minimum of 7,500 votes for either the Republican congressional or presidential nominees in the previous election. Any district that cast less than 2,500 GOP votes (including most of those in the Old Confederacy) got no extra delegates at all.

During the 1920s—an era which saw KKK membership soar to four million, with 200,000 of them parading down Pennsylvania Avenue—more rules were added with the expressed objective of diluting representation for urban “ethnics,” the alleged pawns of corrupt Democrat bosses. The vehicle this time was the addition of bonus delegates awarded to states on a flat, at-large basis—regardless of population—for producing a statewide plurality for the GOP presidential candidate or achieving a majority in either house of the state legislature. These changes ultimately had the effect of reducing the representation of the urban and suburban areas of the nation.

Such machinations—which greatly accentuated the already prevailing skew toward small, rural, homogenous states—were taken to even further lengths in the 1970s and 80s, after the party machinery fell to the domination of right-wing ideologues. A rule was passed guaranteeing that no state would ever have fewer delegates than it had in 1972, shoring up the declining influence of depopulated rural areas; new at-large “flat” bonuses were added for electing a Republican governor, U.S. senators, or a majority of its U.S. House delegation (note: *not actual numbers of congressmen*).

While some justification can be made for the original departure from the straight electoral vote multiple, it served to disenfranchise large numbers of blacks from party affairs (cutting their representation in half), simply because their states had already barred them from the ballot box. And there is absolutely no justification for the current extension of these “reforms.” Today, the southern

states are hardly “rotten boroughs” bereft of Republican voters: All of the national party’s top eight leaders now hail from former slave states.

The later “reforms” of the 1920s were simply the product of the racist/nativist prejudices prevalent in those times, prejudices that are now abhorrent to the vast majority of Americans; their legacy has no place in our party. Likewise, the apportionment rule shifts of the 1970s and ‘80s were strategic ploys aimed at pushing the party away from the American mainstream—a disastrous course that must be changed before it returns the GOP to its virtually permanent minority status.

**The Dangers of
Insular Engineering**

The Republican Party champions a flat tax, calling for an end to the litany of IRS rules and regulations; yet it is silent regarding its own convoluted party rules which abandoned a flat multiple of the electoral college for a hodgepodge of at-large “bonus” delegates that grossly misrepresents the GOP vote total in a large number of states in terms of apportionment of delegates.

Republicans boast of their new House majority status, yet our rules consistently fail to consolidate GOP congressional gains. To make matters worse, the Republican National Committee has no representation whatsoever based on population.

By seriously misrepresenting the American people in its own councils, the Republican Party has institutionalized electoral failure into its infrastructure. A Republican-controlled House has not been returned for 68 years, one of the worst records in holding a popular assembly by a right-of-center party in the world’s democracies. If the failure to consolidate the gains of 1994 into the party process again results in the loss of the House this year, Santayana’s injunction that “those who fail to heed history are doomed to repeat it” can once again be said of Republicans. Party rules should facilitate the entrenchment of Republicans in Congress, not make it

more difficult.

Beyond ensuring long-term electoral success, rules changes toward one-man one-vote in party affairs will help the San Diego convention avoid the appearance of exclusivity. Misreading the disastrous consequences of the '92 Houston Convention—a huge affair with few restrictions on visitors—'96 convention organizers have arranged for virtually insular proceedings in a small hall with tightly restricted access, with demonstrators held at bay, blocks away. That symbolism sends an unfortunate message than can be intercepted by a rules change that will encourage inclusion of under-represented urban areas.

We cannot afford to evince a siege mentality, appearing to be afraid of our own factions; afraid of our Republican roots, afraid of common people. It is the malapportionment of the convention and the RNC—not physical openness—that is the malady of the GOP.

Like Miss Havisham in Dickens' novel—who shut the shades and stopped the clocks, as if that would stop the ravages of time—the GOP poohbahs hope the size of the hall will somehow shut off factional debate. They ignore the fact that a thoughtful, engaged and well-apportioned process moderates debate, while its absence artificially stifles the process and raises the decibel level of contending points of view, each grasping to be heard and treated with respect.

Our party's malapportionment becomes particularly odious when one considers it originated as an effort to disenfranchise African-Americans and newly "rotten boroughs"—meaning blacks not ready to be fully American; southern and eastern Europeans who were mentally inferior and susceptible to boss rule; and Asians, whose race should not be commingled in an "Aryan nation," but rather banned from citizenship and deported.

Apportionment under the current rules has the effect of under-representing voters in states where significant numbers of these historically

oppressed peoples reside, raising a red flag of racism and exclusion that is unacceptable in 1996. We may not have made these rules, but surely we have an obligation to show some leadership toward changing them. This is a matter of fairness, not ideology. We cannot successfully challenge the other party for leadership of this nation until we challenge ourselves to be worthy of the prize.

The Rule Ten Initiative

As an American, a Republican and as an African-American—but especially as a signatory to the Contract with America—I feel some responsibility that the promises made in that contract not be viewed as a cynical marketing scheme.

Just as Republicans brought badly needed reform to the Rules of the House last year, so the Rules of the Republican Party must now be changed to reflect hope for the future, and the repudiation of past strategies based on territorial and racist notions that most Americans have long since rejected. We must join the majority in embracing the Jeffersonian notion of a nation that works for the common good and the public interest, where there is neither "Greek nor Jew" but one people under God.

That is one of the reasons I have endorsed a reform proposal to change the party's rules at the San Diego convention; The Rule Ten Initiative. I am hoping for the sake and survival of the party that Bob Dole and other leaders will embrace its passage.

The Rule Ten Initiative has been inspired by the Ripon Society's Rules Project, one of the most significant undertakings by this group in recent years. The Ripon study produced a series of graphics that clearly show that the severely distorted view of the nation as reflected by the apportionment of GOP delegates. (See map on page 30).

The project figures confirm the apportionment under-representation first brought to light by numerous scholars and party activists in the 1970s—Robert Penoyer, Josiah Auspitz, Nicol Rae, Fred Kellogg,

TABLE 2

1996 Allocation of Delegates vs. Traditional Allocation

(Electoral College x 7)

State	Current	Traditional
American Samoa	4	0
Guam	4	0
Puerto Rico	14	0
Virgin Islands	4	0
Delaware	12	21
Vermont	12	21
Montana	14	21
District of Columbia	14	21
North Dakota	18	21
South Dakota	18	21
Alaska	19	21
Wyoming	20	21
Hawaii	14	28
Maine	15	28
Nevada	14	28
Rhode Island	16	28
New Hampshire	16	28
Idaho	23	28
New Mexico	18	35
West Virginia	18	35
Nebraska	24	35
Utah	28	35
Arkansas	20	42
Kansas	31	42
Oregon	23	49
Iowa	25	49
Mississippi	33	49
Kentucky	26	56
Colorado	27	56
Connecticut	27	56
South Carolina	37	56
Oklahoma	38	56
Arizona	39	56
Louisiana	30	63
Alabama	40	63
Maryland	32	70
Minnesota	33	70
Missouri	36	77
Washington	36	77
Wisconsin	36	77
Tennessee	38	77
Massachusetts	37	84
Indiana	52	84
Georgia	42	91
Virginia	53	91
North Carolina	58	98
New Jersey	48	105
Michigan	57	126
Ohio	67	147
Illinois	69	154
Pennsylvania	73	161
Florida	98	175
Texas	123	224
New York	102	231
California	165	378
Total	1,990	3,766

David Bositis, Arthur George, Lugenia Gordon etc.—and again brought to national attention in the *Freedom Republicans v. Federal Election Commission* case, as well as a study on the 1984 convention by the Ripon Educational Fund.

The Initiative's name is derived from the rule which allows the members of the Rules Committee of Delegates (not the RNC rules committee, a different body) to propose rules changes to be voted on by the Convention. The meeting of the 1996 Rules Committee of Delegates will take place one week prior to the Convention in San Diego.

The Rule 10 Initiative seeks to better consolidate the GOP voter into the GOP organization, eliminate the apportionment bias against urban states, and make allegations of bias against GOP voters of minority racial and ethnic heritage a thing of the past. To achieve these goals, the Initiative suggests the following rules reform:

- **Under Rule 31, regarding convention delegate apportionment: return to a "flat multiple" of the Electoral College as the sole determiner of delegates.** This would eliminate the hodgepodge of convention at-large "bonus" delegates—recognizing that the Electoral College already gives a very generous "bonus" to less populous states—and would eliminate the 1972 "grandfather clause," and the 1924 "bonus" first objected to by African-American members of the RNC at hearings held in the 1920's as leaving blacks "out of the equation." The present multiple of the electoral college would increase from three to seven, affording even today's most over-represented state (Wyoming) more delegates than it

could receive under the present rules system (21 instead of 20), while eliminating malapportionment. The results are revealed on Table 2: For example, New Jersey would receive 105 delegates versus the current 48.

- **Rule 19: add to the Republican National Committee one committee person from each US Congressional District in every state; and—**

- **Rule 26: consolidate the executive council and advisory executive committee into a single**

of the solution not part of the problem.

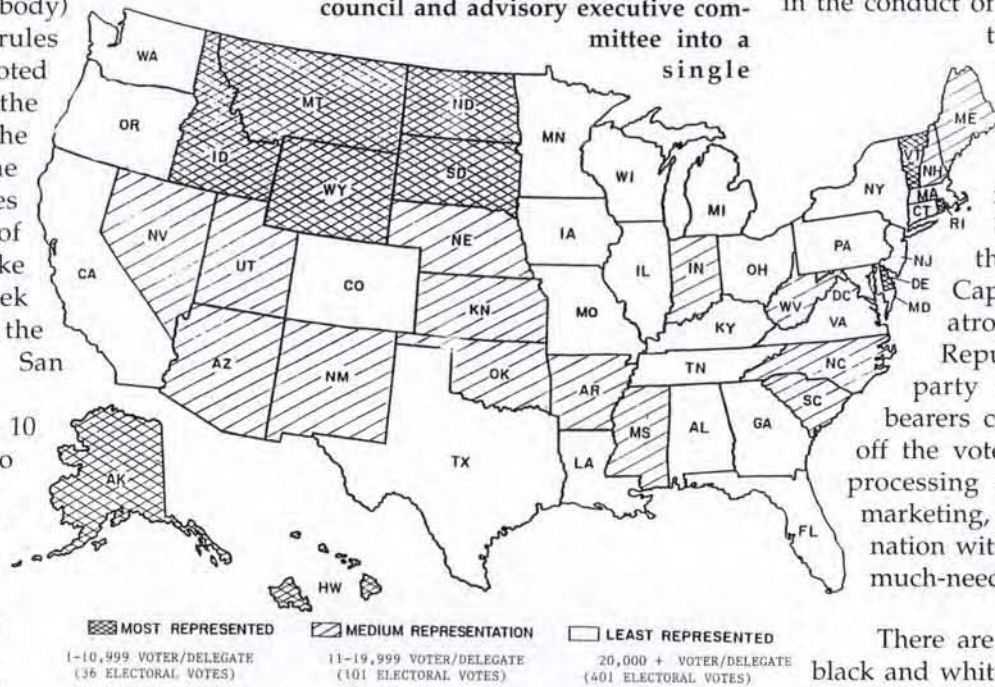
- **Institute a grassroots-oriented biennial issues convention so that Republican voters who want to do more than pull a lever on election day can be heard and treated with the dignity and respect, and be converted into full-fledged party members.**

The alienation of the voter, the lack of a meaningful rank-and-file role in the conduct of party business, and the lack of participatory process are critical political issues of our age. The slew of special interest and single issue think tanks that surround the Capitol underscore the atrophied state of the Republican Party. Our party and its standard-bearers can continue to turn off the voter with their closed processing and heavy-handed marketing, or they can rally a nation with bold, decisive and much-needed reform.

There are many Americans—black and white—who are dissatisfied with the Democrat Party. I hear from them every day. But no caring American will join another party if its malapportioned formulas still leave them out of the equation.

Adopting the Rule 10 Initiative in San Diego would be the shot in the arm the Dole campaign and the GOP need right now. Whether or not Bob Dole cares enough to lead and stand for the values of meaningful participation will be a defining moment for perceptions about his values and leadership, and those of the party itself.

The highest elected African-American official in Massachusetts during the early 1990s, recycling businessman Michael M. Murphy was a GOP congressional nominee in 1994. He currently serves on the Ripon Governing Board.



body that reflects the added congressional component to the party structure.

The RNC appears poised to eliminate the racial, ethnic and religious auxiliaries, but eliminating the cynical and demeaning "illusion of inclusion" will not be satisfactory unless the meaningful inclusion of the GOP voter is simultaneously accomplished. Adding a congressional component to the RNC and eliminating the present malapportionment of delegates will allow all Republicans the statistical chance to serve their party.

Grossly, over-represented state delegations are the real "rotten boroughs" of the 1996 Republican convention. That is not only unacceptable and contrary to mainstream values, its political effect only serves to weaken Republican candidates, who must constantly defend against charges that their rhetoric is not a hidden series of codewords for prejudice and mean-spiritedness. GOP rules should be part

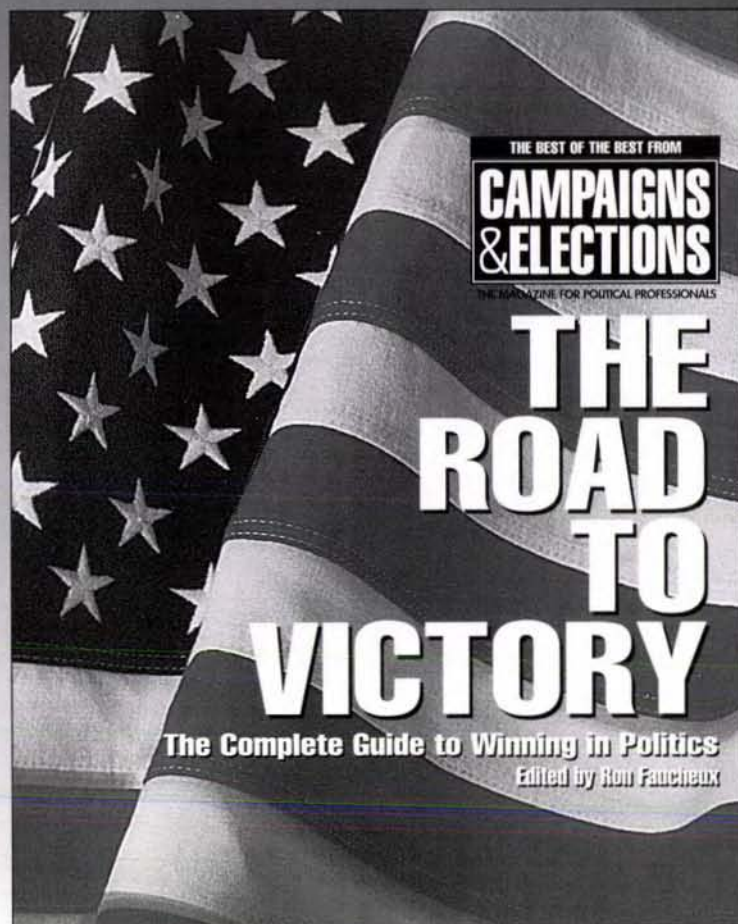
Valuable Wisdom From the School of Hard Knocks...

"*Campaigns & Elections* is the top publication in the political campaign field. Consultants, managers, staff, and candidates will find it very worthwhile, with practical information they can use every day."

James Carville (D)
Political Consultant

"Each issue of *Campaigns & Elections* uncovers and relays new information on what's driving American politics. The Road to Victory is the best compendium of campaign advice that's ever been produced."

Rep. Bill Emerson (R)
Missouri



"*Campaigns & Elections* is great! In its Road to Victory book, you will find articles that will help you save a lot of money on your next campaign—as well as win it."

Rep. Carrie Meek (D)
Florida

"*Campaigns & Elections* is a well-written guide to effective political strategies and techniques. The Road to Victory volume is a wonderful collection of the magazine's best."

State Rep. Charles E.
"Peppi" Bruneau, Jr.
(R), Louisiana

The Best Collection of Political Campaign "How-To" Advice Ever Put Together!

Each Chapter Offers In-Depth Articles on a Wide Range of Campaign Techniques

The Road to Victory: By popular demand, the best articles from *Campaigns & Elections* have been assembled and edited into one volume. Perfect for candidates, campaign staff, consultants, and students, this book is an invaluable collection of practical how-to advice. It's by far the best ever put together!

Published by Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company. Price is \$44.95, plus \$2.50 for shipping and handling. See order form.

★ Call **1-800-228-0810** to order your copy today!

Strategy, Message and Planning
Campaign Technology: Computers, Database Management and Voter Files
Public Opinion, Issues, and Opposition Research
Targeting and Demographics
Fundraising: Strategies and Techniques
Scheduling, Campaign Administration, and Post Election
Direct Mail: Strategies and Techniques
Telephone Direct Contact: Strategies and Techniques
Television and Radio Advertising
Print Advertising and Campaign Materials
Candidate Preparation and Presentation
Dealing With the News Media
Initiatives, Referenda and Grassroots Lobbying
Recruiting, Mobilizing, and Activating Volunteers
Voter Registration and Turnout Programs
Perspectives on Modern Campaigning

Over 600 Pages of Money-Saving, Time-Conserving, Election-Winning Tips!

BOOKS

Billary Pilloried

Partners in Power:

The Clintons and Their America

By ROGER MORRIS

Henry Holt & Company: 1996; 526 pp.

A liberal journalist whose study of Richard Nixon was well-received by media elites, Morris now offers us a fascinating look into the Clintons and their ambitious rise to The White House. This is an important book, perhaps crucial book—the most damaging one yet written about the First Couple. It clearly establishes unethical, and (most likely) illegal behavior patterns by the Clintons prior to January 1993; but as Morris pointedly conveys, those patterns are the secret to understanding this troubled administration today.

Partners is divided into two sections: Book I and Book II. Morris begins Book I in Shreveport, Louisiana with the untimely death of traveling salesman Bill Blythe, who left his young widow Virginia with an unborn son, the current President. After years of leaving young Bill with her parents in Hope, Arkansas while she studied to be a nurse, Virginia loaded up her toddler son and moved to high-rolling, fast-living Hot Springs. There she soon married Roger Clinton, a car salesman, womanizer and alcoholic who subjected his family to physical and verbal abuse that would last throughout Bill Clinton's childhood. According to Morris, this created an atmosphere of silence which taught a young Bill to "lie automatically and without any sense of guilt" to everyone in a town where corruption was the nucleus of the culture. Oddly enough, Bill grew up relatively happy and wanting to be liked by everyone. Georgetown, Oxford and Yale were just the finishing schools for this politician-in-waiting.

By contrast, Hillary Rodham grew up in a stable, middle class home in Park Ridge, Illinois—a conservative area in the 1960s—where the Rodhams were known as staunch Republicans. In high school, Hillary graduated 15th in her class and was voted most likely to succeed. Answering a yearbook questionnaire about her future ambitions she

replied: "to marry a senator and settle down in Georgetown." Hillary chose to attend Wellesley College in suburban Boston; her last two years there saw her interest in social issues evolve, and her politics change from Republican to Democrat.

Bill and Hillary met in 1971, when they were both students at Yale Law school. As one friend said "she saw right past the charm and saw the complex person underneath;" Bill felt she understood him in a way that none of his other girlfriends did. At Yale, Hillary was the campus activist while Bill worked on various "real world" campaigns. But according to sources, Hillary craved political power and sensed Bill's presidential ambitions. Together, they began a carefully calculated climb to the top, assisting selected campaigns and collecting contacts for their future political use.

In Book II, Morris perceptively portrays Little Rock and Washington as capitals swamped in corruption. In Little Rock, then-Gov. Clinton cast himself as an outsider trying to change the system, when in reality he was completely enmeshed in the good ole boy network and politics-usual. Meanwhile, Hillary took the prominent role in the couple's finances, illicitly profiting from their political clout, taking money from the very corporations that she once abhorred. The money the Clintons would improperly "borrow" from Madison Guaranty was beyond comprehension: Bill often referred to this seemingly never ending flow of cash as "McDollars."

In an obligatory nod to his publisher's marketing department, Morris gives tawdry details of the number of women Clinton slept with over the years and its effect on the marriage. Hillary supposedly turned to Vince Foster for support and began an affair that would last through her residency at the Governor's Mansion. Various stories of cocaine use by Clinton are also cited, often connected to an alleged drugs-and-arms smuggling operation run by the CIA from a remote Arkansas airstrip. Testimony given to a grand jury

by ex-state trooper Larry Brown states the illicit enterprise was supported by not only Clinton, but then Vice-President George Bush as well.

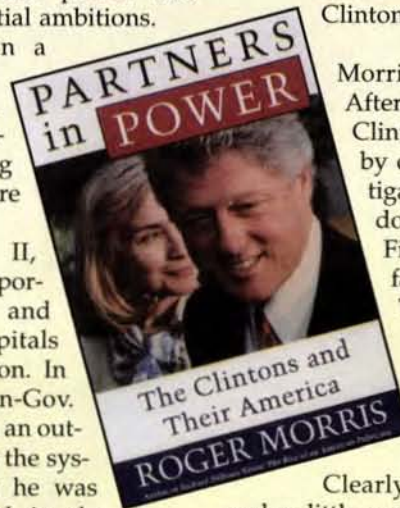
Morris is equally detailed in his detection of the "ruling interests" of the nation's Capital: Washington lobbyists routinely buy members of Congress, and their their staffs with PAC money, favors and prospects of future lucrative employment, while national journalists prove too arrogant to be effective watchdogs. Although the Clintons campaigned in 1992 as idealists ready to change the way things were done in Washington, they readily adapted to its culture of corruption after an initial awkwardness. "All the old rules are still the ones that count" a frustrated Clinton said in late 1993.

Interestingly enough, Morris reflects in his Afterward that "although the Clintons have been besieged by criminal and civil investigations for acts of wrongdoing.... the President and First Lady are clear favorites to be reelected. They are still the lesser of evils in a contest where the Republican rivals are the worn epitome of the Washington system."

Clearly, this contradiction makes little sense. Morris is essentially blaming Republicans for a system that was controlled and bloated by Democrats for the past forty years. Granted, politicians in general have a long way to go to clean up Washington, but that revolution began with the Republican initiatives in the current Congress, not with any Democratic leader and most certainly not with the Clintons. In the end, it is no wonder that Ross Perot made such an impact on the 1992 election and that a third party is on the rise.

As *Partners* strongly supports the theory that Clinton is void of moral ethics, it is certain to be constantly talked about and referred to on right-wing radio shows throughout this election year. Taken in tandem with the similar book recently published by James Stewart—another respected, leftward journalist—it may even goad the Fourth Estate into fulfilling its watchdog responsibilities.

—Melissa Pezzetti



Dole Folds (Again)

Just before Bob Dole's escape from D.C. in June, the presumed GOP presidential nominee seemingly witnessed an epiphany that shifted his thinking on the divisive abortion issue. Throwing down the gauntlet before hard-line pro-life activists who have demanded no change whatsoever in the party platform's staunch anti-choice stance, Dole began insisting that a "statement of tolerance" for other views be inserted into the abortion plank.

Alas, the fervor of the converted proved fleeting. Our spearless leader—already having folded more ways than a road map—buckled under the pressure of the self-righteous Right and sanctioned the placement of the tolerance segment into its own separate plank. Such placement is no different than putting the tolerance resolution in the preamble, which is to say it applies to everything, which is to say it means nothing. The party will officially remain four-square behind a constitutional amendment that will outlaw abortions and will inescapably lead to the incarceration of hapless women and their caring doctors,

Try defending that on a campaign trail anywhere but rural Utah.

Burke in Stock

To the added consternation of the Intolerant Right, **Bob Dole's** longtime chief-of-staff in the Senate has escaped Congress with him to a pivotal slot in the presidential campaign. **Sheila Burke**—a moderate, pro-choice former Democrat who has been the target of ideologically inspired brickbats from the likes of **Bob Novak**, **Paul Weyrich** and **Gary Bauer**—is now with the Dole effort.

Wingnuts no doubt took note that the move roughly coincided with Dole's recent gyrations on the abortion plank.

Affirmative Inaction

Although California voters will have the opportunity to strike a blow against affirmative action this Fall through the ballot initiative—and probably will—GOP campaigns from Bob Dole on down appear to be edging away from their advocacy of such measures. It appears that while a clear majority of voters oppose racial preferences, a sizable bloc of that group is uncomfortable with candidates who push such measures. "It's a very important step for America to decide whether we want to be truly color-blind," cautioned Speaker **Newt Gingrich** in a recent interview. "But I think it has to be done in a free-standing initiative."

Ready for Reform (School)

Senate GOPers blew their best opportunity for reclaiming their lost standing with the voters by burying campaign finance reform in the early Summer. Led by Kentucky's **Mitch McConnell**, they successfully filibustered a meritorious bill offered by Sens. **Fred Thompson** (R-TN), **John McCain** (R-AZ), and **Russ Feingold** (R-WI), the death knell coming on a June 25 cloture vote that fell six votes short of the three-fifths majority required. Aside from Thompson and McCain, only six Republicans voted to close off debate: **Nancy Kassebaum** (KS), **Alan Simpson** (WY), **William Cohen** (ME)—all retiring this year—plus **Arlen Specter** (PA), **Jim Jeffords** (VT) and **Olympia Snowe** (ME). Only one Democrat—retiring Sen. **Howell Heflin** (AL)—stood in the special interest phalanx.

The bill included many provisions that would have cleaned up the present corrupt and anti-democratic system: 1) Provided broadcast and postal discounts to candidates who agreed to limit their

spending. 2) Required congressional candidates to raise half their funds inside their home states. 3) Eliminated the yawning "soft money" loophole that makes a mockery of contribution limits. Perhaps the only credible criticism that could be made of the measure was its proposed elimination of political action committees (PACs)—a clearly unconstitutional action that would have been thrown out by the courts.

But even that dubious feature was a sure crowd-pleaser, and Republicans now stand horribly exposed on the electoral battlefield, having let a public interest/special interest issue be defined in unfavorably partisan terms.

Covering Their Tracks

Pressured by Chairman **Bob Livingston** (R-LA), the House Appropriations Committee has voted to cut the number of employees in the press office of the Federal Election Commission from five to two. Committee Democrats have denounced the move as intended punishment for the FEC's release of documents accumulated during its investigation of Speaker Gingrich's GOPAC organization; public interest lobbies are calling it an attempt to shield incumbents from conflict-of-interest scrutiny by the public; Livingston claims he is just trying to save money.

On a related front, Contributions Watch—a public interest research group headquartered in Washington's Virginia suburbs—reports that Florida has the most accessible information in the nation when it comes to campaign contributions. The aptly named Sunshine State even outperformed the Federal Election Commission, scoring 36 points out of a possible 37, to the FEC's 34. Washington placed second among the states with 34, followed



Kassebaum:
GOP Reformer



F. Thompson:
Disappointed

by Michigan and New Jersey with 31 each. The worst-performing states were North Dakota (8), Virginia (9.5), Mississippi (10), and New York (10.5).

Pennies for Poor Perot

The Federal Election Commission has ruled that **Ross Perot's** 19% showing in the '92 presidential election qualifies him to receive roughly \$30 million in federal funds, should he run again this year. But since Perot ran as an Independent last time, the money would not be available to another nominee, unless... It was not clear from the ruling whether the Reform ticket would qualify for the funds if Perot ran as its vice-presidential nominee; if it did, the Texan's personal contribution to the campaign would then be limited to \$250,000. Without federal funds, a veep-seeking Perot may spend as much of his own money as he can bear to part with—which may not be all that much.

The multi-billionaire is now reportedly planning a national Reform Party telethon, where he will ask each viewing family to contribute five dollars per child and ten dollars per adult. The hope is the broadcast will pour \$20 million into the party coffers.

Sacrificial Lamm

The Reformers' national convention has finally been scheduled, and already reflects the personality of its sponsor: split. It will open in Long Beach, CA on August 11 (a day earlier than the GOP confab just down the coast), then resume a week later at Valley Forge, PA. Reform presidential candidates will make speeches at the first gathering, while the winner will be announced at the second. In between, those who have signed the party's petitions will have the opportunity to transmit a ballot, via modem or "snail mail."

Of course, that choice may not be a wide one. Perot's efforts to coax well-known centrists into running for the nomination have yielded only one potential candidate: ex-

Colorado Gov. **Dick Lamm** (D). Known as "Governor Gloom," Lamm lost the '92 Democrat nod for the U.S. Senate, yet at first seemed unwilling to risk his remaining prestige on an effort that may leave him a mere sparring partner for Perot. On July 8 he relented, and announced his candidacy for the Reform nomination.

At almost that same moment, the party's Dallas headquarters began mailing out nomination forms to the 1.3 million people who had signed ballot petitions for the fledgling group. Only two names were printed on the forms: those of Perot and Lamm. Theoretically, any candidate cited on at least 130,000 returned forms will get to address the convention and be listed on the nomination ballot. However, the results will not be made public until the convention, says Reform Party Executive Director **Russ Verney**, who only belatedly revealed Ernst & Young as the accounting firm overseeing the tabulations.

The betting here: a Lamm-Perot ticket, or vice-versa.

Heat Waive

After first lauding GOP Gov. **Tommy Thompson's** welfare reforms in Wisconsin, then balking at signing a waiver that would allow Thompson to finish the job, Pres. **Bill Clinton** finally capitulated to mounting pressure and announced he would sign. In yet another effort to one-up Republicans on social issues, Clinton issued an order requiring welfare mothers to identify the fathers of their children.

Pierre Du Comp

Erstwhile GOP presidential candidate **Pierre "Pete" DuPont** has launched an electronic magazine entitled Intellectual Capital. The purpose, says DuPont, is to make the Internet "a compelling channel for public policy experts to present and test their views." Available free (of course) on the World Wide Web,

Intellectual Capital has a roster of contributors that spans the ideological spectrum, from right (Gary Bauer of the Family Research Center; **John Fund** of the Wall Street Journal) to left (Sen. **Paul Simon** (D-IL); ACLU's **Nadine Strossen**) and in between (ex-Roll Call publisher **James Glassman**). The new "e-mag" can be accessed at <http://www.intellectualcapital.com>

Bo Knows, Sonny Doesn't

Washingtonian magazine has polled Capitol Hill minions again to find Congress' shining stars and dimmest bulbs. On the House side, deficit hawk/Budget Committee Chair **John Kasich** (R-OH) won in the "Workhorse" field going away, while freshman **Sonny Bono** (R-CA) was the hands-down choice in the "No Rocket Scientist" category. Controversial Gingrich point man **Bob Walker** (R-PA) was designated both "to be missed most" and "to be missed least." In the Senate, ex-Nixon aide **Pat Moynihan** (D-NY) was voted "Brainiest."

Stop Stassen!

The press might have been more enthralled by a similar announcement from **Colin Powell**, but nine-time presidential candidate **Harold Stassen** surprised a few newsies by lowering his sights and announcing his entry into the GOP veepstakes. First elected governor of Minnesota 58 years ago, Stassen was actually the frontrunner for the Republican top spot for a fleeting spell in the Spring of 1948. "The fact that I am 89 and continuing to work productively," Stassen sagely observed, "should provide some support to Senator Robert Dole."

The Survivor

When asked by an interviewer what qualities he was looking for in a running mate, presumed GOP presidential nominee Dole elusively replied, "Someone younger. I'm not considering **Strom Thurmond**." Or Stassen either, one could conclude.



T. Thompson:
Unleashed

BEYOND THE BELTWAY

(Population 250 million)

ARKANSAS—When two fraud convictions recently forced the resignation announcement of Gov.

Jim Guy Tucker (D), Lt. Gov. **Mike Huckabee** (R) abandoned his U.S. Senate nomination to prepare for his assumption of the governorship. The choice of most GOP leaders as a replacement nominee, Cong. **Tim Hutchinson** balked, at first declaring he was not a candidate. Poohbah pressure prevailed, however, and Hutchinson is now slated to face Atty. Gen. **Winston Bryant** (D) for the seat in November. Brother **Asa Hutchinson**—former U.S. Attorney, '86 Senate nominee and state party chair—was soon named the GOP nominee for Tim's safely Republican House seat.

CALIFORNIA—Shortly after his July 8 entry into the Reform Party's presidential sweepstakes, ex-Colorado governor **Dick Lamm** (D) was endorsed by two moderates long prominent in Silicon Valley politics: ex-Cong. **Ed Zschau** (R) and ex-San Jose mayor **Tom McEnergy** (D). Zschau narrowly missed unseating then-Sen. **Al Cranston** (D) in 1986, while McEnergy was upset in a '94 congressional primary by now-Cong. **Zoe Lofgren** (D), after being outspent 2:1. Lamm made an well-received keynote speech at the state Reform Party convention in June, and might be a formidable factor in the Fall campaign here, if nominated.

CONNECTICUT—The two Democrats seeking to oppose Cong. **Nancy Johnson** (R) in November agree on most issues, but not on how to campaign against the Ethics Committee chairwoman. At her entry in June, college prof. **Charlotte Koskoff** unveiled a large photo of Johnson shaking hands with **Newt Gingrich**, roundly criticizing the incumbent for her panel's "kid-glove" treatment of the Speaker while investigating conflict-of-interest charges. Koskoff's primary opponent—businessman **James Griffin**—regards such Gingrich-baiting as an overblown tactic that "insults the intelligence of the electorate."

FLORIDA—Frosh Cong. **Charles Canady** (R)—a fireplug for social rightists—will apparently be opposed in November by his own cousin, environmental consultant **Michael Canady** (D). The Congressman calls it a stunt choreographed by the Democratic Party, but Cuz claims he was moved to run when Charley signed on with the leadership's effort to block enforcement of the Clean Air and Clean Water Acts (central Florida is a hotbed of environmentalist sentiment). Going to the mat against family is nothing new for Cong. Canady however: he switched parties while a state legislator—when his namesake dad was the Democrats' state chair.

GEORGIA—SOUTHERN FRIED CENTRISM: In a bold move, ex-state Sen. **Johnny Isakson** aired \$100,000 worth of pro-choice ads in June as he campaigned for the GOP U.S. Senate nomination against two well-financed pro-lifers. Norell Temporary Services founder **Guy Millner** and state Sen. **Clint Day**—heir to the Day's Inn fortune—were taken aback by this flagrant apostasy against the state party line, but it made a great deal of political sense:

Intolerant Rightists appeared to be splitting their votes between Day, Millner and physician **Paul Broun**, and the open primary promised to attract large numbers of Independents and Democrats, who had no high-profile primary of their own. The strategy paid off big-time: In the days leading up to the primary, Isakson won glowing endorsements from the lion's share of major dailies in the state and surged in the polls. He posted a stronger-than-expected 35% on primary day, forcing Millner (42%) into a runoff. • If the primary results here are any indicator, GOP right-wingers could be in for some losses down South. Recent court decisions have dismantled racially gerrymandered congres-

sional districts, giving Republican incumbents more black constituents. One would have thought such hazards would be balanced by conversely endangered black Democrat incumbents, but U.S. Reps. **Cynthia McKinney** (D) and **Sanford Bishop** (D) both won renomination by overwhelming majorities, even though their new districts are only a third black. That lack of discrimination spilled over into the GOP primaries, where two blacks defeated whites for legislative nominations—a first.

KANSAS—Freshly appointed U.S. Sen. **Sheila Frahm** (R) is off to a good start in her bid to be elected in her own right this Fall. A June 24-26 Mason-Dixon poll gave the moderate ex-LG a thumping 47-24% lead over frosh Cong. **Sam Brownback** in their battle for the GOP nomination, to be decided August 6. The conservative Brownback was thought to have been in a stronger position after serving as state commissioner of agriculture for eight years before coming to Congress. • The same poll had another surprise: Cong. **Pat Roberts** (R) in a dead heat with state Treasurer **Sally Thompson** (D) in the race to succeed retiring Sen. **Nancy Kassebaum** (R). The conservative, heavily favored Roberts led only 37-35%, leading some pundits to ascribe his poor showing to voters mistaking him for televangelist Pat Robertson.

MAINE—Centrist **Susan Collins** won a stunningly wide victory in the June 11 GOP U.S. Senate primary, besting state Sen. **John Hathaway** 56-31%, while the \$2 million campaign of financier **Bob Monks** proved a disastrous investment with only a 13% return. The contest took a dark turn in the final days when the press reported Hathaway—a self-styled "family values" candidate—had been accused of having sexual relations with his pre-teen babysitter while living in Alabama in 1989. Hathaway declared Monks had been the source of the revelation, which the '76 Senate nominee denied, though he admitted hiring



Zschau:
Lammkin



Hathaway:
Family values?

a private eye to investigate Hathaway's past. Campaigns & Elections now posts Collins as a 2:3 favorite for November over ex-Gov. **Joe Brennan** (D) and ex-state Sen. **Steve Bost** (I). • Ex-Portland mayor/Rhodes scholar **Tom Allen** edged lesbian state Sen./carpenter **Dale McCormick** to win the Democrat nod to face frosh Cong. **Jim Longley** (R) in the Fall. McCormick spent an estimated \$600,000—much of it via EMILY's List—but Allen is expected to be a tougher challenger.

MASSACHUSETTS—Gov. **Bill Weld** has a new issue to aid his quest to unseat golddigging Sen. **John Kerry**: selfishness. It seems Kerry's considerable inherited wealth and hefty Senate salary yielded only \$175 in charitable contributions in 1993. The Senator insists he has struggled to make ends meet in recent years, but his '93 budget managed to scrape up \$8600 for an exotic, brand-new, super-charged Italian motorcycle. Kerry has since married Senate widow **Teresa Heinz** and her \$750 million Republican-made fortune. No evidence yet of subsequent generosity.



Kerry: *Tight with his own*

MICHIGAN—Overturning a partisan ruling by the state Board of Canvassers, the state Court of Appeals has reinstated ex-state GOP chair **Suzie Heintz** to the Tenth Congressional District ballot. The Board had refused to count 89 signatures on Heintz petitions that had been lost by the Bureau of Elections. Heintz is expected to face House Minority Whip **David Bonior** (no slouch at partisanship himself) in November. • Moderate businessman **Jim Nicholson** became the first statewide candidate here to run TV ads, launching a flight of bio spots in late June. Nicholson faces pro-life talk show hostess **Ronna Romney** in the August 6 GOP primary for the nod to face vulnerable incumbent **Carl Levin** (D) in the Fall and is behind in the polls, despite heavy backing from the GOP establishment.

MINNESOTA—State Senate Majority Leader **Roger Moe** (D) has been indict-

ed on charges he used his Senate office for political campaign purposes. • The state GOP failed to endorse a U.S. Senate candidate at its convention in June, widely read as a stunning setback for ex-state finance director **Bert McKasy**. The movement conservative was derailed by a curious alliance of the moderately conservative ex-Sen. **Rudy Boschwitz** and radical rightist **Monti Moreno**, described by one columnist as "a gun-toting, venom-spewing, gay-bashing hairdresser from Stillwater." All three will compete in a Sept. 10 primary for the right to take on liberal incumbent **Paul Wellstone** (D)—a nod Boschwitz is now heavily favored to win. Centrist state Sen. **Roy Terwilligar** (R) got the best press notices of the convention for his "big tent" speech, but attracted little delegate support and has abandoned the race.



Boschwitz: *Odd coupler*

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Centrist House freshman **Charlie Bass** (R) has his hands full this year: **Mike Hammond**—the man he edged 30-25% to take the GOP nod two years ago—is back, touting a list of 50 "liberal" votes by Bass in the 104th Congress. The Democrats are running '92 gubernatorial nominee **Deborah "Arnie" Arneson**, and ex-Dem state Sen. **Carole Lamirande** has announced an Independence candidacy that is equal parts **Warren Rudman** and **John Sununu**. • Speaking of Sununu, the son and namesake of the network commentator/ex-Gov/ex-Bush chief-of-staff is running in the open First District in a crowded GOP primary.

NEW JERSEY—A mid-June poll for Democrat congressional nominee **Steve Rothman** shows the ex-Englewood mayor up 11 points over his moderate GOP opponent, Bergen County Clerk **Kathleen Donovan**. The results were actually encouraging for Donovan, who scored a mere 36 percent in name recognition. The Democrat-oriented district is represented by arch-partisan Cong. **Bob ("The Torch") Torricelli** (D), who is running for the Senate.

NEW YORK—Republican leaders in Congress closed ranks behind centrist Cong. **Sue Kelly** just before the July 4 recess, strongly urging hard-right ex-Cong. **Joe DioGuardi** (R, 1985-89) to drop his primary challenge. Speaker **Gingrich**, House Majority Leader **Dick Armey** (TX), Whip **Tom DeLay** (TX), Conference Chair **John Boehner** (OH) and NRCC Chair **Bill Paxon** (NY) all signed a letter to DioGuardi that declared: "should you not withdraw your candidacy, you would be doing the party a great disservice." • **HE'S OUR CROOK:** A mid-June Quinipiac College poll (MOE +/- 3.1%) found Pres. **Bill Clinton** with a whopping 63-30% lead over **Bob Dole** here, even though a 2:1 majority of the same respondents thought Clinton and spouse did "something wrong in Whitewater." • The same poll found grim re-election prospects for Sen. **Al D'Amato** (R) in 1998: the controversial third-termer trailed all four Democrats tested: '84 veep nominee **Geraldine Ferraro** (56-33%), ex-Gov. **Mario Cuomo** (49-35%), New York City public advocate **Mark Green** (50-35%), and black state Comptroller **Carl McCall** (46-36%). Green has already decided to forego next year's mayoral race to focus on challenging D'Amato, who beat him by 13 points in '86.

OREGON—Despite being implored by virtually every GOP leader in the state to step down, embattled Cong. **Wes Cooley** (R) has now vowed to fight on in his hopeless re-election quest, unless "something really goes haywire." Apparently Cooley's definition of "haywire" is something akin to an extraterrestrial invasion. In recent months he 1) complained about Taco Bell buying the Liberty Bell (after believing the April Fool cover of *Roll Call*) 2) threatened an obviously pregnant reporter at a press conference; 3) had his claims of service in the Korean War contradicted by every source available, including the sergeant Cooley said would back him up if alive (he was); 4) been investigated for making improper tax deductions; 5) admitted he "deceived" people (including

loan officers) for years about his marital status, while his live-in companion continued to collect a federal pension—a benefit she finally forfeited when the couple wed three years ago. “When you say I haven’t told the truth,” Cooley recently observed, “you have to be specific.” The flustered freshman won his primary unopposed last Spring, though most voters chose to leave their ballot blank by his name. Reagan HHS general counsel **Ron Robertson** has announced his candidacy on the Reform Party ticket, and state Sen. **Greg Walden** (R) has announced he is forming yet another party to take on Cooley in November. Walden’s effort has the blessing of ex-Cong. **Bob Smith** (R), whom Cooley succeeded in 1994. • Stung by his defeat in a special Senate election last winter, formerly right-wing state Senate Prez **Gordon Smith** (R) is now running for the other Senate seat as the clone of retiring incumbent **Mark Hatfield**—ostensibly pro-life, dovish on defense, and moderate on most other matters. After spending \$2 million in personal funds on the special, Smith has vowed to keep his wallet out of the current battle. Perhaps as a result, he now trails software megamillionaire **Tom Bruggere** (D) by double digits.

PENNSYLVANIA—**Gerald Ford** and **George Bush** have reportedly agreed to testify for Cong. **Joe McDade** (R-PA) in his ongoing bribery and racketeering trial. The presidential pair will be utilized as character witnesses.

RHODE ISLAND—The state GOP nominating committee nearly backed maverick right-wing businessman **Tom Post** for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by **Claiborne Pell**. Only the last-minute intervention of state chair **John Holmes** broke a 7-7 deadlock, giving the recommendation to moderate state Treasurer **Nancy Mayer**. The committee’s choice will be forwarded to the state convention, but a Sept. 10 primary is anticipated.

TENNESSEE—Since announcing his surprise retirement in April, Cong. **Harold Ford** (D) has been pulling

every available string to will his seat to 25-year-old **Harold, Jr.**—recently returned from a law school in Michigan. Long the subject of criminal investigations, prosecutions, and a few convictions, the Ford family has largely ruled Memphis politics for a generation. The latest gambit to extend the dynasty has raised the ire of Mayor **Willie Herenton**, who is backing state Rep. **Rufus Jones** against Ford the Younger in the Democrat primary. The only credible white in that race—state Sen. **Steve Cohen**, a ‘94 gov candidate—recently released a poll showing him leading the primary field with 38%, to 27% for Ford and 13% for Jones. Should either Ford or Cohen be nominated, the table would be set for black computer exec **Rod DeBerry**, the anticipated GOP nominee. DeBerry trailed Ford, Sr. by only 15 points in ‘94, despite the Ford family machine and being outspent more than 2:1. • **BACK FROM THE ALAMO?** Among the frontrunners in the GOP primary race for the seat of retiring 17-term Cong. Jimmy Quillen (R): Carter County D.A. **David Crockett**.

TEXAS—The U.S. Supreme Court has thrown out three Lone Star congressional districts that were racially gerrymandered to favor minority candidates. The decision will also impact at least nine other districts in the state, making re-election tougher for several GOP congressmen in the Dallas and Houston areas. Atty. Gen. **Dan Morales** (D) shocked his fellow politicians by immediately opining that the state’s congressional primaries be rerun late this Summer, after district lines are redrawn. That decision is not yet final, however. • Schoolteacher **Victor Morales** (no relation to Dan) stunned pundits here last Spring by beating two congressman for the Democrat U.S. Senate nod after spending less than \$5,000. Driving his pickup across the state, Morales became the folk hero of a classic David vs. Goliath story. Operatives for incumbent **Phil Gramm** (R)—who had been chortling over the Democrats’ seemingly foolhardy choice of challenger—are smiling no longer. A Harte-Hanks poll con-

ducted in early June shows the erstwhile presidential candidate with only minority support in the race: 47% to 33% for Morales and 19% undecided. • Perhaps hoping to distance himself from the lunatic fringe, Gramm declared that if the Intolerant Right succeeded in its efforts to deny colleague **Kay Bailey Hutchison** a seat at the National Convention, he would decline his own. Right to Life groups ultimately fell short in their efforts to blackball the pro-choice Hutchison: she was approved as part of a slate that included Gramm.



Hutchison:
Lifer target

VERMONT—Burlington attorney **Jack Long** (D) has entered the race against Socialist/ Independent Cong. **Bernie Sanders**, creating a three-cornered contest for the Fall which boosts the chances of moderate state Sen. **Susan Sweetser**, the GOP nominee.

VIRGINIA—The GOP’s hard right took two crippling body blows in the Old Dominion’s June primaries: moderate Sen. **John Warner** crushed a challenge from Reagan OMB director **Jim Miller** by a 2:1 margin, while mainstreamer **Herb Bateman** coasted toward an eighth House term with a 4:1 margin over Gov. George Allen’s former Housing director, an erstwhile Moonie named **David Caprara**.

WEST VIRGINIA—Moderate ex-Gov. **Cecil Underwood** (R, 1957-61) may well reclaim his old job in this heavily Democrat state. A late June media poll (MOE +/- 4.9%) found Underwood trailing controversial Democrat nominee **Charlotte Pritt** by a mere 49-44%. If victorious, the 74-year-old Underwood would hold the distinction of being both the youngest and oldest governor in state history.

WISCONSIN—Due to the recall of a GOP senator who had voted for a tax increase, the state Senate has passed from Republican to Democrat control. • The LaFolletes are back—this time on the wrong side. Sec. of State **Doug LaFollette** (D) is trying to unseat moderate Cong. **Scott Klug** (R-Madison).



JIM
RAMSTAD

Restore Common Sense to America's Courts

America's system of jurisprudence is heavily burdened by frivolous lawsuits, skyrocketing costs and mind-boggling delays. In 1992 alone, some 20 million civil lawsuits were filed in state and federal courts: a rate of one for every 10 adults in America! In federal court—where cases have tripled over the last 30 years—the number of civil cases over three years old grew from 6.6 percent to 10.4 percent between 1985 and 1990. And one study estimates a quarter of all lawsuits are either frivolous or fraudulent.

A 1991 examination estimated the direct public cost of the tort system is \$132 billion—three-fifths of what America spent that year on public education and two and a half times the amount spent on police and fire protection! Another study estimates our civil justice system imposes \$300 billion in costs on Americans, including increased costs of goods and services. These huge figures might be easier to swallow if most of the dollars actually went to compensate injured parties. However, victims receive only about 50 cents of each liability dollar.

Clearly, we need to restore some common sense to our legal system, without threatening the ability of victims to be compensated for their injuries. That's why I chaired the GOP task force which drafted the legal reform provisions of the "Contract with America." After Republicans took control of Congress, those reforms were drafted into three separate bills, all three of which passed the House with strong bipartisan majorities at the beginning of 1995. Two of the bills were passed by Congress and vetoed by President Clinton; the third—the Securities Litigation Reform Act—became law over the President's veto.

The House also passed the Attorney Accountability Act, which would have required a party to pay the other's legal fees if that party had rejected a settlement offer more favorable than the resulting jury award. Such legislation would have encouraged quicker settlement of cases with merit and deterred frivolous ones, but the Senate did not act on the House initiative.

The Securities Litigation Reform Act (the only legal reform bill which became law) is aimed at so-called "strike suits" against companies prone to volatile stock prices—particularly high-tech, rapid-growth companies. These suits are often instigated by lawyers more interested in profiting from the litigation than protecting the rights of shareholders. A key reform included in this legislation makes a company responsible for only the share of the alleged fraud it caused. Under prior law, any company that contributed even a small fraction to the alleged fraud could be held liable for all the damages. Other reforms in the package discourage "fishing expeditions," allow judges to penalize

those who file frivolous lawsuits, and establish a "safe harbor" for products bearing caveat emptor statements that use appropriate cautionary language.

Although the President vetoed the bill, Congress overrode by a vote of 319-100 in the House and 68-30 in the Senate. It became law on December 22, 1995.

The third bill—the Product Liability Reform Act—would have placed reasonable limits on punitive damages for cases involving defective products, while allowing full compensation for actual injuries sustained. For non-economic damages, this legislation would have limited liability to the proportion of fault which caused the injury.

That meant that injured parties could have still collect the full amount of economic damages from any party who shared the blame. But a defendant who was only one percent to blame for the injury would have been liable for only one percent—not 100 percent, as some states require—of the "pain and suffering" or "emotional distress" damages that were awarded.

As a Washington Post editorial supporting reform pointed out, "The underlying problem with the tort system is not the occasional, and often temporary multimillion dollar windfall, but the impact of uncertain liability on some segments of society, including industry, medicine and research."

Another important reform in the "biomaterials access assurance" provisions of this legislation would have helped ensure that the threat of product liability litigation will not hurt patients who need access to implanted medical devices. Many suppliers cannot afford to supply raw materials for medical devices because of the threat of costly litigation; the product liability bill would have prohibited claims against biomaterials suppliers unless the company acted irresponsibly and its mistake actually caused the harm. This common-sense approach would have protected the rights of injured plaintiffs, preserved the lives of Americans who depend on medical devices, and prevented the crisis of a biomaterials shortage.

The product liability bill Congress sent to President Clinton had been carefully negotiated and supported by thoughtful legislators from both parties; modest but significant, it represented real progress. Its veto by the President on May 2 proved to be one of the most disappointing reversals of the past two years, as Congress just fell 23 votes short of an override.

Hopefully, the 1996 election will put real reform of our legal system within reach. Until we fix it, our broken system can lead only to lost jobs, higher prices for consumers and stifled innovation.

The author is a Republican congressman from Minnesota.

THE RIPON EDUCATIONAL FUND

TransAtlantic Conference

*The Ripon Educational Fund will be sponsoring
its 14th Annual TransAtlantic Conference
November 9-16th in Rome, Italy this year.*

*Issues covered will include: EC - American Relations, Trade,
Economic Opportunities in Italy, Telecommunications, Agriculture,
Transportation, Technology, and the Decentralization of the Italian
Government.*

For more information please contact us at:

The Ripon Educational Fund
501 Capitol Court, NE, Suite 300
Washington, DC 20002

MARK O. HATFIELD SCHOLARSHIP

By providing scholarships to qualified individuals, The Ripon Educational Fund allows for original research into policy issues which are likely to have a direct influence on the concerns of the American people. Recipients are expected to produce a paper of publishable quality to be disseminated by The Ripon Educational Fund. Most grants are of \$2,000 and the reward is paid over the course of the scholar's work. Interested applicants should send a one or two page research proposal, writing samples, and a resume to:

The Hatfield Scholarship
Ripon Educational Fund
501 Capitol Court, NE
Suite 300
Washington, DC 20002

Papers should reflect the spirit and interests of Senator Mark O. Hatfield. This includes work in the areas of foreign affairs, civil liberties, the environment, and the nature of the government.

In the Mainstream of American Thought....

In today's world, everyone has an opinion. Be it the Far Right Republicans or the left wing Democrats, the voices that are heard seem to come loudest from the fringes of American political thought.

Not Anymore.

The Ripon Forum seeks to go beyond hard-edged ideologies and represent a voice for those in the mainstream of America. After all, it is people like you who elect our leaders and are affected by public policies.

Whether it's discussion on what's really wrong with the federal government or a discussion on the realignment of our political system, *The Forum* has it all.

Become a Subscriber Today!

YES! Send me *The Ripon Forum* for only \$20.

(students, people in the military service and Peace Corp volunteers pay only \$10)

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____

State: _____

Zip: _____

You may FAX your subscription card to (202) 547-6560. Or mail it to *The Ripon Forum*,
501 Capitol Court NE, Suite 300, Washington, DC 20002.