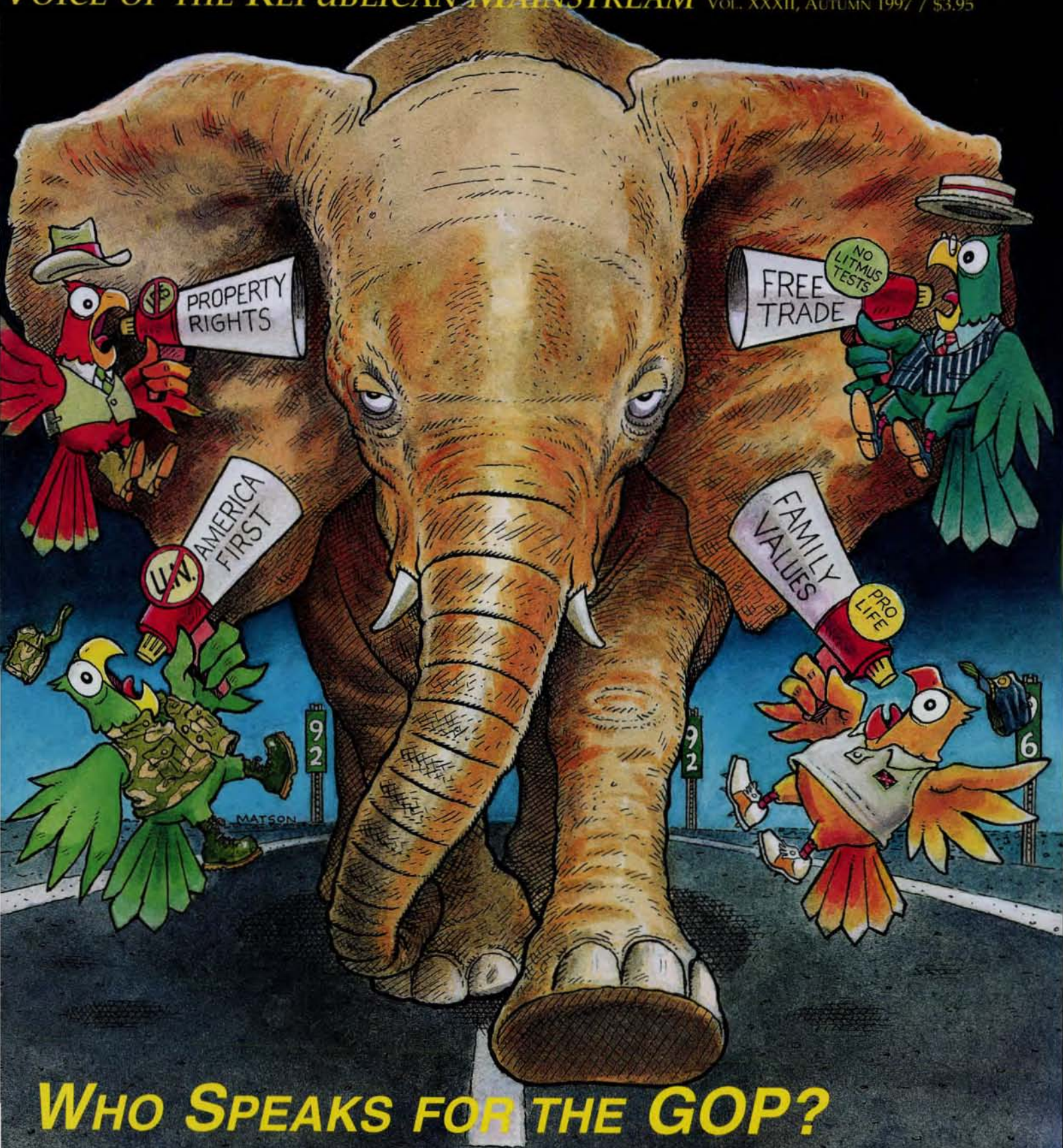


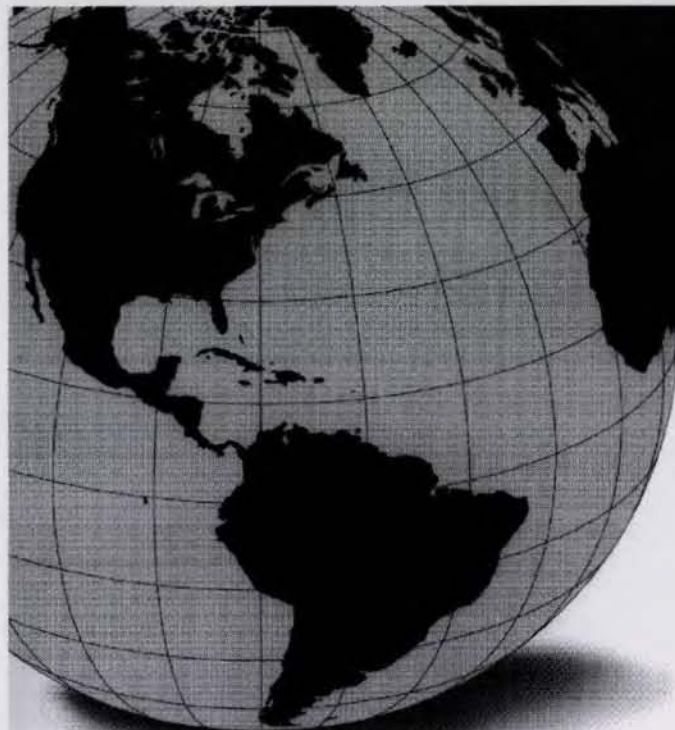
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VOICE OF THE REPUBLICAN MAINSTREAM Vol. XXXII, AUTUMN 1997 / \$3.95





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The Ripon Forum

This issue of the *Ripon Forum* offers a wide array of material, from fast track negotiating authority to cartoons of Al Gore's controlling legal authority. We take a look at Arizona's new governor and get an update on Great Britain's Tory leadership in opposition.

The *Forum* begins with a Congressman's thoughts on maintaining Republican Congressional leadership. Delaware Representative **Michael Castle** has experienced governing from both the legislative and executive perspective. In our Cloakroom section, he shares his advice to fellow Republicans on how to maintain a majority while running a government effectively. The magazine then offers an editorial against free broadcast time for candidates. **David Walsh** is a Professor of Theology at The Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. His thoughtful essay urges caution to those public servants who would promote the virtues of religion as they would that of wetlands, civil rights, etc. **Bill Schneider**, CNN political analyst, traces last summer's fracas between Governor William Weld and Senator Jesse Helms all the way to its roots, 150 years ago. The *Forum* then profiles Arizona's new Governor, Jane Hull. Political cartoonist **Jeff MacNelly** exhibits his award winning humor in a recap of some of his latest cartoons. President Clinton could not bring his party to support his trade goals, finally pulling fast track legislation rather than watch it be defeated. **Megan Ivory**, Senior Legislative Aide to Minnesota Representative Jim Ramstad, explains why this authority is crucial to our economic development and needs to be passed eventually. In Capitol Grille, Republican National Committee Chairman Jim Nicholson sat down with the *Forum* to discuss Republican politics and strategy. Senator Susan Collins likewise shares her thoughts with Ripon Member and freelance journalist, **Paul Peter Jesep**. Despite Prime Minister Tony Blair's near dominance of the press and Parliament, the Tory Party does still exist in Great Britain (well, England at least). In Foggy Bottom, **Andrew Hicks**, Editor of The Bow Group's *Crossbow* magazine, updates readers on the Tories and their future. Critic's Corner has been reading up on the national debt. **Christopher Bremer**, Legislative Aide to Ohio Representative Paul Gillmor, reviews John Steele Gordon's book *Hamilton's Blessing: The Extraordinary Life and Times of our National Debt*. Finally, in Politbabble, Forum editor Mike Gill opines that fast track's demise can only be temporary if the U.S. intends on remaining a dominant force in the next century.

RIPON FORUM

JUNE, 1969

VOL. V, No. 6

ONE DOLLAR



When Computers Hit Congress:

Systems Politics and the Checks and Balances



Dick Lugar: Making it as a GOP Mayor

Plus SENATOR ROBERT P. GRIFFIN ON THE FORTAS AFFAIR . . . THE NEW YORK PRIMARY . . . JUSTICE DURING RIOTS . . . ABM POLITICS . . . NEW JERSEY TRIUMPH . . . PEACE CORPS PROBLEMS . . . AND A REPORT FROM MAHOUT ON SECRET WHITE HOUSE PLANS!

All Those Years Ago...

In 1969, Richard Nixon was President and Dick Lugar was his favorite Mayor. The *Forum*, above, chronicled Lugar's success in Indianapolis as well as an analysis of justice procedures during the "era of civil disorder" of the last half of the decade. In a prophetic reach of journalism the issue also described the effect that computers would have on the Hill. While neither "cyberspace" nor "internet" were actually used the article did state, "Even more significant than the steady development of computer programs is the advent in prototype form of the on-line intellectual community." There was no mention of the ultimate computer-generated perk, Congressional mass mailings. The issue also discussed New York City Mayor John Lindsay's primary defeat, laying the blame on Governor Rockefeller, not the Nixon White House.

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Representative
Nancy Johnson



Speaker
Newt Gingrich

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-Abraham Lincoln

At Large:

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Faith as a Matter of Public-Policy

In an effort to promote conservative causes, religion has been peddled and promoted for its societal benefits. David Walsh points out that by politicizing religion as a civic virtue we may be losing its foundation in faith.

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The Desert is Blooming

Arizona has its second non-elected governor in a decade. The Forum takes a look at Former Secretary of State Jane Hull as she assumes the executive office in one of the fastest growing states in the country.

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America Must Lead On Trade

The defeat of fast track trading authority was a blow to President Clinton's second term agenda and to the United States' influence globally. Megan Ivory explains why the U.S. must confront this issue if it is to continue its leadership in making world markets consumer friendly.



Cover Art: R.J. Matson

As the Republican Party evolves as a governing entity in Congress, the disparate interests are becoming more pronounced. Contrasting viewpoints that were rendered moot with each successive Democrat legislature now purport to be the sole ideological backbone of the party. Is there one ideal that unites all factions and can trace its legacy to the Party's founding or has the GOP simply become a vehicle for today's interest groups?

DEPARTMENTS

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The Ripon Forum is the journal of The Ripon Society. Comments, opinion editorials and letters to the magazine should be addressed to The Ripon Forum, 501 Capitol Court, NE Suite 300, Washington, D.C. 20002.

MAINTAINING AND STRENGTHENING A REPUBLICAN MAJORITY

We Republicans have a lot to be proud of these days. After two years of learning how to govern effectively as a majority party, Republicans are now winning the policy battle in Washington and across the country. We are now advancing an agenda that is comprised of issues that have been traditional Republican issues for centuries. We have redefined the role of the federal government; enacted the first balanced budget in decades; provided tax cuts for the first time in 16 years; made sweeping and much-needed reforms to our welfare and public housing systems. Much of this was made possible by the fact that, after the largest tax increase in the history of the country and trying to enact a one-size-fits-all health care system, Bill Clinton gained wisdom and learned that

Americans wanted fundamental change — and smaller, more responsible federal government. They wanted a government that balances its budget and spends their hard-earned money wisely; but they also wanted a government that could help people in times of need and stay focused on important issues like crime on our streets and the quality of education. Bill Clinton saw that striking the right rhetorical balance, talking about the need for fiscal budget discipline yet remaining compassionate about ways to help our kids and protect the environment, was the answer to what many Americans wanted. Bill Clinton essentially began governing as a moderate Republican. And, it has served him well.

Rep. Michael N. Castle (R-Delaware)

Sadly, Republicans have been losing the public relations war. The media, rather than write about Republican accomplishments, tends to focus on internal party troubles rather than on a cohesive GOP legislative agenda and strategy. Rather than become sore losers and claim that our issues have been stolen, or concentrate next solely on issues that traditionally have divided our party, Republicans need to acknowledge and welcome the fact that we have fundamentally changed the agenda in Washington and continue to concentrate on governing in a responsible manner.

We need to remember the lessons we learned. Most Americans are generally in sync with the Republican agenda of smaller, more efficient government and lower taxes. We must remember that the American public has not responded well when

Republicans are perceived as being extreme on issues like education and the environment. Just look at the results of the '96 election, whether for president or for Congressional seats. Calling for the elimination of the Department of Education or actively criticizing the Environmental Protection Agency was neither effective policy nor the right message.

Most Americans believe that there should be a federal role in education, and that the federal Department of Education can help determine and guide the mission. The Department should be efficient, however, and should articulate a national vision for our country; act as a clearing house for education programs; and, hold states and local schools accountable for waste, fraud and abuse.

Republicans must espouse local decision making, but with some level of federal involvement and support. Issues have become too complex and problems too intractable to just say that we can completely eliminate the federal role in everything. The federal government can be smaller and less expensive, but it can't be eliminated completely — nor do most Americans want it to be. In areas like education and the environment, the federal government can set national standards and goals, but state and local governments must be given

flexibility and authority to meet them as they see fit.

Unfortunately, however important they may be, it is primarily social issues, be it abortion, family planning or education, that cause our party to splinter and divide. It may not be possible to enact every aspect of a social, conservative agenda. Collectively, we as a Republican majority must remember that and work with these issues as carefully as possible. Certainly, different



regions of the country have their own priorities. Different constituencies want and expect different things from their government. Yet to govern effectively and represent the entire country as best as possible — not just Republican constituencies — we all need to remember that we must convey a positive yet effective message. We must encourage more Americans to get involved by showing that limited government, and common sense policies do make a difference in people's lives.

Fighting over whether our leaders

are conservative enough or sufficiently committed to the cause is an unneeded distraction. Let's forget about whether an issue or our agenda is sufficiently revolutionary; what matters is whether or not it is good government. Our focus should be creating opportunities for working Americans and strengthening education and personal responsibility so more young people can take advantage of those opportunities.

Let's be open to new ideas and willing to talk and compromise with those on the other side if it means workable solutions to real problems. We must remember that we do control Congress — but Congress alone cannot enact laws. We need to work with the president in order to get

results and advance our agenda. If we continue moving toward a balanced budget, reducing taxes and making the federal government more responsive to Americans, we are succeeding. We should not demand absolute purity on every social issue. It is a tough balance to strike — yet if we want to remain the majority party, we can't afford to miss the mark.

R

Republican Congressman Michael N. Castle represents Delaware as the state's at-large Member in the U.S. House of Representatives.



THE
RIPON
FORUM

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Broadcast Blues

On any given day, somewhere in Manhattan, executives of the major television networks are busy trying to find that one pilot that stands out among the crowd. The right show can set the tone for a network, productions such as *Seinfeld*, *All in the Family*, *The Simpsons*, *Al Gore*, allow programmers to build audiences for other shows. Uh .. what's that? Al Gore inspires paint to dry. Who would willingly put him on TV? The Government, of course. In reaction to the unseemly cam-

"If we put free ads on the airwaves, we will have to drive voters to the polls in paddy wagons."

campaign shenanigans performed by the Clinton-Gore team and the DNC during the 1996 election, a proposal is gaining steam to allow candidates free air time on network television. Proponents argue that the cost of television advertising is the driving force behind the undignified pandering done in the name of campaign donations. Therefore, take away this burden of TV costs and we will enter a simpler age, a time when candidates merely passed the hat from the stump of the old oak in the center of town. A nice goal, but allow us to play the role of TV critic and point out a few flaws in this pilot. Candidates already receive the "lowest unit rating" of advertising, if broadcasters were to sell the spots at

even half this rate, candidates would simply buy twice as much time. Voter discontent stems from the lack of constructive discussion of the issues, not the lack of political sound bites on the airwaves. Broadcasters already offer free time in the form of candidate debates and public affairs shows. Yet, despite this opportunity, a quarter of the candidates rejected the opportunity to debate their opponents last cycle. Furthermore, mandating broadcast time for federal candidates will crowd out opportunities for state and local office-seekers to purchase ads. Or, in a frightening scenario, it would spur calls to offer them free time too. The airwaves of any city large enough to have a local affiliate would be overrun with political ads. Bill Frenzel, President of the Ripon Society, had it right when he testified before Congress, "If we put free ads on the airwaves, we will have to drive voters to the polls in paddy wagons." The current plethora of negative ads every cycle are already driving voter discontent to the point where barely half of those registered to vote did so in the last Presidential election. The only justice is that candidates are forced to pay when they assault our televisions.

Faith as a Matter of Public-Policy

By David Walsh

There is something disturbing about the brashness with which religion is now touted in political debate. Whether it is the Christian Coalition or the opposing Christians for a New Political Vision, we seem to have entered a new era of religious self-assertiveness. There is no longer any reticence about promoting an avowedly religious point of view. Even for one who is sympathetic to the general cause, it is difficult not to notice that we have lost the two major sources of restraint on the public espousal of religiously motivated proposals.

The most obvious is the self-restraint that is constitutionally encouraged through the prohibition of an established church. In a pluralist setting, this is reflected in an awareness of the sensibilities of others who do not share our religious perspective. We recognize that we must make the case for our policy proposals on the basis of reasons more widely shared by a secular society. A largely religious justification will predictably be met with incomprehension and even hostility.

The second and equally serious consideration for distancing religion from the public square is the reluctance

to reduce it to a thing of this world. Once a religious community is organized to lobby public officials and voters, then it assumes much of the character of such a special interest. It cannot be the horizon that includes and redeems all of human life if it has become merely the organized force of one particular faction. Political success may be achieved, but something more important has been lost. This is why evangelicals until recently disdained all contact with political life and why Catholics did rather well under a system in which they remained outsiders.

(Continued on page 17)

THE BLUE AND THE GRAY

THE QUARREL BETWEEN SENATOR JESSE HELMS AND GOVERNOR WILLIAM WELD REVEALED MORE THAN JUST A PERSONAL ANIMOSITY

By Bill Schneider

More than a few Republicans had warned that, by taking on Senator Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), former Massachusetts Governor Bill Weld would start a "civil war" in the GOP. Now wait a minute. Civil Wars are fought over issues people care deeply about. Not over whether or not Weld became ambassador to Mexico. Why should Weld's confirmation, which Helms succeeded to block, provoke a fratricidal conflict between moderate and conservative Republicans? Because the roots of of the conflict



Photo by George Bennett

CNN Political Analyst Bill Schneider

between Weld and Helms run deep. In fact, they run all the way back to well, the Civil War. The Civil War pitted New England Yankees against southern conservatives. Weld is a Boston Brahmin, the very pinnacle of the New England tradition. He's Episcopalian. He went to Harvard. He's a liberal social

reformer, the modern-day incarnation of Yankee abolitionism. Helms is a Southern Baptist educated at Wingate College and Wake Forest University, two Southern Baptist schools. He has deep roots in the conservative traditions of the Old South. In his campaigns, Helms has been known to exploit the race issue for political advantage, which is exactly how slaveowners and conservatives used to dominate southern politics. One Helms ad in the 1990 campaign showed a white man's hands crumpling a rejection slip as he voiced frustration over racial quotas.

Hold on a second. Weren't southern slaveowners and conservatives, Democrats? Yes, they were. And so was Helms. But like many white southern Democrats, Helms switched parties. He and other conservative southern Democrats moved into the Republican Party — Bill Weld's Republican party — and took it over. Which is why Weld Republicans are so resentful.

For a century after the Civil War, the GOP Establishment came from the northeast. Theodore Roosevelt, Calvin Coolidge, Wendell Wilkie, Thomas Dewey, Dwight Eisenhower and Nelson Rockefeller all had ties to New York and New England.

Theirs was a moderate Republican tradition — conservative on economic issues, liberal on social issues. Teddy Roosevelt was the great conservationist. Wilkie was the great internationalist. Ike sent troops to Little Rock to enforce school desegregation.

That is Bill Weld's tradition. His base is the northeastern business elite — educated, moneyed, pragmatic, high-minded and reformist. Liberal on race, liberal on abortion, liberal on gay rights. It's an elitist tradition: "Volvo Republicans."

Jesse Helms is their hereditary enemy. His ancestors fought their ancestors over slavery. It was revealed that Weld's wife — a direct descendant of Teddy Roosevelt — gave money to Harvey Gantt, Helms'

Democrat (and African-American) opponent in the North Carolina Senate race.

Helms' tradition is that of the conservative southern aristocracy, which held on to power after the Civil War by appropriating a powerful populist issue: white supremacy. After the civil rights revolution took the white supremacy issue away from them, the conservative southern Establishment switched to the GOP. Strom Thurmond pointed the way. Helms joined him, as did John Connally, Phil

"Moderate Republicans feel like they are being pushed out of their own party".

Gramm, Dick Shelby and many others.

Richard Nixon used the "southern strategy" to draw George Wallace voters into the GOP. Ronald Reagan brought the religious right into the party. That's not elitism. That's populism.

Southern Republicans have been gaining power in the GOP. Look at the Republican leadership of Congress: Trent Lott of Mississippi, Don Nickles of Oklahoma, Connie Mack of Florida, Newt Gingrich of Georgia, Dick Arme and Tom DeLay of Texas. Not a northeasterner among them.

Moderate Republicans feel like they are being pushed out of their own party. Look at what happened to their presidential candidates. Nelson

Rockefeller and William Scranton got whipped by Barry Goldwater back in 1964. John Lindsay switched parties and ran as a Democrat in 1972.

John Anderson left the GOP after it was taken over by Ronald Reagan and ran as an Independent in 1980. Arlen Specter ran as the moderate Republican standard-bearer for the 1996 nomination. His campaign ended in November 1995, before the race even started.

Could Bill Weld be running for President? He handled his nomination so undiplomatically that a lot of people think he really did not want to be confirmed.

Perhaps he was positioning himself for the next

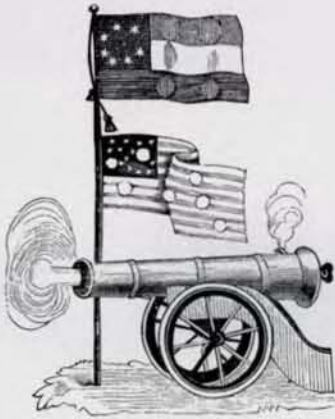
presidential race by taking on Helms and making himself a hero to moderate Republicans. Could Weld hope to do any better than Specter?

Weld could certainly win the New Hampshire primary. New Hampshire is a suburb of Massachusetts, and Weld's popularity in Massachusetts has soared since he took on Helms. Moreover, several candidates are likely to split the conservative Republican vote in New Hampshire. Weld could win with a plurality, just as Pat Buchanan did (Buchanan won New Hampshire with 28 percent of the vote).

Then what? Most likely, furious conservatives would pool their support behind a single stop-Weld candidate, just as mainstream Republicans rallied behind Bob Dole last year as the



6th Massachusetts



North Carolina
Mounted Rifleman

stop-Buchanan candidate. But conservatives are a fissiparous bunch (ask Newt Gingrich). There's always the chance they could stay divided in the 2000 primaries. If Weld ended up with more primary votes than any other candidate, he would have a rightful claim on the GOP nomination.

Then what? Then the GOP would split wide open. Many, perhaps most, conservatives would refuse to stay in a party led by the likes of Bill Weld. His nomination would reverse everything conservatives have been fighting for since 1964. Their loyalty is to the conservative movement, not to the Republican party.

Then what? Al Gore would become President. After all, President Clinton has turned into something of a Volvo Republican himself. When he signed the balanced budget bill, Clinton realized one of his lifelong ambitions: to teach Democrats fiscal responsibility. In fact, now that Clinton has given Weld his blessing Weld may decide to pull a John Lindsay and run for President as a Democrat. If he had the energy and the organization, Weld could pull a John Anderson and run for President as an Independent. Not likely, however. Weld's an aristocrat, not a striver.

The irony is that Weld is where most Americans are on the issues, and where President Clinton would like to be: fiscally conservative, tough on crime and socially tolerant. He's just missing one thing — a party. Weld epitomizes the dilemma of moderate

Republicans. They're losing power to conservatives in their party. And they're losing power to Democrats in their region. Right now, Massachusetts does not have a single Republican in Congress.

Republicans have been losing power all over the northeast. The GOP is down to 45 percent of the senators and 40 percent of the representatives in the New England and Middle Atlantic states. At the same time, Republicans have made steady gains in the South, to the point where the South is now the most Republican region of the country.

Republicans now account for two thirds of the southern senators and 56 percent of southern representatives. Yankee Republicans may have won the Civil War, but now theirs looks like the Lost Cause. Can anyone save moderate Republicans? Actually, yes. And it is not Bill Weld.

Colin Powell is a New Yorker, an African-American, an internationalist and a liberal on social issues like abortion and affirmative action: the perfect moderate Republican. Weld is a curiosity. Powell is a popular hero. If Powell were to run for President, just let Jesse Helms try to stand in his way.

Powell is the moderate Republicans' dream candidate. With Powell at the top of the GOP ticket, Republicans like Weld dare to say, "The North shall rise again!"

Bill Schneider is the political analyst for the Cable News Network.

ARIZONA CONTINUES TO BLOOM

By Mike Gill

The image of Arizona as a frontier state on the periphery of the country first began to change in the years after World War II. The influx of retirees boosted name recognition among relatives back east while the Salt River Project transformed the desert, dotting its rugged beauty with the seeds of high-tech industry.

Prior to this era of transformation, Arizona's link to its Wild West heritage of Geronimo and Tombstone were more than just tourist attractions. It was an impressive but barely hospitable range, dependent on the copper mines of the south for an economy and the strong fortitude of its

inhabitants for a civilization. Its population was a hardy mix of Mexicans, Native Americans, white miners and ranchers, ingrained with a frontier spirit of self-reliance. During the years



from 1946 to 1970, the last of the 48 contiguous states to join the constitutional fold evolved from a desert outpost of mining to a plush community of retirees with a free-wheeling busi-

ness climate. The people who came to Arizona during this period are the demographic link between the state's heritage and its current boom. Arizona has matured into a technology powerhouse. Its population is younger, wealthier and most dramatically, more numerous than at any point in the state's history.

Politically, Arizona's status as the conservative standard-bearer may be evolving as well. The current Governor, Jane Dee Hull, is symbolic of this shift. Like many of her constituents, she is a transplant from the east. She moved to Arizona in 1964 with her husband and became a Goldwater Republican.



Governor Jane Hull was sworn in as Arizona's 20th Chief Executive in September.

Arizona has grown phenomenally in recent years. It gained one Congressional seat after the 1990 census and expects to pick up another, maybe two, after the count in 2000.

Jane Dee Hull is still a Goldwater Republican in Arizona. Of course, nowadays, what that means depends on whom you ask.

Declaring herself "ready to begin" a new era of integrity and cooperation, Governor Hull was sworn in as Arizona's 20th chief executive on September 9, 1997. The veteran lawmaker and former secretary of state vowed to bring stability to an office that has seen its two most recent elected holders resign mid-term.

Characterized as a moderate in Arizona's dominant Republican party, Hull ascended to the governorship in the wake of former Republican Governor Fife Symington's legal woes. Those troubles culminated when a federal grand jury said he was guilty of lying to banks and committing wire fraud to raise money for his real-estate developments. Arizona law does not permit a felon to serve in public office and Symington promptly resigned.

Forgive voters if they feel a sense of *deja vu*. In 1988, Rose Mofford, also a secretary of state, became Arizona's first woman governor upon the impeachment of Governor Evan Mecham. Mofford's decision not to run in 1990 set up a contest between Symington and Phoenix Mayor Terry Goddard. Symington eventually won the race in a February 1991 runoff election and served until his conviction last month.

Despite this inauspicious environment, Arizona Republicans are optimistic about Hull. Although an election in 1998 is still a year away, the

new Governor has already declared her intention to run for the post. Political observers agree she will be a tough opponent. "She is the Democrats' worst nightmare," declared Mike Hellon, Chairman of the state Republican party. "The party has never been in better shape and clearly she is the favorite."

Hellon's comments come despite some grumbling from the more conservative elements of the party. Long dominant in the Capitol, conservatives lost a strong voice with Symington and are not sold on Hull's centrist convictions. It is because of these convictions and her willingness to speak out, that she is clearly a favorite among moderates and the electorate at large. And, while conservatives looked to Symington as one of their own and will miss the influence they had with him, all Republicans are glad to have his legal woes out of the headlines.

Born in Kansas, Ms. Hull moved to Phoenix in 1964 when her husband began his residency in obstetrics and gynecology at a local hospital. Both volunteered their time for Goldwater during the Republican primaries that year and after the election, Jane continued with GOP politics. Beginning at the precinct-committee level, she worked hard for the party. Eventually she ran and won a seat to the Arizona House in 1978. Her diligent work and reputation as a no-nonsense legislator earned her the respect of her colleagues. In 1986, she was elected Republican whip, the first woman ever to become part of the majority

leadership. By 1988, the fallout over the Mecham impeachment shook up the Republican ranks and put her in a position to be elected Speaker. She won and held the office from 1989 through 1992. It was during this time she established herself as a tough legislator and a top party leader.

She also began to draw fire from conservatives in her party for some of her positions. As in other parts of the country, the rightward shift of the Republican Party in Arizona left many "Goldwater" Republicans such as Hull standing in the center of the political spectrum. It is a strange irony that the man referred to as the Godfather of Conservatives, the pro-choice, free-trade Goldwater, would currently feel more at home with the centrists of the party. The vacuum of political direction in the country has led to Democrats quoting Teddy Roosevelt, Republicans quoting Kennedy, moderates quoting Goldwater and conservatives quoting Jefferson.

Hull is not interested in labels, however. She has a dynamic state to run. Arizona is prosperous, fast-growing and rising in national significance. In the years since World War II the population has grown from 700,000 to 3.6 million in 1990, and now stands at 4.3 million. Contrary to the stereotype of a land of retirees, its proportion of population over 65 is actually lower than the national average. Rather, high technology and low taxes are the root of the state's economic explosion. The state's biggest employers include such high-tech heavyweights as

Motorola, Intel, Honeywell, Hughes Aircraft and Allied Signal.

In recognition of this growth, Arizona has become a "major league" state. In the last ten years, the state's sports fans have gained the NFL's Cardinals (formerly in St. Louis) and the NHL's Coyotes (formerly the Winnipeg Jets) to root for along with the NBA's Suns. They will be joined by Major League Baseball's expansion Diamondbacks in 1999.

Politically, Arizona gained one congressional seat after the last census and will receive another one, maybe

two, after the national count in 2000. Sun Belt migration may have slowed in other parts of the country, but not in Arizona.

The growth has also changed politics. Like her New Jersey counterpart, Christine Todd Whitman (get used to the comparisons), Hull is conservative on fiscal matters and a moderate on social issues. Unlike Governor Whitman, who burst upon the scene by narrowly losing to then Senator Bill Bradley in 1990, Hull has been in Arizona politics for thirty years. She knows her way around the political

JANE DEE HULL

EDUCATION

Bachelor Degree in Elementary Education from the University of Kansas; has done post-graduate work in Political Science and Economics at Arizona State University.

CAREER

1979 Elected to represent District 18 in the Arizona House of Representatives.

1988 Chosen by her Republican colleagues to serve as House Whip

1989 Became the first woman Speaker of the House

1995 Elected Secretary of State

1997 Assumes the position of Governor

PHILANTHROPY

She is Honorary Chairman Race For the Cure and an active member of the Arizona Save a Life Alliance.

FAMILY

Married to Terrance W. Hull, M.D. They have four children and eight grandchildren.

INTERESTS

Hobbies include family activities, golf, walking and reading.

community and has been an active player in Arizona's progress. She brings to the office a reputation for toughness, integrity and a quick wit. She has strong ties to all aspects of the political community, and is expected

to be more of a consensus-builder than the often aloof Symington.

Her willingness to stand up for her views

on social issues has made her a favorite among centrists within the party. Hellon himself was recently elected to the post of state party chair over a more conservative rival. In a state defined by its conservatism, is there a trend towards the center? Hellon is quick to caution against classifications or trends, "Labels are relative, if the Christian Coalition is the baseline, then she is a moderate. But she has always been strategically conservative. We have been fighting over the direction of the party for twenty-five years, so the debate is nothing new." As state chairman, Hellon will be coaxing Republicans to unite around common themes that draw people into the party rather than exclude them. "The party has drifted to the right. For some ideological purity is more important than winning elections," Hellon said. "I believe in putting together coalitions to get 51% of the vote not standing firm at 30%." Hellon believes he is making progress. He points out that his large victory margin means that many conservatives, who may not agree with all of his stands, obviously voted for him anyway.

"Hull is conservative on fiscal matters and a moderate on social issues."

In a state where both Senators and five of six Members of the House are Republican, the drama in Arizona political battles usually involves the conservative and moderate factions of the GOP. Hull has come under fire

from the right-wing in the past, and some conservative legislators are wary of her agenda.

One of the first issues she will deal with is legislation calling for a \$350 million tax cut which is backed by conservatives in the state legislature. Hull has maintained that a tax cut is one of her top priorities so the sides will most likely find a compromise

"We have been fighting over the direction of the party for twenty-five years, so the debate is nothing new."

quickly. How they handle the issues of abortion, the environment and welfare spending are another matter. Arizona's unique demographics will give Hull some advantages as she advances her agenda. Her views on the environment for example, are at odds with many conservatives, but are popular with an overwhelmingly urban population. Unlike its neighbors, Arizona has virtually no rural electorate. Phoenix, Tucson and the surrounding suburbs comprise 80% of the population. Most citizens are eager to protect the natural beauty

which drew them to the area. This concentration also means it is hard for challengers to garner supporters in the political or business communities. Most have to deal with the governor on a daily basis and few will be willing to publicly oppose her. In addition, Symington's strident conservatism had worn thin with many voters. Hull's pragmatism and intention to open the lines of debate have so far struck a positive chord. Finally, if the economy keeps humming, it will be hard to argue for change.

Despite these advantages, at least two conservatives have declared they will challenge Hull in the primary. How strong those challenges will become will depend on Hull's ability to walk the line between conservatives and moderates, without sacrificing her

agenda. The Democrats expect Eddie Basha, who ran strong against Symington, to run again, as well as oth-

ers.

For now, though, Hull is basking in a honeymoon period of praise from all sides, including Democrats. Senate Minority Leader Art Hamilton, a Democrat from Phoenix said on the day of her swearing-in, "The fact of the matter is, people expect us now to govern. I think Democrats need to support this governor, and to support getting the state under way and getting it back on an even keel. We ought to leave the politics of '98 to '98."



(FAITH continued from page 9)

The answer of course is not to preserve such a wall of quarantine between the two spheres but to recognize the peculiar nature of religion in its public presence. A report issued by Pat Fagan of the Heritage Foundation illustrates the problem. His innovative and thoughtful essay calls attention to the multitude of social science studies on the beneficial effects of religion in promoting health, reducing stress, preserving marriage, reducing delinquency and so on. He suggests that government might take a more sympathetic interest in the promotion of religion for these reasons.

Quite apart from the unease we might feel at the prospect of such official interest in our faith, there is the more disturbing sense that religion has now been reduced to one of the definable social variables of policy



debates. Faith has found a place when it has found use within this world.

Utility in this sense has long been suggested as the appropriate political role for religion. I know that this was not the intention of Fagan's report, but it is one of the inadvertent consequences of many such efforts to carve out a publicly persuasive role for religion. The goal is laudable, but the effect strikes at the core of religious belief. A faith whose deepest

inspiration is the attainment of functional success in this life is not true faith. Nor will it endure. As any believer knows, it is when our faith no longer serves our utility that it is truly tested. If it is based on nothing more substantial than our own self-satisfaction, then it soon crumbles away. Even if we gave faith a grant, it would get no higher



allegiance than any other beneficiary of public largess.

But faith is in fact given by God. It arises from the touch of the divine presence that convinces us to follow it even when it no longer serves our interest and even draws us against our inclination. It does not primarily serve our happiness in this world because it assures us of our fulfillment beyond it. Indeed, its point is precisely that health or well-being within this life is not our ultimate purpose. Faith is of use at exactly the point where the limits of all utility become apparent to us.

Religious faith is not in that sense one of the variables within the social or political community. It is the horizon of meaning that ultimately includes the social and political order as well. This is why it cannot

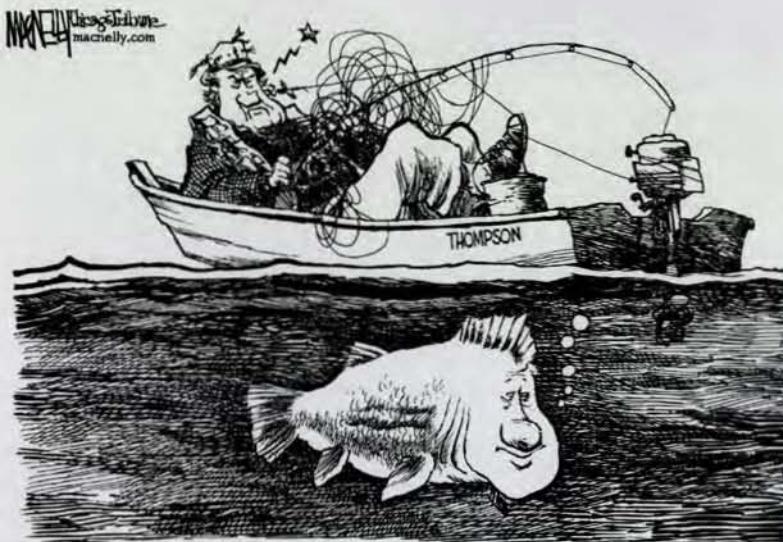
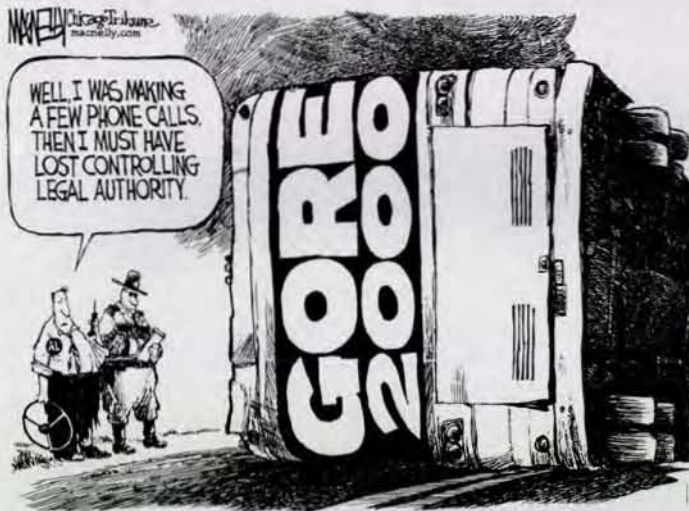
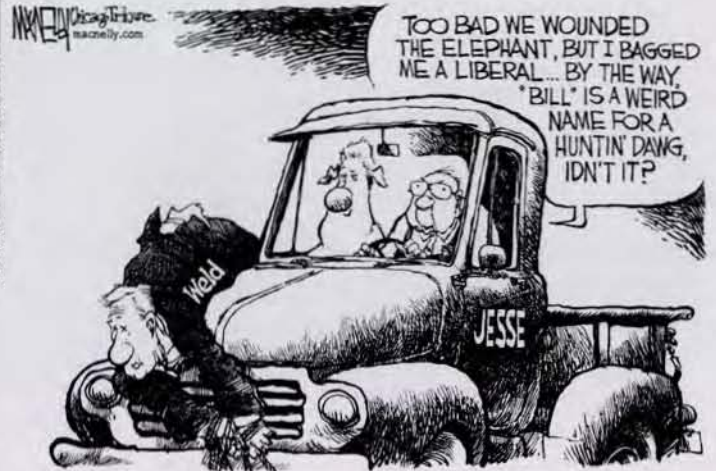
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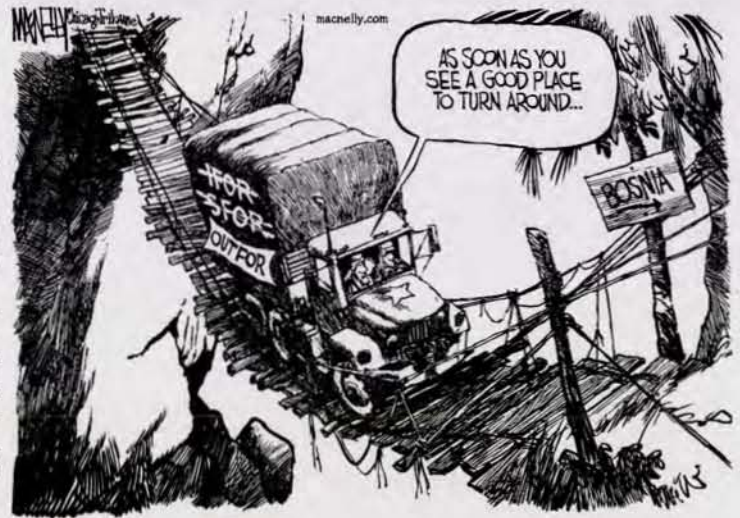


**CHRYSLER
CORPORATION**

The Fifth Estate

BY JEFF MACNELLY





AMERICA MUST LEAD ON TRADE

CONGRESS FAILED TO RENEW FAST TRACK TRADE
NEGOTIATING AUTHORITY AND AMERICA SHRUGGED.
A HOUSE AIDE EXPLAINS WHY THIS TOOL IS NECESSARY
IF THE UNITED STATES IS TO HAVE A SEAT AT TABLE
WHEN GLOBAL DECISIONS ARE MADE.

By Megan Ivory

I got a call from a friend the other day. Instead of talking about the upcoming college homecoming football game or her new house, she decides that since I work for the government, she is going to tell me everything she thinks is wrong.

She is upset about Social Security (which she doesn't believe will be around when she is old enough to collect) and the Internal Revenue Service. And, after having just seen one of the television ads paid for by the labor unions, she can not believe Congress would give the President fast track authority to conduct trade negotiations with foreign countries.

While I agree with her initial arguments, it is me who can't believe her last statement. The truth is, I just can not believe that all this misinformation about trade is being spread in the first place.

This country has the strongest economy in the world and is the number one exporting country. We are the envy of all our trading partners — and they are all very interested in knocking us off the top of the heap as the leader in the competitive global marketplace. We should not, and cannot afford to fear international trade. We have the most open market in the world, so we have the most to gain from opening other markets to U.S. goods.

Every little kid knows that if you want to have a successful lemonade stand, you don't just sell to your friends on your street, you go to the busiest corner in the neighborhood where you can reach as many people as possible.

What is Fast Track?

The fast track authority is a procedure devised in the Trade Act of 1974 to establish a congressional-executive partnership for trade negotiations. In particular, the President is given authority to negotiate trade agreements with other nations using advice from and in consultation with the Congress.

Under the U.S. Constitution, the President is empowered to conduct the foreign affairs of the United States. Therefore, the President does not need statutory authority to negotiate with foreign countries, including trade negotiations. However, the Congress is empowered to make laws in general, and to regulate trade with foreign nations in particular. A trade agreement whose implementation requires changes in U.S. domestic law therefore falls squarely within the jurisdiction of the Congress.

The fast track authority provides that, if the President met the conditions set forth in the Act, Congress would consider and vote on legislation needed to implement the agreements that he negotiates, with advice from and in consultation with the Congress.

- Mike Gill

The friends and families of the Founding Fathers weren't just happy with selling their goods in Virginia or New York. Interstate commerce drove the building of the railroad and today keeps the trucking industry in business.

So, if interstate commerce is acceptable, why not international commerce? While the U.S. buys more goods than any other nation, that is not always enough. The U.S. only accounts for 4% of the world's population. If we want our economy to continue to expand, we must also sell to the 96% of the consumers living throughout the world — especially those living in the rapidly developing markets in Latin America and Asia.

For example, consider Ibberson, Inc., an engineering and construction firm specializing in industrial food processing plants in Minnesota, which owes much of its recent success to international trade. Since the company began in 1881, it has built plants all over America. In fact, it has built so many that it has saturated the U.S. market and has had to look outside the U.S. for new growth opportunities. From 1993 to 1996, Ibberson export sales grew steadily to almost \$50 million, an increase of 1,891%. According to the President and CEO of Ibberson, Walter Hanson, "it is imperative to understand that we deal with 260 million people in the U.S. and whether it is 1997 or 2007, we can only sell to ourselves for so long. There needs to be a proactive view of what we are

going to do with the other 5 billion people on this planet that need infrastructure and technology. What we do can help these people, and in doing so, help ourselves."

Although Ibberson is not a large company, this increase in trade means a lot



for Minnesota's economy and the employees of Ibberson, Inc. This holds true throughout the entire country.

More than 25% of U.S. economic growth during the past four years can be attributed to trade. During the same period, exports created 1.4 million new American jobs. Overall, 11 million jobs are supported by exports, including one in five manufacturing jobs. Every one billion dollars of exports supports 20,000 American jobs — jobs which pay an average of 13-16% higher than non-export related jobs. And, with the global economy projected to grow at three times the

rate of the U.S. economy, access to foreign markets will ensure that this economic windfall for American businesses and workers continues.

This is why fast track authority for the president is so important. But to understand why the American people are better served when the administration has this authority, we must first understand what this authority allows the administration to do.

Just imagine, you are a representative of a foreign country with the responsibility of working out a trade agreement with the U.S. Since both sides will benefit from greater access to the other's market, the negotiations will be tough, but worthwhile. You walk into the negotiating room to see 535 Members of Congress sitting there with pens in hand! How long would it take before you run out screaming — demanding they appoint someone to represent them or you won't negotiate any further? It probably would not take long for you to insist on a more efficient method for negotiating.

That's what fast track authority is: permission for the Administration to appoint someone to represent 535 Members of the House and Senate in negotiations with other nations. All of the representatives of our trading partners are empowered with similar authority and, realistically, they won't talk to us if our representative doesn't have similar backing.

Keep in mind the Administration official represents Members of Congress.

Nothing can go through without Congressional consultation before and during negotiations. It is through consultations with Members that the Trade Representative learns of special concerns that Members need addressed in an agreement. Every deal must be voted up or down. Congress does not abdicate its power to oversee the negotiations or its constitutional authority to vote on any agreement that requires changes in U.S. law.

As early as 1890, Congress understood the international marketplace and our role in it, and extended the Administration tariff bargaining authority. In order to remain the world leader on exports and innovation, we must remain in front of the pack and secure the best agreements possible for American producers and exporters.

We know what happens when we sit on the sidelines and watch other

nations negotiate advantageous trade agreements without U.S. involvement. Since it expired in 1994, some 20 agreements have gone forward without the U.S. Out of the 35 agreements in our hemisphere alone, the U.S. is only involved in one. This damages our ability to export goods as well as our dominance in our region.

Failure to be involved in trade agreements is particularly damaging to our agriculture exporters since the lowest price agricultural commodities usually gets the sale. Since we have not been included in the trade agreement between Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay, commonly called MERCOSUR, U.S. wheat ends up being more expensive, thus less competitive, than wheat from Argentina in the Brazilian market. U.S. citrus is less competitive than citrus from Chile in Argentina's market. And the list goes on. Sitting on the sidelines makes it harder to sell goods and costs us sales.

U.S. Trade Representative Barshefsky has stated a U.S. telecommunications equipment supplier lost a sale because Canada had negotiated an agreement with the importing country that gave the Canadian supplier an 11% tariff preference. Also, a Massachusetts fabric producer lost a \$1.8 million sale in Chile to a Canadian competitor because of a similar 11% tariff preference for the Canadian product.

The U.S. is missing out on some important opportunities in the competitive international marketplace. Future trade negotiations could help us regain lost market shares in other countries, but an understanding of basic marketing principles like brand name recognition and loyalty should tell us that we cannot make up for lost opportunities. It is essential we enter a market before our foreign competitors do. The Administration needs the authority to negotiate the market

W H Y T H E D E F E A T ?

Two issues that proponents of free trade were able to keep out of the most recent agreements were that of labor and environmental standards. These were not prominent obstacles in negotiating previous bi-lateral trade agreements with Israel and Canada. The inclusion of Mexico into the North American Free Trade Agreement, however, caused concern among labor and environmental interest groups, who perceived a threat to U.S. standards. Obviously, third world nations do not have the same wages or environmental controls as the United States. During the NAFTA debate, organized labor argued vehemently that jobs would go south as corporations sought out cheap labor. Concurrently, environmental groups felt that there would be immense pressure on the U.S. to loosen environmental regulations in order to be competitive

with Mexico. The Clinton Administration was able to satisfy most environmental groups with side agreements on standards but not labor. In looking to secure his Democrat base prior to the 1996 election, Clinton hinted future accords would include labor and environmental clauses. However, with the election over, Mr. Clinton sent fast track language to the Congress without these conditions. Republicans in Congress had made it clear to the Administration that however much support the President would gain from Democrats would more than be offset by Republican defections if the President politicized the authority. Free trade advocates have long felt that including these types of non-trade issues would so severely handicap negotiators, it would be nearly impossible to conclude treaties. Better to argue these issues in

opening agreements to get our U.S. exporters that access.

Fast track authority is also essential to make sure the multilateral agreements under the World Trade Organization (WTO) achieve the goal which attracted us to this body — opening markets for U.S. goods. The next phase of WTO negotiations on agriculture and services are just around the corner. Absent fast track authority, the Administration is without its greatest tool for ensuring the agreements aggressively open markets, and open them wide, for American goods and services. According to the International Dairy Foods Association, which has members with 730 dairy-related facilities in 48 states, “we cannot afford to allow the European Union (EU), which has captured substantial shares of world dairy trade through subsidies, to dominate these negotiations.”

The U.S. cannot afford to wait on this

important issue. Trade is too important to our economy and our workers — including labor union members. Even Minority Leader Gephardt recognized this when he testified before the Ways and Means Trade Subcommittee on September 30th by saying he supports free trade.

Of course, unlike Rep. Gephardt, I believe fast track should permit consideration of labor and environmental matters only to the extent that they are directly trade-related. Non-trade related issues like the labor and environment can and should be more appropriately addressed in other international arenas, like the International Labor Organization. The President already has the ability under Executive Authority to enter into agreements on the environment, just as he did in the side agreement to North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

So, while we may disagree about

what fast track legislation should look like, we should not disagree that international trade is important. Americans should not be misled into believing that trade is bad. Rather, they should know the truth: trade has helped make our nation the strongest in the world. Fast track authority helps us maintain our competitive edge over our foreign competitors. Call me patriotic, but I want the U.S. to remain #1. I want the U.S. economy to continue to grow and provide more and better jobs. I want America to remain the international leader and I want the Administration to have the tools it needs under fast track authority to keep us there.

R

Megan Ivory has worked on trade issues for several years. She is the Senior Legislative Assistant to Representative Jim Ramstad (R-Minnesota).

forums specifically created to deal with them, such as the International Labor Organization in the case of worker standards and the United Nations in the case of the environment.

Another reason fast track has been stalled can be described as trade fatigue. The acrimonious debate surrounding NAFTA and creation of the World Trading Organization, soured Members of Congress on the issue of trade. The American public, despite countless studies showing the positive benefits, are wary of foreign trade. In a 1996 poll by the Bank of Boston, 54 percent of the public said they believed that trade accords helped foreign countries sell more in the United States rather than helping U.S. firms sell more overseas.

During past debates on fast track, there was a clear majority in Congress who favored free

trade as a concept. Previously, with the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs and the ascension of Mexico into NAFTA reaching critical stages, the fast track reauthorization itself was viewed as a test of support for free trade. The details of the agreements themselves would be voted on later. Now, in the absence of major trade negotiations to focus the attention of American business, it is the fast track procedure itself which has been cast into the spotlight. The only near term trade agreement on the horizon is extending NAFTA to include Chile. While most legislators would be comfortable having closer relations with our South American neighbor, it ranks 27th among U.S. export markets. Members were hardly anxious to face the heat of constituents over free trade for such a small reward.

- Mike Gill

simply be viewed as a phenomenon, self-contained and apart from the observers of it. While it does have significant material expressions in the form of churches, institutions and organizations, the most important dimension of faith escapes all analysis of its meaning and utility. That dimension is the inward response to the divine invitation that not only is hidden but also represents a source of meaning that cannot be surpassed by any higher perspective beyond it.

Perhaps much of the incomprehension with which religion is greeted in a secular world arises from just such attempts to view it from the outside. It is not a surprising reaction if even religious spokesmen are inclined to put forward the public-policy benefits of their faith. Common ground might more solidly be discovered if we could present the true nature of religion in

the public square. Rather than viewing it as the interest of a specific group that wishes to make its own policy proposals and claim its equal right to self-expression, religion would be presented as the intimations of the broadest horizon possible for all human life. It

"Once a religious community is organized to lobby public officials and voters, then it assumes much of the character of such a special interest."

would become inclusive rather than exclusive.

But that strategy requires that we begin not with religion, which is clearly not universal, but with the questions within human life that clearly are. More concretely, it would require us to reflect on whether the limits of

our secular worldview are indeed the limits.

Do we really live within a secular world? If we do, then from where do our convictions of the transcendent dignity and worth of each individual come? Whence comes the sense of solemnity with which we invest the important events of human life? And if this is all, then why do we continue to believe the difference between good and evil ultimately matters? It is through such reflections that the real utility of religion is established in a way that neither undermines faith nor disregards that autonomy of a secular world. Their intersection lies in the acknowledgement of the mystery of life and death that finally includes and sustains us all. R

David Walsh is a Professor of Theology at the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C.



Republican Ranger Jim Nicholson

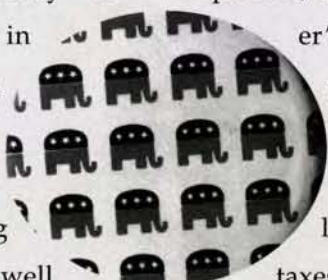
A Forum Interview With The Republican National Committee Chairman

The Republican National Committee building in Washington, D.C. is directly south of the Capitol Dome and within walking distance to the three House of Representatives Office Buildings. Its proximity to power is functional, in that Members often stroll over between meetings to make those never-ending fund-raising calls, as well as symbolic. Tourists visiting the Capitol by the Washington subway system are greeted by the GOP's headquarters as soon as they exit the station. Together with the Capitol Hill Club, a private facility for Republican dinners and events, the structures dominate a city block

between the Capitol complex and the surrounding neighborhoods.

Within its walls are a radio and television studio, as well as banks of telephones, fax machines and computer's being used by countless young staffers and interns all busily promoting the Republican message of less government and lower taxes.

Directing the operation is a former Army Ranger and small businessman from Colorado, RNC Chairman Jim Nicholson. A West Point graduate who earned numerous medals during his service in Vietnam, he came back to run a successful home-building



business in Denver. Over the course of the next twenty years, Nicholson dedicated increasing amounts of his time to the planning, management and fund-raising required to build a strong grass-roots Republican political organization in Colorado. The success of that organization put Republicans in office at the local, state and national level and kept them there. After ten years as Colorado's National Committeeman, Nicholson is attempting to recreate that success on the national level.

The Chairman recently sat down with the *Ripon Forum* to discuss the current status of the Republican Party.

RF: What motivated you to campaign for this post?

NICHOLSON: Well, I've been active in grass roots politics for the last 20 years. I started out working to get people elected to city councils and boards of county commissioners in Colorado. From there I began helping people run for the legislature, state-wide races and then federal races. In 1986, I was elected the National Committee member in Colorado. At that point, I started getting more active here at the national political party level. I became vice-chairman of the party in 1992 and chaired a couple of key committees at the Republican National Committee. I discovered that this was a good place to be very involved and make a contribution. When Haley Barbour decided not to run again for chairman, I looked at the position and decided that I would.

It is the right fit for me in my life, family-wise, business-wise. I saw it and see it as a way to make a significant contribution to the country by working hard in and for the Republican party.

I believe strongly in Republican ideals and principles. The ideals of making government smaller and giving people more freedom, elevating the individual, at the same time tasking the individual with personal responsibility. I want to enhance the fabric of the family in America which is the basic building block of our society and which has literally kept us together. It is the training ground. We have seen some real deterioration in that and I'm very interested in helping to restore the moral fiber of our country.



more than a coincidence?

Jim Nicholson

EDUCATION
 Bachelor's Degree from the United States Military Academy at West Point, N.Y. 1961. Earned a Master's Degree from Columbia University, N.Y. 1969. Earned law degree from the University of Denver 1972.

CAREER
 Army Ranger, Vietnam awarded the Bronze Star, the Combat Infantry Badge, a Meritorious Service Medal with Oak Leaf Cluster, the Vietnamese Cross for Gallantry and two Air Medals.
 President, Renaissance Homes, a home building business in Denver, CO.
 President, Nicholson Enterprises, Inc., a land-development company.

FAMILY
 Married to Suzanne Nicholson. They have three adult children



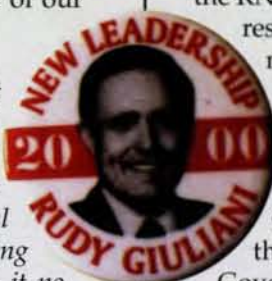
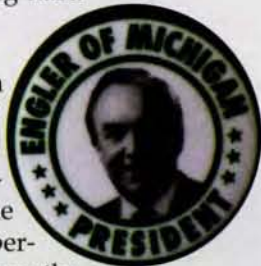
NICHOLSON: Honestly, I think it is more coincidence. President Clinton asked two other people to be the chairman before he asked Governor Romer. However, I do think the West is burgeoning in political importance. Governor Levitt of Utah and I held a press conference recently in which he discussed his idea of having a regional primary aggregating the western states together. There is a tremendous amount of growth in those states and there are an awful lot of resources. They are becoming more important strategically and they are certainly strong bastions of Republican ideals.

RF: During the campaign for chairman last January, your supporters highlighted your abilities and success at organizing at the grass-roots level. Describe what is the biggest difference you have found between organizing at the state level and now being in charge of an entire nation in terms of the party?

NICHOLSON: Well, you get inputs from a lot more constituencies. Here I deal with 50 states and 5 territories at the RNC level, 32 Republican governors, 228 Republican members in the house, 55 members in the senate. They all have an interest in the RNC and they are not bashful about requesting things from the RNC or offering advice.

RF: What issues should Republicans look for this spring in terms of how the party defines the agenda?

NICHOLSON: Well, that is a good question because at the RNC meeting this summer in July, a resolution was passed tasking me to create a process with the party leadership to focus an agenda for 1998. Together with Majority Leader Lott, Speaker Gingrich and the leader of the Republican Governors, Governor Branstad, I am developing a package of items that will be announced as the goals of



RF: Your counterpart at the Democrat National Committee, Governor Roy Romer also hails from Colorado. Are the faithful from both parties recognizing the West as a battleground or is it no

the party and why the nation should be electing Republicans in 1998.

I can tell you, they are not going to be big surprises. It will include a strong emphasis on improving educational opportunities. We will continue to enhance welfare reform. We will continue our efforts on reducing crime and improve the criminal justice system. Finally, we will work to cut taxes, especially on savings, investments and debt.

RF: Both parties will seek to claim the education high ground. Are Republicans serious about reform.

NICHOLSON: The availability of a quality education is an issue in which I take a particular interest. I grew up one of seven kids in a tenant farm house that never did have plumbing while I lived there. I went to a one room school house through the fifth grade and a two room school through the eighth grade. Now my family happened to be Catholic and there was a good Catholic grade school and high school in the town that was eight miles away, but it cost \$50 for tuition for the year and my parents could not afford it.

So we went to the public schools. There we received a good, solid education. At that time, the difference between public and parochial education was the guiding orientation, not the quality. When I received a nomination to West Point, I was fully prepared to compete with my peers and graduate. Unfortunately, that is not happening today. Kids are trapped in inner city schools that are both unsafe and inadequate. We, in the Republican Party, are really concerned about that and we want to create alternatives for those trapped kids so they may succeed. We seek to empower their parents to make choices about other schools that they might attend through vouchers. Expand the charter schools. Create educational savings accounts so that a child dreaming of college only has to concentrate on his or her grades. I envision scholarships for kids to go to private schools be they secular or religious. The surest ticket to upward mobility and a better life in America is to get a good basic education. It is a personal and party priority.

RF: Lately, Bill Bennett among others has said, "look we are winning the ideological war, don't sweat the battles." Are Republicans missing the larger victory by focusing on individual battles?

NICHOLSON: As I travel the country, I constantly point out to people how far we've come in such a short time. If you go back to just four years ago, we were in the minor-

ity in both houses of Congress, in states houses, legislative bodies. We are now the majority in Congress and near parity in state legislative bodies. More importantly, in just the 32 months that we have been in the majority here, look what we've done. We've changed the terms of debate in Washington from tax increases, bloated budgets and nationalizing healthcare to one of cutting taxes, balancing the budget, reforming welfare, restructuring and prolonging medicare and we're just getting started.

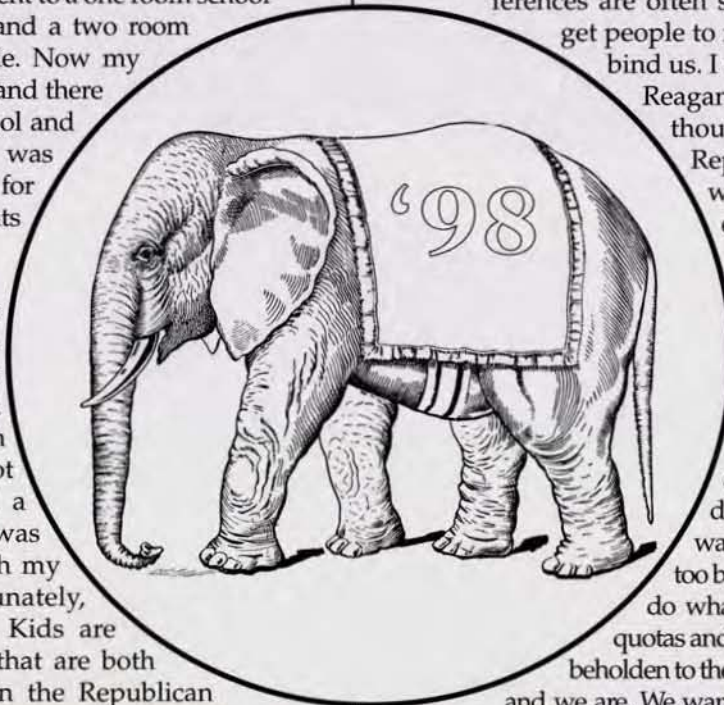
To our critics, I also cite strongly a couple of Ronald Reagan axioms. One is the 80 percent rule. The former president used to say that if a fellow agreed with him 80 percent of the time then he is his friend and not his foe, and he meant that. I think that in our party people tend to agree about 90 percent on the issues and while the differences are often sharp and important, I try to get people to really focus on the things that bind us. I also preach the other motto of Reagan's, the 11th Commandment, thou shall not beat up on a fellow Republican. And we shouldn't, we have a major, formidable opponent out there in the form of the Democrat Party and they are very different than we are. The Democrats stand for a much different set of principles than we do and in spite of Clinton moving towards us in the expediency of an election, the Parties are very different. They can't do what we want to do in education. They are too beholden to the unions. They can't do what we want to do on set asides, quotas and preferences because they are too beholden to the past. We can accomplish things and we are. We want everyone to have a fair shot at the brass ring. So we are very different.

RF: A vote on fast track authority for the President was pulled from the calendar. Is the Republican Party still the party of free trade?

NICHOLSON: The answer to that is I think clearly yes. Whether or not fast track will get passed this year is a different question and I don't have the answer to that.

RF: In 1993, Republican prosecutor Rudy Giuliani stunned political circles with his election as Mayor of New York City. He was re-elected this November in a landslide, a tremendous coup in Democrat New York, yet conservative columnists do not believe Giuliani is a "good Republican." Is Mayor Giuliani a good Republican?

NICHOLSON: Recently, I had the opportunity to have a long conversation with Mayor Giuliani in his home. New York City is thriving. The city feels proud. In a city where



**REAGAN
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only 16 percent of the population is registered Republican, Rudy Giuliani managed to get himself elected as a Republican and re-elected as a Republican. He was re-elected for all of the right reasons. He has reduced taxes, he's gotten people off the welfare roles, he's cut crime. He has guts and talks directly to the people. The

Mayor has increased the pride that people have in being a New Yorker, both in their life and in their city. Those are significant accomplishments. I am proud of Mayor Giuliani and I'm proud that he's a Republican.

RF: You are a honorary co-chairman for Americans for a Brighter Political Future, a new political action committee designed to elect African-American Republicans to Congress. That is a nice theme, but is this a serious effort?

NICHOLSON: This is a very high priority for myself and the Party. Recently, we launched our new majority council, which is an effort to do a better job connecting with and relating to minority communities around the country. This includes recruiting,

candidate assistance, and community involvement. I can tell you it is serious because we have committed to putting over a million dollars into this. It is not just something that is nice to do; it something that is imperative that we do. And it is working. One of the reasons that we are seeing success in this area

is because we are working hard to link policy to real life. Parental choice in education is one example. This initiative enjoys tremendous support in the minority community and African-American and Hispanic parents know it is our issue.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION



Houston, Texas

RF: Pollsters often point to the fact that given the Republican message and Democrat message side by side without knowledge of which party supports which, the public gives higher marks to the Republicans. Yet, when names or party identifications are added, this support drops. Why? What can be done?

NICHOLSON: I think we continue to stay on our message. Our message is one of smaller government, more freedom, less taxes, better education, less crime, welfare reform. We also must demonstrate that we not only talk about it but that we do it. Stay with the message. Act on that message.



RF: The conflict between Senator Jesse Helms and Governor William Weld became a media event. Governor Weld is a member of The Ripon Society's board of advisers and Senator Helms is not, so we had a rooting interest in favor of the Governor being allowed to have his day in court so to speak. More than the nomination itself, we felt the Party should have used the opportunity to highlight the diversity of the Party. Throughout, you did not make a statement on the affair. Does the Chairman have a role in this type of situation.

NICHOLSON: I had a lot of opportunities to make a statement and chose not to get involved. I believe that Governor Weld is a good Republican and was a good governor. He cut taxes, he cut the size of government and he did what he said he was going to do. As to the controversy over in the Senate, which is backed by 200 years of tradition and the fact that this is really a matter of foreign policy, I felt I had plenty of other things to do than worry about President Clinton's nomination for Ambassador to Mexico.

RF: Finally, moderate Republicans are more and more being described as Northeast Republicans. Is America sliding towards a regionalism in its politics?

NICHOLSON: There is no question that the Northeast has a concentration of more moderate Republicans. I spend a great deal of time up there and they are critically important to our Party collectively. There is a lot of energy up there. We just had a Northeast Republican leadership conference. It was well attended and there was a great amount of enthusiasm for the party. Our officeholders are doing a good job. We have six Republican governors in New England that are good, strong leaders. I am optimistic we can win back in 1998 some of the northeastern Congressional seats we lost in 1996 Congress. We have different elements to our coalition all over the country, but I feel very comfortable that we are dedicated to that 90 percent of the agenda on which we all agree.



An Interview with United States Senator Susan M. Collins

On October 15, 1997, U.S. Senator Susan M. Collins sat with Paul Peter Jesep, National Executive Committee Member of the Ripon Society, to discuss the future of the GOP.

PPJ: There is a great deal of confusion about what it means to be a Republican. What does it mean for Susan Collins to be a member of the GOP?

COLLINS: I'm a Republican because I believe in the party's core values: freedom, personal responsibility, strong national defense, less government, belief in the individual, balancing the budget, and lowering taxes. Those are core beliefs that unite us regardless of our views on various social issues.

PPJ: Have party lines blurred between the Democrats and Republicans?

COLLINS: No. The Republican Party has dramatically changed the agenda in Washington. A decade ago, when I worked for Bill Cohen, the debate was not how to balance the budget, but whether to balance the budget. Now the debate, with the Republicans holding both houses of Congress is how to balance the budget.

When I left Washington a decade ago, after working for Senator Cohen, the debate wasn't which taxes to cut, but whether to cut taxes. The Republicans have been successful in setting the agenda and moving the debate. The line between the two parties is still pretty clear. Had the Democrats been in control, I do not believe we would have passed a balanced budget and tax cuts.

PPJ: Has the Republican Party been corrupted by the right? What would Margaret Chase Smith say if she were alive today?

COLLINS: Margaret Chase Smith would be a "Big Tent Republican." She would argue, as I do, that there is room for people with a variety of views in the party. We have a common commitment to core Republican principles. I do not worry about the religious right, I think they add to the party.

I do worry if the message is sent that those not sharing their

views are not welcome in the party. That would be a dangerous and unfortunate message.

PPJ: There seems to be a great deal of disenchantment among moderates/progressives in the GOP. They feel alienated and unwelcome. What would you say to a roomful of moderate/progressive Republicans to boost their moral?

COLLINS: It's moderate Republicans who hold the balance of power in the Senate. The power of the moderate wing has never been greater. Look at the New England Republicans, for example, their votes are (almost) always the swing votes on a whole list of issues. That gives us a great deal of clout.

If we vote with moderate to conservative Democrats, we effect the outcome.

I would tell a roomful of moderate Republicans not to lose heart. Look at who controls the votes of the Senate. It isn't those with extreme views on either side, whether it's the left or the right. It is people in the middle who have the clout.



Ripon Society National Executive Committee Member Paul Peter Jesep interviews Maine Senator Susan M. Collins.

PPJ: You were one of the very few brave individuals to stand up in the Senate to support Governor Bill Weld's nomination for ambassador to Mexico. Can you speak to that issue?

COLLINS: The Party is big enough for the views of both Jesse Helms and Bill Weld. Having said that, I was very disappointed that Senator Helms did not give Bill Weld a hearing. It was completely unfair and violated my sense of fair play. I'm convinced that if the Weld nomination had gotten out of committee, he would have been confirmed without any doubt. And for one individual to thwart the will of the Senate is wrong. I further believe that Bill Weld would have been confirmed by a two-thirds vote. It would not have been close.

There were a number of conservative senators, for example, John Ashcroft of Missouri, who supported Bill Weld, because he had worked with him when both served as governors of their respected states.

Bill Weld's support crossed the ideological spectrum. It is wrong that one person can thwart the will of the Senate.

PPJ: Have southern conservatives taken over the GOP?

COLLINS: I would like to see more northeast, northwest, or midwest senators in leadership positions. Having said that, our leaders are very effective and do a good job. But I would like to see more geographic diversity. We have, however, a number of moderate senators who chair committees. For example, Jim Jeffords of Vermont, probably the most moderate of Republicans, is the chair of the Labor and Human Resources Committee. John Chafee of Rhode Island is chair of the Environment and Public Works Committee.

When we talk about leadership, we need to think of it broadly, when it comes to committee chairs, moderates are well represented there.

PPJ: In the last election, it seems that many Republican women felt alienated from the GOP. What do you say to them in bringing women back to the Republican Party?

COLLINS: The Republican Party must do a better job in speaking to the concerns of many women. The Party does reflect the views of many women who did not vote Republican in the last election. We didn't couch our message to reach women.

For example, I believe education is important. Republicans, when they talk about education, because we are strong believers in local control, tend to talk about reducing the federal role. That scares many women and men because they view it as anti-education.

In fact, what the Republican Party is talking about is putting more money and more resources into local hands rather than in the hands of Washington bureaucrats. We don't couch that message well. It comes across as an anti-education rather than pro-education, trust-in-local communities [approach].

The Party need to stress that women have traditionally been given a lot of leadership roles. In Maine, for example, it is the Republican Party women not the Democrat Party that has elected women.

Of the 15 women who have been elected to the United States Senate in their own right, not appointed, three are from Maine and all three have been Republican.

If you look at the party who actually elects women, who entrusts them with responsibility, and recognizes their important role, it is the Republican Party.

PPJ: What are the two top issues that the Republican Party should be addressing on behalf of women?

COLLINS: One issue increasingly important to women is small business. Women are starting businesses at twice the rate of men. By the end of this century, it is estimated that women will employ as many people in their businesses as men do. The trend is, in part, because women have bumped up against the glass ceiling in large corporations and have

decided to go out on their own. But it is also because women realize the opportunities for them in running their own business.

In discussing small business issues, we should acknowledge the growing and critical role of women business owners in our economy. That is an important issue.

Health care is another important issue for women. There is a lot of concern about the uninsured population. The issue of uninsured children, which Republicans believe in addressing, in this last Congress, Orrin Hatch and John Chafee, both introduced bills that I co-sponsored. Uninsured children is an issue that troubles both men and women, but especially women since they are largely responsible for child care in this country. Women are concerned about access to affordable, quality health care.

PPJ: Has it been difficult for you, as a woman, in the Senate, which strikes me as an old-boys club?

COLLINS: There has been more of that than I expected. Part of learning the Senate is learning to deal with the cultural differences. There are real cultural differences. It is changing. But there has been more of a sense that it is an old-boys club than I would have expected.

PPJ: How do you change what amounts to silliness?

COLLINS: Prove again and again that you can do the work as well as, if not better, than some of your male counterparts. The hearings I've participated in on the Government Affairs Committee investigating campaign finances proved it. It gave me, because they were so complicated, an opportunity to show that I do my homework, will be prepared, and that I can be effective. That has helped me earn my stripes among both men and women.

PPJ: How does the Republican Party win in the year 2000?

COLLINS: The message has to be that we are an inclusive party, we welcome people of varying views. We have to speak to the concerns of middle class Americans. Middle class Americans are the audience.

It is interesting to analyze the vote in the last election. Republicans not only did poorly among women, but also among suburban voters. These voters are interested in small business, health care, education, and the environment, in addition to the budget and tax issues.

These voters expect the Republicans to be good on the budget and taxes. We don't need to convince voters of that. We need to convince them that we have a heart as well as a calculator. [The Republican Party needs to convince them that] we care about their families and the issues they confront every day. R

Mr. Jesep is the incoming New England Chapter President. He is a former member of the New Hampshire Republican State Executive Committee and a freelance writer in Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

NINE MONTHS OF LABOUR

by Andrew Hicks

There is only one subject of political discussion in Britain today: which party leader can take their party to victory at the next general election. This may seem surprising as the last election was just last May, yet the prospect has people captivated.

Why the Conservatives lost in 1997

Britain now has its first Labour Government in 18 years, a government that was elected offering almost identical policies as those of its tired Conservative predecessor, yet which was disciplined, clean and united around its young leader, the 46 year old Tony Blair. The Conservatives, by contrast, were divided and fractious. The Prime Minister, John Major, had been systematically undermined both by back-bench Conservative MPs and by members of his own Government. Policy seemed to change daily as the Government lurched from one crisis

to the next, while the party laboured under the unshakable whiff of sleaze. A few Ministers of State being caught with mistresses and a couple of back-benchers taking bribes (a few thousand pounds) for asking questions in Parliament might seem minor by international standards, but caused outrage in Britain and undoubtedly contributed to the massive scale of the Conservative defeat.

The real causes of the Conservative defeat, however, lay elsewhere. The party was wracked by collective guilt at its knifing of Margaret Thatcher, a necessary condition for winning the 1992 election. Britain joined the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) in 1991, with much public support but greatly against Lady Thatcher's instincts. The rate at which Britain joined, however, was too high and became increasingly unsustainable as the British recession continued and Germany used the ERM to spread its

own costs of unification throughout Europe. Pressure for devaluation or withdrawal reached a peak when the markets forced Italy to devalue. The Government's unwillingness to devalue, combined with a reluctance from Germany to support Sterling led to the crisis of Black Monday, on which Britain blew 15 billion pounds defending Sterling against the markets but then withdrew from the ERM altogether. Allowed to float free, and with interest rate cuts, Sterling fell further and the economy started to grow again, yet the Government gained no credit for that in popular opinion. Rather, it was seen as weak and indecisive. The decision to raise taxes to pay for the increases in public expenditure prior to the 1992 election was the last straw. In two strokes, these actions totally destroyed the reputation of the Conservatives, carefully cultivated over many years, for tax cutting and fiscal probity.

Conservative popularity plummeted and never recovered.

From this point on the cause was effectively lost. Conservative MPs fearing the loss of their seats turned on the leadership, especially for its "betrayal" of Margaret Thatcher in signing up to the ERM in the first place and sought to prevent all further moves towards a united Europe, while Ministers undermined their own Government as they jockeyed for position in the leadership contest that would inevitably follow defeat. The Party stopped talking to the people and focused entirely on its internal debates with itself.

How the Labour Party won

The Labour Party, meanwhile, seeing that victory was at last within its grasp, elected Tony Blair as its leader

and set about massively reforming its policies and its image. Clause 4 of its constitution, the famous socialist commitment to "public ownership of the means of production" was deleted and replaced by an anodyne objective of "social justice for all". One by one its broad policies accepted the Conservative status quo, by proposing simple modifications that could be presented as social reforms while costing little and achieving nothing. The commitment to a Bill of Rights and a minimum wage look good, yet in practice will mean only that the courts can highlight conflicts of law and refer back to Parliament while the minimum wage will be set low and will apply only to older workers. It then packaged these "promises" into a Gingrich-like "Contract with Britain".

Labour in Government

Having been elected to Government, Labour is concentrating on constitutional reform and policy tinkering. Abolition of the Assisted Places Scheme, where state scholarships paid for bright children to be sent to private schools, as promised, has been abolished, as has tax relief for pensioners on private health care. The effect of these spiteful acts is simply to add to the queues and pressure within an already overloaded public provision while offering insufficient savings to achieve anything meaningful once the increased costs are considered.

Labour's flagship job creation program is being paid for by savers from pensions as well as investors from the windfall tax in privatized utilities on their "unfair" profits. Where nation-



PHILIP MORRIS COMPANIES INC.

Philip Morris USA
Philip Morris International Inc.
Kraft Foods, Inc.
Kraft Foods International, Inc.
Miller Brewing Company
Philip Morris Capital Corporation

alization cost the state massively in supporting loss making ventures, Labour views private industry as a cash cow to be milked in taxes and strangled in regulation and "social costs" (i.e. get industry to pay for mandatory social programs rather than voting taxpayers).

Labour's instinct to interfere and regulate is now manifesting in restrictions on car ownership through parking regulation and charges to reduce congestion in the cities by forcing people to use public transport.

Labour's Constitutional Tinkering

Blair has stated that his primary goal in government is to secure his own reelection in 4 years time, an unprecedented achievement for a Labour Prime Minister. The Conservatives have rightly derided this as a Government without principle, yet the fear of Labour's hidden agenda remains.

The real damage will come from Labour's constitutional tinkering. The devolved assemblies for Scotland and Wales are marginally popular (the Welsh one got 50.1% support in a low turnout referendum) but threaten to break the U.K. Even if the Labour Party loses the next election they will remain in permanent control of Scotland and Wales. The regions are already over-represented at Westminster and massively subsidized by the English. Blair need lose only a few English Labour MPs in the next election to end up ruling 45 Million English based on the votes of 8 Million Scots and Welsh (both overwhelmingly Labour) over whom Westminster will exercise no control. If the English lose faith in the Union then it is finished and Labour risk testing this to destruction.

Labour is also pledged to hold a ref-

erendum on "Proportional Representation" (PR) for Westminster. If successful, adoption of the Party List System that they have imposed on the regional assemblies and on the European Parliament British Constituencies (for the election in 1999) would ensure permanent Labour Government for Britain in coalition with the Liberal Democrats. This is the worst Conservative nightmare: a Britain as ineffectual and corrupt as Italy or as dominated by extremists as Israel, in which MPs lose all autonomy and become voting fodder for their party leaders and in which democracy becomes subordinated to back-room deals amongst power brokers.

Labour, for all its adoption of Conservative Euro-skeptic rhetoric, is a fundamentally Euro-ophile party. Many Socialist Euro-philies make little secret of their desire to make Europe into a "Super-state of the Regions" with total abolition or marginalization of the current national governments into a continent-wide federal structure. Conservatives are naturally opposed to this and regard the existing structures of Europe as undemocratic and unaccountable, not to mention bureaucratic.

The EMU question

The litmus for this, at present, is the question of whether Britain should join in the first phase of Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) - the adoption of a single European currency (the Euro), join later or rule out joining altogether. Public opinion, post the ERM debacle and the trauma of the extended recession that ERM caused, is either hostile or skeptical. Labour has therefore adopted the Conservative "wait and see" position with a bias on joining if practical. The

Chancellor, Gordon Brown, has already been given a nasty beating by the markets (which are in favour) for hinting that early entry was on the cards and then recanting.

The Conservative position on EMU is skeptical at best. The new Conservative leader, 36 year old William Hague, has moved the Party's position on Europe to the right (i.e. more skeptical) as part of the process of uniting the Party around a single line, without ruling out entry if it were proved to be clearly in Britain's long term best interest. The Conservative fear of EMU is not really the loss of control over British interest rates or sovereignty, although these arguments are made and score easy points, but rather skepticism about the long term convergence of the European economies and fear that Monetary Union is just a prelude to Fiscal and Political Union. The fact that the European Commission has recently demanded that Ireland raise its business tax rate from its current low level, to remove its "unfair" advantage over Europe's other more profligate members serves only to confirm the Conservatives' worst fears.

William Hague - Conservative Leader at 36

Notwithstanding his election as leader of the Conservative Party, William Hague has not had a particularly good summer. At 36, engaged but not yet married, he is the youngest Conservative leader since William Pitt nearly two centuries ago. The truth of the matter is that the Conservative Party was so divided after John Major, with so much rancor towards other older candidates who had held senior office in the last Government (and share in the blame

for its fall) that the Party decided to skip a generation. Since then he has had to contend with a Shadow Cabinet, many of whom are older and more experienced than him, a traumatized party for which there is still massive public distrust, and an understaffed office in which competing interests fight for his ear.

Having been elected, Hague immediately launched the biggest reform process the Party had ever seen, with the intention of making it more modern, democratic and accountable. Ordinary members of the Party will at last have a say in the choice of future leaders and policies. This process has added to the turmoil and it is unclear yet whether it goes far enough to make the Party credible with the public. In effect, the Conservative Party is copying the internal reforms undertaken by the Labour Party after its unexpected 1992 defeat.

At the same time Hague has introduced some significant policy shifts. The reform of policy has been given as a task to Peter Lilley, the Shadow Chancellor and one of the best minds in the Party, yet already the broad themes are emerging. While Hague has moved the Party to the right over Europe he is moving it to the left on social policy.

There is a new mood of tolerance sweeping through the Conservative Party towards those who are disadvantaged or have chosen "alternative lifestyles" such as single parents or homosexuals, while still affirming the Party's commitment to the traditional family structure. This results from a strong public perception of Conservatives as "uncaring", "intolerant" and having focused too much on the economic liberalism of Thatcherism, with all its hostility to

the state, at the expense of neglecting cherished public institutions and the weakest members of society. Look out in the future for a touchy-feely "Caring Conservatism" that respects



Crossbow is the journal of Great Britain's Bow Group.

freedom of choice in lifestyle and promotes civic virtues and family values to strengthen communities and promote social responsibility. Mrs. Thatcher's famous nostrum "There is no such thing as Society" is well and truly dead.

As yet the jury is out on Hague. He often comes across as wooden, immature and uncharismatic. His performance on the day of Princess Diana's death was widely criticized for its lack of emotion while Tony Blair's emotional eulogy for "the Peoples' Princess" caught the public mood exactly. The indications are that Hague will improve his performance over time and will soon be seen to be scoring points over Blair at the Dispatch Box in Parliament in their weekly spats. Even Mrs. Thatcher had a wobbly start in 1975 when few expected her to survive.

Can Hague beat Blair and, if so, when?

For all the idle gossip of challenges

from Chris Patten or Michael Portillo, the reality is that Hague is secure as Leader until at least after the next election, and will probably continue even if he loses that. The uncomfortable truth for Conservatives is that Labour have a huge majority while the Conservative Party was more than halved in Parliament. Most pundits have the Conservatives in opposition for at least two terms, noting that Blair is currently the most popular Prime Minister in British history. A closer examination of the 1997 results shows that much of Labour's gains were due to unprecedented tactical voting within Britain's "first past the post" electoral system. Many Conservative seats were lost due to Liberal supporters voting for Labour, Labour supporters voting for the Liberals or loss of Conservative votes to the Referendum Party (actually Euro-skeptic) or not voting at all. The overall turnout was low and the evidence suggests that many former Conservatives withheld support by not voting. Tony Blair won his huge majority based on fewer votes, overall, than John Major gained in 1992. These factors are unlikely to be repeated in 2001/2 which should deliver a substantial swing back to Hague. If one adds in possible public disillusionment with a Labour Government that promised so much and delivered so little, and a revived Conservative Party with a more attractive message, then Hague has a chance. The future of Britain as a nation hangs upon this thread. R

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HAMILTON'S BLESSING: The Extraordinary Life and Times of Our National Debt

John Steele Gordon,
New York, Walker and Company.

Which event this century has done the most to drive up public spending and increase the federal debt? Most people would probably say the Great Depression or the world wars. According to John Steele Gordon, they would be wrong. As Gordon illustrates in his provocative book, Hamilton's Blessing: The Extraordinary Life and Times of Our National Debt, the force behind the explosive growth in our country's national debt is the growth of transfers and subsidies since 1960. This was not in response to some crisis, but a deliberate act of spending policy at a time of rapid economic growth and relative political stability. Gordon's discussion of the national debt takes place at two levels: the insightful frame of reference level and the misdirected lesson of how to proceed with the distribution of political power in this country. Fortunately, the first level comprises the majority of the book.

A discussion of the national debt is meaningless without a frame of reference. Gordon's book is worth reading for this reason. The national debt, Gordon says, must be understood as a "dynamic economic entity, and not just a static sum of money." The dynamic entity has been both a fundamental resource and a concern for Presidents and lawmakers since the first presidency under George Washington. In fact, one of the first constitutional battles, we learn from Gordon, concerned the national debt and pitted Thomas Jefferson's doctrine of strict construction against Alexander Hamilton's doctrine of implied powers. Hamilton's doctrine, which would win out with George Washington's signature of a bill to establish a central bank, said that "if the federal government was to deal successfully with its enumerated duties, it must be supreme in deciding how best to perform those duties."

Gordon's depiction of the national debt as a historic entity also sheds light on many of the political fights we witness today. The politics of special interests and self preservation, for example, are nothing unique to today's taxing and spending decisions. Taxes play a fundamental role in any discussion of the national debt, and Gordon brings to life the history of the income tax, protectionist taxes (tariffs) and the political struggles on who to tax and how much, or in other words, social engineering. That our tax code today is too big and complicated is old news. Gordon's work reminds us also that the concept that an interest group "will always work hard to maintain its benefit long after the original purpose of the tax has been served."

Hamilton's "blessing" is really the way the national debt is used as an instrument of national interest to pay off the costs of a war or depression. There are three ways for government to pay its

bills, Gordon explains; the government can print, tax, or borrow. Hamilton paid for the cost of the Revolutionary war by creating a central bank to assume the debts of the states. Gordon shows us how Hamilton conceived of the national debt as a blessing and a "powerful cement to our union." Can you imagine any scenario today where a public figure would call our \$5 trillion national debt a blessing? This is the kind of historical context Gordon provides, and he does a masterful job of interconnecting the history of the debt with the history of the U.S. The chapter, "The Debt Explodes," ties the historical frame of reference in to today's burgeoning national debt.

The debt in the last 200 years, Gordon shows, has grown in seven periods, six of these marked by war or depression. What this country has witnessed in the most recent decades, however, is the explosive growth in the national debt when times are good, due to explosive ambition of the federal government. "For that trend results," Gordon writes, "not from a deliberate political decision to spend in deficit, but rather from nothing more than the sum of myriad decisions regarding taxing and spending that, collectively, now substitutes for fiscal policy."

So how did the United States lose control over such a fundamental responsibility as its own budget? As with most government policy disasters, the answer is "one innocuous step at a time." So far, Gordon is right on the mark. But then he misdirects.

The question that sets the tone in the concluding chapter is: for what have we increased the national debt by a factor of 17 since 1960? The answer, Gordon is afraid, "is little more than the political self-interests of a few thousand people...who held office during this period." Without even disputing the premise that virtually all politicians are motivated by self-interest, this assumption is grossly inadequate and subsequently [mis]directs the reader away from the discussion of the national debt. The inadequate assumption is also the point from which Gordon draws his four lessons which dominate the last chapter.

The explosion in the debt is not limited to "the political self-interests of a few thousand people," but instead is a trend in almost all industrial countries since the early 1960s due to a shift in government transfers and subsidies. Yes, self-interested politicians played a part, but so did self-interested bureaucrats, self-interested pressure groups and self-interested voters. Writing in January 1966, Yale economics professor, Neil W. Chamberlain, describes the public shift in attitude about a balanced budget, "the unbalanced budget, which had so recently been an object of revulsion, had taken on respectability. Government deficits had ceased to be a sin and had themselves become the mark of a shrewd Administration's prudence."

The reality of the federal budget is that it represents commitments made over decades. Those commitments will not be changed without significant conflict. And, despite Gordon's illusion, the budget achieved its present state with the knowledge and active collusion of the American people. Gordon says so himself in the chapter, "The Debt Explodes," but unfortunately fails to draw this connection in his conclusion

By Chris Bremer

that the debt has been caused by a few thousand lawmakers. "The backdoor spending that has had the greatest destabilizing effect on the budget has been the 'entitlements'—monies paid without limit to all who qualify in such programs as Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid. Because these spending programs directly benefit many millions, the political forces behind their continuation and enlargement quickly became awesome."

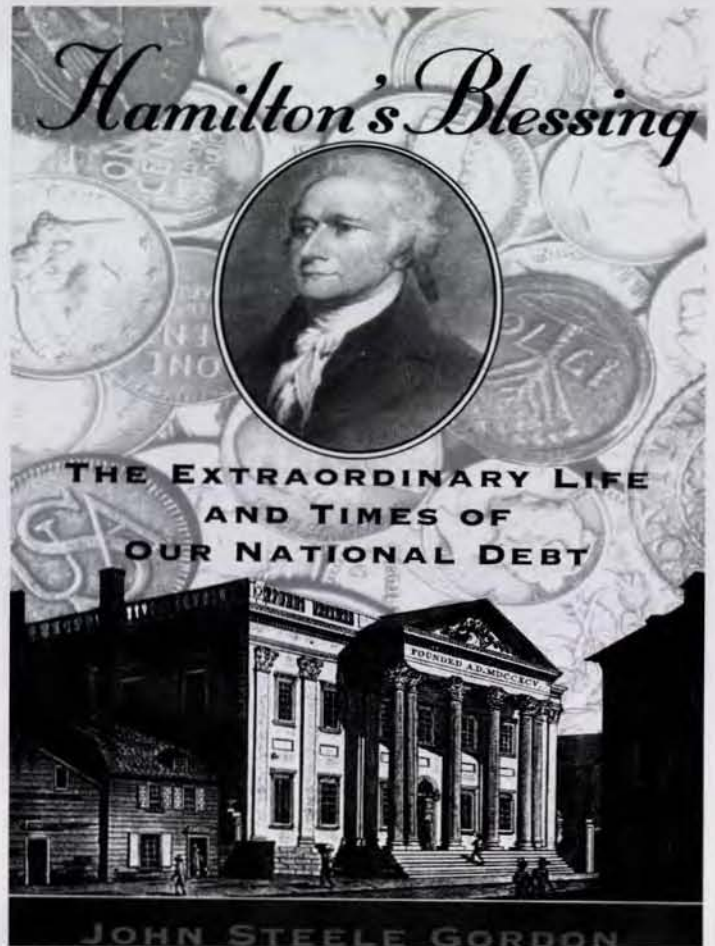
Gordon is right that about 54 percent of the total budget consists of required payments to individuals—Social Security, Medicare, military pensions. That part of the budget now taken up by direct payments of income—income transfers—is so large a percentage of the total that it virtually determines the entire budget. Income transfers have a momentum of their own, unrelated to the limits of the economy or the needs of other programs. Remember, these programs are entitlements: they are assured by law to qualify individuals; they do not pass through the appropriations process. These entitlements have resulted in more or less permanent deficits. This is a sign that government is persistently spending more than citizens can be persuaded to pay in taxes.

As federal debt has become a larger share of GDP, taxpayers and beneficiaries of federal spending have been required to sacrifice to accommodate interest payments. New interest payments on the federal debt rose from 9 percent of federal spending in 1980 to 15 percent in 1995. Today's increase in the federal debt is incurred for the benefit of current entitlement recipients and to the extent that it exceeds net federal investment that increases future resources, future recipients face corresponding further sacrifices.

Because Congress has shown itself "to be incapable of setting a limit to total spending and then sticking to it," Gordon proposes to give the president the power to set the limit on overall spending. The president is the one official in Washington elected by the entire country and "thus has his political self-interests directly bound up in the national interest of a prudent fiscal policy." Oh, really?

This suggestion flies in the face of reality and good public policy, not to mention the Constitution. Of course, we do not need to think back beyond the current president to see the absurdity in this suggestion. President Clinton's health reform initiative, which would have increased spending to bring another 5 percent of GDP under federal control, should be fresh enough in Gordon's memory to realize the absurdity of this proposal. Did we not just learn from Gordon that the problem isn't the discretionary spending budget, but the entitlements? Since these entitlement programs are already law, does Gordon mean to propose giving the President the authority to chance existing law without the will and consent of Congress?

Two of Gordon's other proposals, banning political action committees and changing government accounting methods, both suffer from the same misguided diagnosis—that doing away with a prominent symptom will do away with the problem. While both proposals have merits on their own, they would probably do little to counter Gordon's original premise, the self-interest of politicians.



One renowned columnist has characterized our government as an "overcommitted" one. Overcommitted does not necessarily mean too much, it just means we have more government than we are willing to pay for with taxes. But this raises a number of fundamental questions—the appropriate size of government, the value and impact of federal programs, the role of government vis-a-vis the private sector. Instead of going off on his tirade about the distribution of political power, politicians' self-interest, and his loath for Political Action Committees (PACs), Gordon would have better guided his readers by asking simple questions. Now that we know the history of the national debt, what does it mean? Are the American people getting good value for their money? Has the connection between increased government spending, leading to an expanding federal debt, and improved social outcomes strengthened?—or become weaker? Given the shortcomings of big government, and given that nobody likes paying higher taxes, why is it that public spending and taxes have both risen so dramatically over the past 50 years?

These are the questions that politicians and the American people alike will have to try to answer in the years ahead. *Hamilton's Blessing* provides an historical frame of reference when thinking about the the fundamental questions for today and tomorrow.

Chris Bremer is a Legislative Assistant to Congressman Paul Gillmor (R-OH).

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Politbabble

FAVORING FAST TRACK

By Mike Gill

One of the significant American accomplishments this century has been the gradual reduction of tariffs and trade barriers among nations. Unfortunately, this steady if slow march continues to be undercut by the new isolationists in Congress. The decision of President Clinton to pull his fast track legislation from the House floor rather than watch it lose was prudent. World stock markets would have reacted poorly to a ratified defeat as opposed to the fig leaf of delay. But the episode reflects the immense intellectual struggle politicians have with foreign trade.

Fast track authority is one of the many misnamed trading tools, the former most-favored-nation status being another, which permit the executive branch to lead the country's trade policy with one voice. Very few oppose the tactic itself, rather, its reauthorization came to symbolize an opportunity to reject America's trade progress thus far.

The irony of the situation is that Congress is moving to claim back its Constitutional prerogative to dictate trade policy, "To lay and collect...Duties" and "To regulate commerce between nations," at the very moment it is attempting to usurp the President's role in foreign policy. Through such legislation as Helms-Burton Act and the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act, Congress is setting the foreign policy goals of the nation, through the use of all things, trade. Clearly, the goals of these laws are correct, but similar to its last full fledged trade measure, the Smoot-Hawley tariffs, Congress is too often a cacophony of interests unable to speak with one voice on foreign policy.

Prior statesmen of our national legislature recognized this dilemma. As far back as the 1930s, Congress granted to the President, with limitations and conditions, the power to negotiate bi-laterally the reduction of trade barriers. This authority was used by the Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, (notice the office), to begin leading our allies to a more efficient and consumer-orientated trading structure. This ingenious use of policy not only allowed America to speak with one voice, but emancipated individual Members of Congress from prior constraints in speaking up on behalf of their districts. By shifting trade duties to the executive, Members were free from the task of loading legislation with individual preferences on trade. Now they could point a disgruntled corporation down to the executive branch, with its national priorities. All the while, a Member could claim solidarity with the disgruntled, safe in the knowledge it would be the executive branch ham-

mering out the details.

The fast-track authority, contrived in 1974, and the United States Trade Representative Office, which was created in 1979, are both descendants of America's evolving and successful trade diplomacy. Unfortunately, somewhere in the last few years, the Ways and Means Committee and the Finance Committee have lost their power to lead. Too many Members started believing their town hall rhetoric on trade deficits. Bashing deficits is an easy point of unity. What Members have neglected to re-enforce among their communities is the unprecedented rise in the living standards of the American consumer. Some Members of Congress are once again pushing to protect their parochial interests to the detriment of the nation as a whole. These prognosticators of "us versus them" in the trade debate have misled public perception to the point that free trade is now our Public Enemy Number One, the El Nino of economics, responsible for unemployment in Toledo and mudslides in California.

The question over fast track was simple. Who shall lead on trade policy, Congress or the President? The debate instead became a referendum on prior agreements. Just as there will always be dissenting voices on the Panama Canal treaties, Aid to the Contras etc., trade treaties are not infallible encyclicals. They are, however, impossible without a clear-cut leader. The President must be allowed to lead on trade for two reasons. If America should pause on this front, the ability of the U.S. to influence the direction of trade talks will shrink considerably. Without the explicit backing of fast track, no country will seriously sit down to negotiate. Secondly, although trade and foreign policy have always been linked, the next century will bring a new era to this parallel. MERCOSUR, the South American version of NAFTA, is a poor cousin in terms of liberalizing trade among its signatories, but symbolically it has proven to be a point of pride in South America and an example of Brazilian leadership. It is instructive to note that Chile originally declined to become a member of this South American pact, preferring to wait and join NAFTA. It has since, however, joined as an associate member. If the U.S. wants to pursue economic opportunities with its American neighbors, ahead of the Europeans and Asians, it must be at the table talking instead of outside the room shouting. Without fast track, we simply would not have the capacity to do that.

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That note you just faxed?

That stock you just bought?

That e-mail you just sent?

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