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RIPON FORUM

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1984: *A Parody of the Past?*



A Conversation With
Martin Feldstein

Priorities for the
1984 GOP Platform

The Presidential
Election of 1984: A
Campaign of
Resemblance?

Improving the
Platform Process

South Africa:
Constructive
Engagement and
Apartheid

RIPON FORUM

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RIPON FORUM

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Editor's Column

The striking similarities between the presidential elections of 1956 and 1984 provide a parallel that should not be ignored. Generational factors were at work in 1956 which shaped more than a decade of national politics. As a **Forum** editorial states, such factors are at work today. This means that unless Republican Party officials actively recruit those candidates who understand the values of a now-maturing generation — America's "baby boom" children — the GOP will be left behind in future elections.

Whether party officials will try to find these candidates is uncertain. Already, the Republican National Committee has canceled hearings on the 1984 platform. Debate, however, has not been suppressed. Republicans of various ideological stripes have spoken out. One of those is Iowa State Senator Arne Waldstein, who in this **Forum** presents his idea on how the GOP platform can be improved.

Also in this edition the outgoing chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Martin Feldstein, discusses budget deficits and industrial policy. Former deputy White House press secretary Les Janka analyzes trends at work in this Orwellian year, drawing upon the lessons of the Grenadan invasion, an event which sparked his resignation from the Reagan administration. Marsu Cartmill provides our second installment of "Foreign Affairs" as she critiques U.S. policy towards South Africa. Combined with the other articles in this **Forum**, these serve as a reminder that while some party officials may wish to interdict silence, discussion continues within the Republican Party.

—Bill McKenzie

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Profiles and Perspectives

*Budget deficits remain a disturbing issue for the American economy. While President Reagan has asked for a "down-payment" on nearly \$200 billion in annual deficit spending, the problem is a sore point at home and abroad. The outgoing chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Martin Feldstein, (before his resignation) discusses in this interview with **Forum** editor Bill McKenzie those deficits and the growing demand for a national industrial policy.*

A Conversation
with
Martin Feldstein



Ripon Forum: Some argue that inflation is in part created by psychological fears and that these fears exacerbate inflationary spirals. Does this hold true for deficits as well?

Feldstein: I should discuss the premise first. You can get a temporary rise in prices out of a psychological fear that prices may rise and that everybody wants to get ahead. But you cannot have sustained inflation without accommodating monetary policy. Therefore, you cannot have self-fulfilling inflationary fears. They can initiate the process, but the process will self-regulate or self-abort if the Federal Reserve doesn't play along.

Likewise, budget deficits are a very real problem. They are not merely a psychological problem. Deficits of nearly \$200 billion a year, like those we now have, represent more than half of all private saving. Households, business, pension funds, state and local governments — everything but the federal government — save about eight percent of the Gross National Product (GNP). Yet we are looking at deficits this year of over five percent of GNP. This means that more than half of all savings which would otherwise be available for investment in equipment and housing will be absorbed by government borrowing.

Ripon Forum: What impact have U.S. budget deficits had on Western Europe? The toll there seems quite high.

Feldstein: There are two kinds of impact. One is that the high real interest rates which occur here because of the budget deficits are translated overseas because capital is now mobile in more countries. If interest rates are high here, then there is going to be an upward pressure on interest rates abroad. The other effect is that the strong dollar which results from our high interest rates has the effect of creating large trade deficits for us and a corresponding trade surplus in other countries.

Ripon Forum: Do you ever feel that you are in a tunnel which has no light at either end? As you just mentioned, continued high federal credit demand during a period of economic expansion makes it more likely that deficits will push up interest rates or at least keep them high. How do we get out of this predicament?

Feldstein: Reduce deficits. There's no alternative, really. You could temporarily reduce real interest rates by expansionary monetary policy. But after a while, the real rates would creep back up again. The only way to get the real rates back down is to change the fundamentals: supply and demand.

We are now benefiting from a large capital inflow as a result of these current deficits. We expect that inflow will be about \$80 billion this year, a substantial amount of additional funds for borrowers in this country. If we didn't have that, interest rates would be higher. Of course, after a while that inflow will dry up.

"Budget deficits are a very real problem. Deficits of nearly \$200 billion a year, like those we now have, represent more than half of all private saving."

Ripon Forum: In 1979 the Federal Reserve decided to target that part of the money supply known as M1 — currency, checking, and demand deposits — instead of interest rates. This makes it less likely that growth in the money supply will accommodate large federal deficits. How have these changes altered the relationship between interest rates and deficits?

Feldstein: What you have to distinguish in discussing interest rates is the difference between nominal or market rates of interest and real rates of interest. Real rates are the difference between market rates and the rate of inflation. We had very high interest rates in the late 1970s, but inflation was even higher in some cases. In real terms, market interest rates are substantially higher now than they were in the late 1970s. Reduction in inflation has brought down market interest rates. But very large projected budget deficits, persisting year after year, are keeping real rates high.

"How do we get out of this predicament? Reduce deficits."

Ripon Forum: And you think that those rates have been created in part by the 1979 changes?

Feldstein: No, I think that they more or less would have been there because of the budget deficits. But the new monetary policy has meant less inflation and therefore lower market rates of interest.

Ripon Forum: It appears that budget deficits during this century have been temporary and that they were covered over later by budget surpluses. Can the argument be made that today's budget deficits are structural and not temporary?

Feldstein: We have had structural deficits in the past. After all, the national debt, which is the sum of past deficits, keeps rising. But we do have much larger structural deficits today. The notion of having structural deficits of nearly three percent or more of GNP, year after year, is unprecedented.

Ripon Forum: This includes the interest that we pay on the federal debt?

Feldstein: Yes. The magnitude of that is very frightening. If you have \$200 billion deficits, by the end of the decade the national debt would be \$2.4 trillion. That means if you pay an average interest on it of six percent, you would have about \$150 billion a year in federal debt. That is more than one-third of all the personal income tax bills being devoted to paying interest on the debt.

"If you have \$200 billion deficits, by the end of the decade the national debt would be \$2.4 trillion. If you pay an average interest on it of six percent, you would have about \$150 billion a year in federal debt."

Ripon Forum: It is widely known that entitlement programs, such as Medicare, comprise one of the fastest growing components of the federal budget. But given that this is an election year, what change in these programs can be expected from the bipartisan deficit commission that President Reagan has established?

Feldstein: This year we will have few changes. We are having discussions about things like a delay in the cost-of-living adjustments for military and civilian pensions; a change in farm price supports; and a change in state reimbursement formula for Medicaid. Those are all entitlement changes that are being considered.

Ripon Forum: What effect has the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Act of 1974, which created House and Senate Budget Committees with specific authority to report an annual budget to Congress, had on the budget process?

Feldstein: It's not been very effective.

Ripon Forum: Would you say that if you sat in Congress?

Feldstein: I don't sit in Congress, so I don't know. It clearly puts the balance on Congress's side and keeps a hand of the president, preventing him from spending things he doesn't need to spend.

Ripon Forum: But given the demands that are placed upon members of Congress, aren't we reaching a point where the entire budget is getting out of hand?

Feldstein: We should separate two issues. First, it is clear that there is a lot of miscellaneous waste both in the management of federal programs and in items that are subject to administrative changes, such as inventory procedures. A lot of waste also occurs when some spending programs get passed which should never be enacted. But that simply reflects the power of individual members of

Congress and the dealmaking that has to go on there. Undoubtedly, there are billions that should be saved and we could spend a lot of well-spent manhours trying to do it. The work of the Grace Commission is a good example.

But second, you can't get rid of a \$200 billion deficit by eliminating minor wasteful activities within the appropriated accounts. The entire appropriated account is something like \$135 billion each year. All the rest of the budget is either for defense, interest on the federal debt, or those entitlements which are not subject to annual appropriations. So, while there are billions to be saved by better management and greater efficiency, that is a separate problem from the big budget deficit issue.

Ripon Forum: The annual report of the Council of Economic Advisers (CEA) claims that no evidence exists to show that the personal income tax cuts of 1981 induced taxpayers to save a larger share of their after-tax income.

Feldstein: I'm not sure that we say as much.

Ripon Forum: But would you agree that the 1981 personal income tax cuts have not led taxpayers to save a larger share of their after-tax income?

Feldstein: No, I would make a weaker statement. Personal savings are low, but they are affected by many things. The recession, for example, is clearly an important part of it. A sharp rise in stock market values, which added billions to household wealth and allowed people to increase their wealth without actively saving, also depressed the savings rate.

"While there are billions to be saved by better management and greater efficiency, that is a separate problem from the big budget deficit issue."

The savings incentives, particularly the universal IRAs, are items we could have anticipated to work with only a delay. In the first few years, people have enough money to move their savings from one bank account into another without doing any more additional saving to get the tax break. So I wouldn't have expected to find much savings even if you could have taken it out of the complex set of factors that influence saving. But most families will run out of cash after a few years and then will have to increase their savings if they want the tax break.

Ripon Forum: Your expectations about those tax cuts were different, then, from the supply-side economists who sold them on their ability to make all boats rise?

Feldstein: I won't comment on that phrase. My sense is that some of the early rhetoric in 1981, although not particularly about the universal IRAs, focused around the notion that if you cut taxes, people would save a lot more. I was quite skeptical of those kinds of claims.

For example, if you take somebody who is in the 30 percent tax bracket and reduce them to the 27 percent bracket, they will have an additional \$1,000 in after-tax income. If that person previously saved 10 percent of his or her income, it would be surprising if they saved \$1,000 extra just because of the small cut in tax rates. Most of the

tax cut would be expected to go to consumption and that is exactly what happened.

Yet let me be very clear. I think that the tax cuts were a good thing and that the savings incentives were a very good thing. I also think that a lot of exaggerated claims were made by some of the program's enthusiasts. But that's probably always true when you're fighting for something; you overstate the benefits.

Ripon Forum: Do you place more confidence in selective tax cuts, like IRAs, than in the across-the-board tax measures that occurred during the first year of the Reagan administration?

Feldstein: Across-the-board tax cuts serve more varied purposes than do selective tax cuts. The IRAs and special tax treatment to two-earner families, for example, were aimed at dealing with particular problems. The across-the-board tax cuts sought to undo the effects of "bracket creep" that forced many people into much higher tax brackets. The CEA's annual report, in fact, said that five times as many people were in the 50 percent or higher bracket in 1980 than were there in 1970.

Ripon Forum: Your annual report also claims that a danger which could result from the \$110 billion trade deficit predicted for this year is that it will create the mistaken perception that we now need an industrial policy. Why do you hold this position?

Feldstein: There are two dangers here. First, is the direct effect of the trade deficit. A \$110 billion trade deficit obviously does a substantial amount of damage to trade industries. Second, if it leads to an industrial policy or increased protectionism, then it in itself has a persistent adverse effect.

But whatever the case may be in other countries for industrial policy, such as in small economies with poor capital markets, it is hard to imagine a case for industrial policy in our economy which has large and very active labor and capital markets.

"An industrial policy would do much more harm than good. If you put the industrial decision in the hands of the political process, decisions would be made for political reasons rather than for the long-term growth in employment and output."

Ripon Forum: Is an industrial policy impossible in the United States because our economy is just too large?

Feldstein: It's not a question of impossible. It's just that it would do much more harm than good. If you put the industrial decision in the hands of the political process, decisions would be made for political reasons rather than for the long-term growth in employment and output. It would serve political and geographic needs which are subject to the influences of industry groups and political action committees. It has all the wrong criteria. There is a lot of downside risk to an industrial policy in the American political system which has a great deal of decentralized power in Congress. Industries can get political attention much easier here than they can under a parliamentary system, where individual members of Parliament have much less power.

Ripon Forum: But aren't there various forms of industrial policy which we could explore? Take, for instance, the French use of indicative planning. The government indicates which industries need attention but the decision to provide that attention is left to investors.

Feldstein: There is a tremendous reward in business for making that decision well. There are a lot of people who sell that information. You can go around the world, in fact, and everybody picks the same five examples: fiberoptics, biotechnology, and a few others. But every politician in the world knows those five. I am sure that every stockbroker knows them, too. There's more than enough money chasing ideas in those industries without the help of industrial policy. We don't need the U.S. government to declare that fiberoptics is a hot field, or that personal computers would be a good business to be in. Anyone who has the technical know-how to get in such a field is appraised of the situation.

Ripon Forum: What is your opinion of the flat-tax rate?

Feldstein: As you know President Reagan has called for a study which will report in December 1984. It will look into a whole range of tax options, including the flat-tax rate.

"We don't need the U.S. government to declare that fiberoptics is a hot field, or that personal computers would be a good business to be in. Anyone who has the technical know-how to get in such a field is appraised of the situation."

Ripon Forum: I would assume that you believe something needs to be done about our tax structure?

Feldstein: I would like to think that we could raise revenue with less distortion and less damage than we have already done with the present structure. But the remarkable fact is that we have created a system where the majority of two-person and under families can do all of their saving before paying taxes. Yet we are approaching reform of the tax code with a very open mind. We are looking at all of the options and the problems involved.

Ripon Forum: Little indication seems to have come from the Federal Reserve that it will allow interest rates to drop much this year.

Feldstein: Paul Volcker, the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, has said that he is going to try to achieve certain monetary targets and that he is going to allow interest rates to do whatever is the result of that policy. Interest rates could thus drop, especially if there is a change in deficit conditions, a slower pace of nominal GNP growth, less inflation or less real growth than anticipated. But it could go up if the opposite happened.

Ripon Forum: Felix Rohaytn, an investment banker for Lazard Freres and Company, said recently that budget deficits could create new recessions if interest rates remain high over time and business borrowing slacks.

Feldstein: The risks are not the deficits per se. The deficit risks are in causing the total recovery to be lopsided. Moreover, if the dollar were to drop sharply, there would be an increase in interest rates. In particular, long-term rates would rise if the dollar dropped. The recovery would slow down and, depending upon how fast the dollar dropped and

what the monetary policy did, conceivably turn into a recession. The best way of summarizing it is to say that a deficit may change the options. You may be forced to take either more inflation in order to keep up with a certain rate of real growth or lower real growth in order to keep the rate of inflation down.

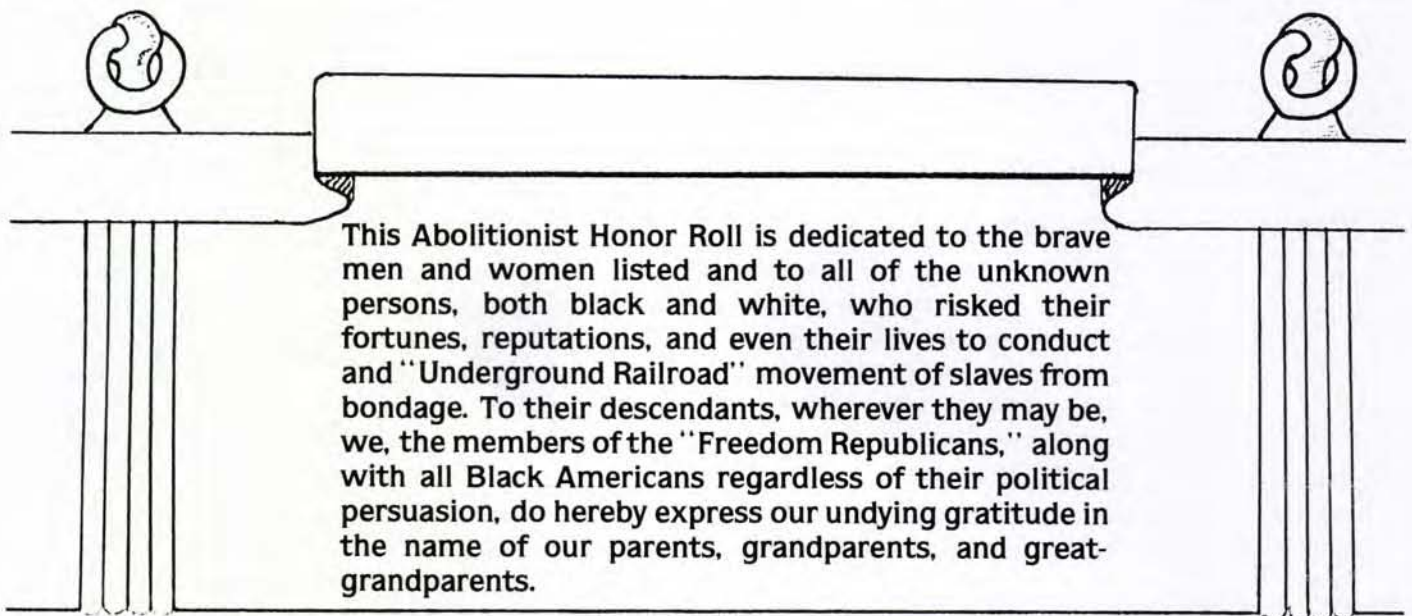
“... a deficit may change the options. You may be forced to take either more inflation in order to keep up with a certain rate of real growth or lower real growth in order to keep the rate of inflation down.”

Ripon Forum: What is the correlation between the dollar and the Third World debt problem?

Feldstein: If the dollar comes down, then that is good for the Third World debt problem since their debt is mostly dollar-denominated and they sell to non-dollar markets as well as dollar markets. The ratio of their export earnings to the size of their debt will go up and they will be in a better position to pay their debt if the value of the dollar falls.

Ripon Forum: If the dollar doesn't fall, then what will happen to the ability of Third World nations to repay their existing debts?

Feldstein: They're making progress, but it is a long, slow process. ■



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From Grenada to Campaign '84: Newspeak or the Sounds of Silence?

by Les Janka

As the 1984 political campaign begins to dominate the most analyzed year of our century, it sometimes seems that George Orwell must be alive and well, watching the elections from the beaches of Grenada.

Anyone concerned about the conflict of individual freedoms and the pressure of mass society has to confront mounting evidence that a candidate's media image is now more important than personal character and policy substance. Equally troubling has to be the evidence that the public does not much care how the government or the political technocrats cynically try to manipulate public opinion. The public reaction to the invasion of Grenada provided an apt introduction to the politics of 1984, the year and the metaphor.

"While his vision of the future is, thankfully, far from being fulfilled, did Orwell not in fact foresee some real dangers breeding in the bigness of our modern society and media?"

During the U.S. invasion of Grenada, a *New York Times* editorial deploring the Reagan administration's attempts to control the flow of news from the island concluded with "... Happy 1984." By upstaging the many learned articles comparing the prediction and the reality, recent events invite us to think about whose version of "Newspeak" we prefer to believe: George Orwell's, *The New York Times's*, or Ronald Reagan's.

In Orwell's dark vision of 1984, the world's three mirror-image, constantly warring tyrannies had established media dictatorships through the use of mass communications technologies and brainwashing techniques. "Big Brother" was not content only to monitor all actions of his subjects while totally controlling the flow of information and making lies into truth. Through the creation of a new language, Newspeak, he aimed at making dissident thinking impossible. The purpose of Newspeak was not only to provide a medium of expression for a world-view and mentality appropriate to loyal citizens of Oceania, it was also designed to diminish the range of thought by cutting the choice of words down to a minimum. By turning words and phrases into virtual abbreviations, meanings were narrowed and altered to reduce unwanted political or historical associations. As the Newspeak vocabulary became smaller,

the potential for heretical ideas shrank. Unorthodox thoughts could not be expressed, speech was to be rendered independent of consciousness (Duckspeak), and to the degree that forms of Oldspeak (and old ideas) persisted, loyal subjects could avoid *crimethink* by the self-descriptive process of *doublethink*.

"Thomas Jefferson once observed that he would prefer to have newspapers without government than government without newspapers. The Reagan administration went the other way when it decided to invade Grenada."

Perils for the Future?

While his vision of the future is, thankfully, far from being fulfilled, did Orwell not in fact foresee some real dangers breeding in the bigness of our modern society and media? What better example of real *doublethink* could we have than the American Army's explanation that a Vietnamese village had to be destroyed in order to save it? Is not our ability to understand complex political events hampered by the political shorthand descriptions of competing factions as leftists (bad-guys) and rightists (bad-guys on our side) and the frequent failure to distinguish clearly between one side's "terrorists" and the other's "freedom fighters?" Might we also wonder how many people have been freed by "liberation movements?" Even the concept of peace has been corrupted to the point that an American president can, with a straight face, rechristen the MX missile as the "Peacekeeper." Our modern bureaucratic/technocratic communication is all too ready to adapt the jargon of mechanics and computer to politics: as we interface to discuss inputs and outputs, we verb-ize every possible noun and we seek "leverage" in the hidden agenda of such political buzzwords as "guns don't kill people." Even for the Pentagon, a new low was reached when ammunition was allowed to evade a congressional arms-sale embargo as a "non-lethal end-item."

Lessons from Grenada

When the president stands up to tell us that dropping 5,000 combat-troops on Grenada is not an invasion, should we not be properly wary as our government tries to tell us only what it believes we need to know?

Thomas Jefferson once observed that he would prefer to have newspapers without government than government without newspapers. The Reagan administration went the

Les Janka is a former "informed source." He resigned as deputy White House press secretary on October 28, 1983. This article is drawn from a speech given at the University of Redlands in January 1984.

(continued on page 10)

Priorities for the 1984 GOP Platform:

The Ripon Congressional Advisory Board Responds

As mentioned elsewhere in this *Forum*, the Republican National Committee has canceled hearings on the party's 1984 platform. The Ripon Society has thus held a number of meetings around the country to receive testimony and establish priorities for this document. The *Forum* has also asked the members of the Ripon Congressional Advisory Board for their three priorities for the 1984 Republican Party platform. The following is their response:

Rep. Claudine Schneider

1. Protect civil rights for minorities, women, the handicapped and the elderly
2. Develop a cost-effective national strategy to protect the environment and our precious natural resources
3. Develop a stable climate to ensure economic growth for the decade ahead

Sen. Mark Andrews

1. Reduce the deficit
2. Rationalize defense spending
3. Maintain economic growth

Sen. John Chafee

1. Promote free trade
2. Create "high tech" opportunities within the U.S.
3. Improve American education

Sen. Slade Gorton

1. Create a rational and reasonable fiscal policy which will sustain continuous economic growth
2. Ensure equality of economic and social opportunity for all Americans regardless of sex, race, religion, color, age or national origin
3. Strengthen America's leadership in the establishment of increased stability, peace, and freedom around the world

Sen. Mark Hatfield

1. Promote a nuclear freeze
2. Resolve the crisis in Central America
3. Provide equity for the needy in budget reductions

Sen. Charles Mathias

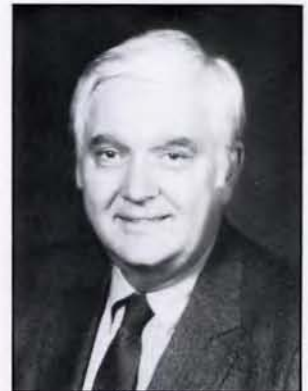
1. Reduce the risk of nuclear proliferation and nuclear war
2. Preserve economic gains and limit interest and inflation rates by way of the federal budget
3. Ensure that no American suffers inadequate health care or housing or is deprived of educational or job opportunities

Sen. Arlen Specter

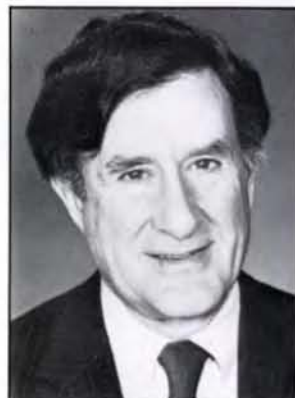
1. Emphasize steps to sustain the economic recovery, including provisions for reducing the federal deficit
2. Urge the president to hold summit talks with the Soviets and negotiate an arms reduction package
3. Provide for a comprehensive crime package



Rep. Claudine Schneider



Sen. Mark Andrews



Sen. John Chafee



Sen. Slade Gorton



Sen. Mark Hatfield



Sen. Charles Mathias



Sen. Arlen Specter



Rep. Sherwood Boehlert



Rep. Silvio Conte



Rep. Bill Frenzel



Rep. Bill Green



Rep. James Jeffords



Rep. Nancy L. Johnson



Rep. Jim Leach



Rep. Jock McKernan

Rep. Sherwood Boehlert

1. Guarantee the fiscal integrity of Medicare
2. Guarantee equal rights and equal opportunity for all Americans
3. Control the arms race

Rep. Silvio Conte

1. Preserve and improve environmental quality
2. Implement meaningful and effective arms control
3. Improve American education

Rep. Bill Frenzel

1. Reduce the deficit
2. Preserve the economic recovery
3. Reduce nuclear arms

Rep. Bill Green

1. Adopt the Equal Rights Amendment
2. Develop bilateral nuclear arms control
3. Protect the environment, with emphasis on cleaning up toxic wastes and preventing acid rain

Rep. James Jeffords

1. Resolve the deficit
2. Develop a foreign policy based on strength and humanitarianism
3. Create a federal, state and local partnership to give Americans the job and educational skills to fully participate in our society

Rep. Nancy L. Johnson

1. Reduce the federal budget deficit on a long-term comprehensive basis
2. Work with state and local governments, teachers and parents to promote a "cooperative" plan for improving American education
3. Adopt a foreign policy which aggressively pursues measures to enhance the possibility of peace

Rep. Jim Leach

1. Restore an emphasis on fiscal restraint, including the military budget
2. Promote individual and women's rights
3. Endorse prudent approaches to arms control

Rep. Jock McKernan

1. Reach an arms control agreement
2. Reduce budget deficits
3. Address the "gender gap"

Rep. Thomas Petri

1. Rededicate ourselves to human rights
2. Support for efforts to strengthen a peaceful world
3. Promote sound policies to foster long-term economic expansion



Rep. Thomas Petri

other way when it decided to invade Grenada. The administration's decision to exclude the media from the military operation and to manage the flow of news during the early days of the invasion highlighted the tensions between the military and the media and provided a dramatic case study of the broader tensions among the legitimate requirements of military security, the peoples' right to know what their government is doing in their name, and any administration's desire for maximum political benefit. The implications of that decision will last longer than the cheers that greeted the success of American arms.

Representatives of the media should have, and could have, been included with the task force embarked for Grenada. But the planning of the total operation was left to the military leadership whose post-Vietnam calculus leads to the view that because there is no military advantage in taking the press along, no risks or inconvenience need be incurred by including them in the plans.

"Years after Vietnam and Watergate, the American media is long overdue for some serious self-criticism and open examination of its unremitting hostility toward American presidents and governmental institutions."

The Pentagon press corps is, by and large, a very professional outfit that has proven its trustworthiness and valor numerous times. If senior civilian public affairs officers had been included in the pre-invasion planning, past experience in the Dominican Republic and Vietnam could have been used to argue for the inclusion of a small pool of press writers and photographers on the ships of the task force, with reporting embargoes clearly understood. Once operational conditions permitted, this pool could have gone ashore with the second or third wave. Military channels could have been provided for filing initial reports once operational security was no longer a concern.

With such an arrangement, the American people could have received independent reporting early in the operation with no compromise of security or mission effectiveness. Instead, the president abdicated a vital political responsibility to the military and did not, on the bad advice of his top advisers, reverse the decision until both the credibility of his administration and constitutional principles had been badly bruised. We are a people who prefer peace, and we react instinctively against military action. If American military forces are going to be employed anywhere effectively, popular political support is essential. Thus, the fullest possible information, including direct media coverage, must be part of military planning. In the Grenada affair, the administration lacked the will and the foresight to rise above the immediacy of military security and to act in the spirit of the Constitution, wherein our true national security lies.

Individual Liberties and Big Media

The Reagan administration's attempt to make us solely reliant upon government-supplied news was unacceptable and un-American. But was it really "Orwellian?" The ultimate outcome of the affair and the controversy it generated hardly indicates the advent of Big Brother or any triumph of Newspeak. Years after Vietnam and Watergate, the American media is long overdue for some serious self-criticism and open examination of its unremitting hostility and cynicism toward American presidents and governmental institutions. The public, in its particular wisdom, is reflecting a sense that such arrogance and cynicism exceeds the skepticism and aggressive inquiry that a free press necessitates. But the unmistakable lack of sympathy for the media in general public opinion should be more worrisome to us all.

"In today's world of big government, big business and big media, there is a danger that public demands for security and convenience will allow government powers to become more important than individual freedoms."

Orwell's negative utopia was founded as much on the collapse of individual consciousness as it was on the overpowering manipulations of government. The founders of our Republic knew that absolute power corrupts absolutely and went to great efforts to create checks and balances on governmental authority. Power unmatched is power unbound; the American people must always remember that a free and vigorous press is our first line of defense against government suppression of liberties and despotism. Thus, the lack of a larger public outcry over media control in the Grenada affair should generate some Orwellian concerns from the other direction.

No matter how worried we choose to be, 1984 has not arrived except on the calendar, as we knew it inevitably would. More than a few recent critics have reminded us that Orwell was not trying to be a prophet but a sentry; his prophecy failed because his warning succeeded. Even if we read *1984* as only a satire of the tyrannies of his time, Orwell nonetheless has given us some brilliant insights into what can go wrong in political societies when the worth of the individual is diminished. In today's world of big government, big business and big media, there is a danger that public demands for security and convenience will allow government powers to become more important than individual freedom.

Many see in the revolution of communications technology a counter to the centralization feared by Orwell. Instead of leading to a monopoly on information, modern technology has provided a vast wave of multimedia decentralization. The emergence of CB radio, direct satellite broadcasting, computer networks and personal computers all tend to reduce the power of governments to prevent their citizens from obtaining whatever information they want.

On the other hand, this growing independence of the individual can lead to a fractionalization and breakdown of

societies to the point that individuals may lose the will and the means to band together to resist the power of larger systems. When microprocessors reach the point of fulfilling our consumer, vocational and entertainment needs right at home, why join unions or political parties? To the degree that individuals can find sufficient gratification through various personal information media, the ability to forge the common efforts necessary to balance and control state institutions may be vitiated. Untrammelled governmental power may come about more readily through the collective indifference of divided individuals than through some deliberate Orwellian manipulation of mass psychology by central political technology. It is in this context that the general public acceptance of the Reagan administration's unprecedented attempts to manipulate the media during Grenada is more troubling than the governmental action itself.

1984 and the Sounds of Silence

As the election campaign of 1984 moves into the politics of the 1990s, we might worry less about the broadcasts of Big Brother's telescreen than the "sounds of silence" from an indifferent populace. As modern communications technology and political mechanics allow the dividing of communities into smaller and narrower interest groups, we will see increasingly individualized appeals that do not seek

to build a common consensus or national unity. As we observe increasingly narrow political appeals using political stereotypes and codewords to avoid critical thought about tough times, we would do well to keep Orwell's theories of Newspeak in mind. We must also confront the paradox that only in community cohesion can be found the individual protections that are the antidotes to mass movements. We must instinctively prefer leadership that does not regard success as the totaling up of support from separate, narrow interest groups but instead seeks to draw out and expand the common and cohesive elements of our diverse society.

Although Orwell's predictions of the future have been fortunately wrong, his vision of human frailty is still relevant. If his *1984* was, at worst, a parody of the totalitarianisms of his day, it was also, at best, a warning of the dangers of the corruptions of the national security state and the political future for individuals who do not value their freedoms. The human condition cannot be contained or expressed in the "realtime" of the computer generation. If Orwell's message to mankind is that of the eternal importance of the resilience of the individual spirit, Orwell's challenge to our modern politics is the imperative of finding a balance of common sense and personal interests so that our freedoms neither end with a bang nor the muffled clicking of personal computers in the silence of political indifference. ■

Improving the Platform Process

by Arne Waldstein

Having served on the Iowa platform committee in 1980 and in the Iowa State Senate for six years, I know that when elected legislators give little if any credence to the planks of their party's platform. This has a negative effect on politics for two reasons. First, such neglect makes one wonder if the platform process is at all worthwhile. Second, since only tacit recognition is given to a party's platform, candidates are really not committed to it, its planks, or to the party. This disengagement is especially evident among legislators.

While grassroots political participation has a valid purpose, the point of diminishing return is quickly reached when little is done to ensure that platform language goes beyond the document itself. In fact, only a minimal amount of effort is taken to see that legislators sponsor or work for the passage of platform proposals.

To improve upon this, I propose that the 1984 Republican Party platform have two parts. The introductory section should be a "Declaration of Principles." This statement would include ten to twenty planks which clearly define historical Republican principles. An essential aspect would be the delineation of fiscal and economic principles to which any Republican candidate should subscribe and openly support. If not, then that candidate should not have either the endorsement or financial support of the Republican Party.

A second part of the platform should be "Issue Planks." This laundry list of Republican concerns would be especially

valuable in allowing grassroots activists to express their views. Since considerable disagreement can be found within the party on a number of issues, this section will parallel what occurs in a legislature when a particular bill fails to win caucus support because of the differences in districts, constituents, or personal philosophies. The "Issue Planks" would especially lend an air of realism to the platform as the diversity expressed would be more likely to accommodate the legislative environment and promote activity within the party.

Of course, the obvious question must arise: how do you clearly differentiate between the "Declaration of Principles" and "Issue Planks?" Certainly gray areas will exist. But perhaps a platform steering committee could use obvious guidelines to sort out priorities:

- Is the issue a broad public interest measure which affects a large number of people versus a narrow special interest measure which affects only a few people?
- Does the issue have far-reaching cost and tax implications versus little financial consequence?
- Will it bring about an obvious financial advantage to a few people versus lesser benefits to more people?
- Are we upholding traditional American principles such as liberty, freedom of speech, and racial equality?

Exercising the democratic process is neither easy nor cheap. It will take intelligent people willing to dedicate time and effort to make platform planks and political action more compatible with political actualities. But that time and effort will be worth the price if a platform is developed which is both representative and realistic. ■

Arne Waldstein is an Iowa state senator.

Grove City: Before and After

by Joyce Van Dyke

In February 1984, a small private college with no history of sex discrimination made headlines in a Supreme Court sex discrimination case, *Grove City College v. Bell*. The Pennsylvania college went to court on principle seeking freedom from federal regulation. The regulations in question were those under Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, a law forbidding sex discrimination in any "education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance." Arguing that it did not receive any federal aid, the college had refused on principle to sign a compliance agreement. According to Grove City College President Charles S. MacKenzie, federal scholarship aid to 200 of the college's 2,200 students was aid to individuals, not to the institution.

Restricting Title IX

But the Supreme Court did not buy that argument; it ruled that federal student aid *did* constitute aid to the school. The Court went on, however, to limit the coverage of Title IX by giving a narrow definition of an "education program or activity," as urged in a brief filed by the Justice Department. Justice Byron White, writing for the majority, concluded that the receipt of federal student aid in the form of Basic Education Opportunity Grants "does not trigger institution-wide coverage under Title IX," because BEOGs represent federal financial assistance only to the college's financial aid program, not to the entire institution.

"Under the Grove City College ruling, the term 'program,' formerly interpreted to cover entire schools, suddenly shrank to the size of a specific school office."

Grove City College may have been disappointed, but women's groups and civil rights groups were stunned. The term "program," formerly interpreted to cover entire schools, suddenly shrank to the size of a specific school office. And since student aid is one of the largest portions of the more than \$13 billion in federal aid to education, the implication was that while many student aid offices will continue to be covered, neighboring offices such as chemistry or student activities or athletics may not be.

Since its inception, Title IX had been assumed to cover entire institutions, not merely specific departments within an institution. This had been the basis of federal policy

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since the law passed in 1972, and it was incorporated in Health, Education, and Welfare Department (HEW) regulations issued in 1975. As HEW Secretary Caspar Weinberger declared during hearings on those regulations, "If the federal funds go to an institution which has educational programs, then the institution is covered throughout its activities."

"The irony is that the Grove City decision will necessitate close tracking, and according to Education Secretary Terrell Bell, the decision means more paperwork for the department as well."

Why narrow in this way the accepted interpretation of the law? The College, the Court, and the Reagan administration seem to share, at least to some extent, an interest in getting rid of oppressive federal regulation. Although Grove City did not entirely elude (in the words of President MacKenzie) "the ever-encroaching arms of government regulation," it partly succeeded. As Justice White wrote: "we have found no persuasive evidence that Congress intended that the [Education] Department's regulatory authority follow federally aided students from classroom to classroom, building to building, or activity to activity."

The irony is that the Grove City decision will necessitate just this sort of close tracking, and according to Education Secretary Terrell Bell, the decision means more paperwork for the department as well. Previously, no one bothered to trace every federal dollar down to some specific internal institutional program; now they will have to. Moreover, someone will have to define what the specific "program" is in every case. As Secretary Bell put it, "Is it the college of science or is it the chemistry department or is it the organic chemistry division? Is it the college of engineering or is it the civil engineering department, or some sub under that?" Was a school building built with federal funds (in which case you can't discriminate there) or wasn't it (in which case you can)?

Title IX has never imposed an excessive burden of federal forms. In fact, it only requires signing a one-paragraph assurance of compliance; there are no other record-keeping or paperwork requirements for schools. Vice President George Bush's Regulatory Task Force, concerned that Title IX regulations might be burdensome to intercollegiate athletics, concluded that they made no appreciable impact on the programs. Since the law passed, less than one percent of institutions have had Title IX investigators on campus, and not a single cut-off of funds has occurred under the statute. Surely a challenge to federal regulation could be made through a more appropriate vehicle.

Intent and Effect

But regulatory complications are just part of the problem, now that Title IX has been limited. It is no longer the law Congress intended it to be. Justice Brennan, author of the dissenting opinion, declared that the Court's ruling completely disregarded the broad remedial purposes of Title IX, and that its "narrow definition of 'program or activity' is directly contrary to congressional intent." Among other loud and clear expressions of congressional intent which the Court ignored was a resolution introduced by Rep. Claudine Schneider (R-R.I.), stating that Congress meant Title IX to be applied throughout an educational institution which took in federal funds through any door. The resolution passed in November 1983 by a vote of 414 to 8.

The legislative history of Title IX is replete with evidence that Congress intended exactly what Rep. Schneider's resolution declared. In the initial Title IX debates, Rep. William Steiger (R-Wis.), asked Rep. Edith Green (D-Ore.), chair of the House Special Subcommittee on Education, whether "the effect of Title [IX] is to, in effect, go across the board in terms of the cutting off of funds to an institution that would discriminate." Rep. Green answered, "The purpose of Title [IX] is to end discrimination, yes, across the board."

"Vice President George Bush's Regulatory Task Force, concerned that Title IX regulations might be burdensome to intercollegiate athletics, concluded that they made no appreciable impact on the programs."

An index to the broad coverage Congress intended is that Title IX was expected to apply to school athletic programs, even though these normally receive no direct federal aid. In fact, in 1974 an amendment was proposed in the Senate to exclude revenue-producing sports (such as men's college football) from coverage under Title IX. Though supported by the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) and the College Football Association, the amendment failed. Instead, Congress ordered HEW to issue regulations for "intercollegiate athletic activities" with "reasonable provisions concerning the nature of particular sports." HEW regulations published in 1975, together with a clarifying Policy Interpretation in 1979, detailed the ways in which school and college athletics programs should provide equal opportunity to women and men.

The need for a sweeping remedy for sex discrimination in education was revealed in hearings chaired by Rep. Green in 1970, and also in research compiled by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. At the 35 most selective schools in the country, for example, women were 29.3 percent of entering freshmen in 1970. Average financial aid awards for men were higher than for women, and male instructors were paid substantially more than their equally qualified female counterparts.

Overall, women earned fewer degrees than men. In 1972 in all curricula, women won 43.6 percent of B.A.s and 15.8 percent of Ph.D.s. These percentages had changed little from 1920, when women received 40 percent of B.A.s and

15 percent of Ph.D.s. But by 1982, a decade after the passage of Title IX, women received just over half of all B.A.s and M.A.s (50.3 percent and 50.8 percent respectively) and the proportion of women Ph.D.s doubled. Because Title IX also prohibited admissions quotas and the exclusion of women from professional schools, the proportion of women in law school (for example) rose from 10 percent in 1972 to 34 percent by 1980.

"Title IX is no longer the law Congress intended it to be."

In athletics programs, termed the "most visible and familiar" aspect of Title IX by the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, the changes are more impressive still. In a 1971 interscholastic athletics case (*Hollander v. Connecticut Interscholastic Athletic Conference*) the judge ruled that "with boys vying with girls in cross-country running and indoor track, the challenge to win, and the glory of achievement, at least for many boys, would lose incentive and become nullified. Athletic competition builds character in our boys; we do not need that kind of character in our girls, the women of tomorrow."

Few competitive athletic opportunities were available to girls, who were only seven percent of participants in interscholastic high school sports. But in ten years there was a 500 percent increase, and girls now comprise 35 percent of high school athletes. Title IX permitted sex-segregated teams for each sport, but if (in the case of non-contact sports) no separate female teams were provided, females had to be allowed to try out for the male team.

Women's rate of participation in intercollegiate athletics also grew dramatically from 15 percent to 30 percent by 1980, and while virtually no athletic scholarships were awarded to women before Title IX, in 1981 more than 10,000 were awarded. Women's athletics budgets grew — but so did men's. Women's are still disproportionately low: though women comprise one-third of college athletes, they receive about one-sixth of athletics budgets. Nor do men's revenue-producing sports, such as football and basketball, account for the disparity. The majority of these teams have such heavy expenses that they actually lose money.

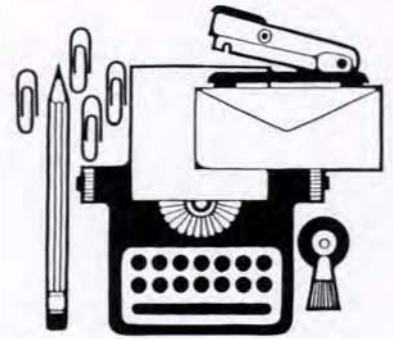
Life After Grove City

How will the *Grove City* decision affect current educational practices? William Bradford Reynolds, head of the Justice Department's civil rights division, said at a press briefing, "I don't think it will have any impact at all. . . I don't think you have a lot of individuals trying to think up ways to discriminate against women" in colleges and universities. But of course, discrimination does not require any devious ingenuity on the part of individuals. It merely requires continuing to accept discriminatory customs and traditions.

The first fallout from the decision has come in the area of intercollegiate athletics. Four Title IX cases involving universities in Maryland, Alaska, Idaho, and Pennsylvania have been dropped by the Education Department's Office

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The Presidential Election of 1984: A Campaign of Resemblance?



Although Gary Hart has compared 1984 to 1960, this year's presidential election more closely resembles that of 1956. Remember, that was the year in which a young Democratic senator challenged his party's establishment yet fell short of obtaining its vice-presidential nomination. He did return, however, and succeeded in leading his party as well as the nation into a "new frontier."

In 1956, a popular Republican president sat in the White House, overseeing a period of relative calm and giving Americans an era of good feeling despite a growing cold war. Although he was challenged by a liberal Democrat of the traditional mold, that challenger lacked the ability to inspire loyalty and neutralize his opponents.

Likewise, a popular Republican president sits today in the White House, inspiring confidence despite a new chill in U.S.-Soviet relations and record-high budget deficits. Most likely, he, too, will be challenged by a traditional liberal Democrat who lacks the ability to inspire loyalty and engender enthusiasm.

The Lessons of 1956

President Reagan's advisers, however, should not let his winning personality stand in the way of understanding the lessons that can be learned from history. The most important lesson that Republicans should learn from the 1956 election is this: the generational factors at work then shaped the outcome of the 1960 presidential election — and the country's direction in the next decade.

The wave of support given John Kennedy was based upon his representation of a cool pragmatism that many of his fellow veterans understood. Their war-time experience gave them a "can-do" spirit and a hunger for material prosperity. Kennedy embodied this spirit, particularly as he promised to go anywhere and pay any price to bear the burden of liberty.

Generational factors are at work in this year's election, too. The group of Americans to which Gary Hart lays claim — the "baby boomers" — also endured a war. Its veterans, however, did not return home hungry for the good life, but rather cynical and disillusioned.

Those who did not go to Vietnam were brought to maturity during a decade of idealism, confrontation, and, finally, abandonment. George McGovern, the candidate whose campaign Gary Hart managed, tried to pull together the rapid changes of that era, but the wounds of upheaval were still too fresh.

During the decade which followed, this generation of Americans was forced to square its passionate politics with a corrupt presidency, economic stagflation and the personal demands of family. It also was confronted by the loss of unity and commonality created by the radical nature of protest. Individual introspection replaced a concern for the common good as Yuppies became Yuppies, liberals became neo-conservatives, and cults flourished.

"The most important lesson that Republicans should learn from the 1956 election is this: the generational factors at work then shaped the outcome of the 1960 presidential election — and the country's direction in the next decade."

Emerging Values

Yet powerful sentiments remain from the rise to adulthood of America's baby boom children. This includes a set of values that the Republican Party must not ignore. They have been termed "community, democracy, and prosperity" and embraced by a political philosophy known as "neo-liberalism," the philosophy subscribed to by Gary Hart.

The apparent goal of neo-liberalism is to combine the traditional values of liberalism — compassion, equity, and opportunity — with an understanding that energy is no longer cheap, that global markets are no longer dominated by the United States, and that military superiority, while a nice slogan, is a specious goal.

Neo-liberals, of course, are not the first to attempt to merge compassion with common sense. Moderate Republicans have talked about and worked towards this goal for some time. Despite support for President Reagan's budget and tax plans in 1981 because the United States lost its global economic leadership, moderates like Claudine Schneider, Bob Packwood, Charles Mathias and Jim Leach have argued that real progress can hardly be realized if women are not given equal protection under the law, if vigorous support is not given equal opportunity measures, if legal services are not provided America's poor and those discriminated against because of sexual preference, and if our government refuses to commit itself to affirmative action.

Where moderate Republicans differ from neo-liberals is over the level of responsibility assumed by the federal government. While neo-liberals generally support measures which strengthen centralized government, moderate Republicans attempt to limit the role of the federal government, fearful of concentrated power.

This difference is evident in the debate now being waged over the "reindustrialization" of America. Gary Hart's book *A New Democracy* states that for American industry to modernize, the president should serve "as the principal arbitrator among management, labor, capital sources, and government, of balanced agreements providing an orderly transition to a modern, competitive manufacturing base."

By comparison, Ripon Society policy chairman Mark Uncapher, in his "Apple Republican Manifesto" (August 1983 *Ripon Forum*), claims that for American industry to be renewed, "risk-taking, not more government intervention" is needed. Moderates hold that government can participate through offering tax, educational, research and regional planning assistance, but government credit schemes,

like a new Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which many neo-liberals favor, would crowd non-government borrowers out of capital markets.

Battle for the Center

These differences are crucial, but they should not mask the fact that both neo-liberals and moderate Republicans are speaking to the same formidable voting bloc. Each is attempting to provide an agenda which will fuse social justice with economic rationalism.

The Republican Party will make a potentially fatal mistake if it ignores the importance of this battle. The lessons of history, particularly those of 1956, are all too clear. If the GOP does not understand and appeal to the values of a new generation, then it will again find itself on the sidelines as another new frontier begins. ■

Van Dyke

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of Civil Rights since the Supreme Court's ruling. In the University of Maryland case, a recent finding of discrimination in athletic programs was dropped because the only federal money funnelled into the university's athletic program came in the form of student loans to athletes, and since these were found to be in compliance with Title IX, under the new ruling the department could pursue the case no further.

The Education Department's report in the Maryland case presents an interesting glimpse of the current situation in athletics for women and girls, which a 1981 report by the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs summed up as "The Half Full, Half Empty Glass." At the University of Maryland in 1981-82, women were 47 percent of undergraduates and 30 percent of college athletes. While in 1972 only five intercollegiate sports were offered for women, four more had been added by 1977-78 (HEW had allowed colleges and universities until 1978 to be in compliance with regulations of athletics programs). All eleven of the men's teams had been in intercollegiate competition at least since 1956.

"The first fallout from the decision has come in the area of intercollegiate athletics. Four Title IX cases have been dropped by the Education Department's Office of Civil Rights since the Supreme Court's ruling."

The Department of Education found that the university was providing equivalent treatment and opportunities for women athletes in terms of equipment and supplies, scheduling, coaching, academic tutoring, housing, medical and dining services, and publicity. But it found that treatment was unequal in the provision of locker rooms, travel and per diem allowances, recruitment, support services, and accommodation of interest and abilities.

The inequities may be far less than they were before Title IX; yet they suggest a continuing second-class citizenship for women, shaped by stereotypes. For instance, most men athletes (92.7 percent) get their uniforms and practice clothing laundered for them, while a minority of women do (35.4 percent). (Included under the "equipment and supplies" category, this disparity was judged not significant enough to require change.) Coaches for the women's teams have inadequate secretarial assistance, and the coaches themselves do clerical work. Three of the women's teams (and one men's team) have no locker rooms; and the women's track and cross-country teams are assigned a joint locker room which is unusable because of security problems and lack of restroom facilities.

"The inequities may be far less than they were before Title IX, yet they suggest a continuing second-class citizenship for women, shaped by stereotypes."

In short, women and girls still need Title IX's protection. But they may not be the only ones endangered by the Court's ruling, since the "program or activity" language of Title IX is identical to that in three other civil rights statutes prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, age, or handicap. Coverage under these three laws may now be limited as well. The proposed remedy is bipartisan legislation recently introduced in the House and Senate. The legislation declares that all four laws apply to an entire institution which receives any federal money whatsoever.

A new law may undo the damage. But the fact that such an important sex discrimination statute was so easily undermined will continue to give women pause for thought. Women's civil rights have always been interpreted more narrowly by the courts than the civil rights of minorities. Now *Grove City* has provided one more piece of evidence that without a constitutional anchor, women's civil rights are at the mercy of the political weather. ■

Foreign Affairs:

South Africa — Constructive Engagement and Apartheid

by Marsu Cartmill



For over three years now, the Reagan administration has followed a policy of "constructive engagement" or quiet diplomacy towards South Africa. Last summer, in what was announced as a major policy speech and response to rising criticism of the administration's tilt towards South Africa, Under Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger denounced South Africa's political system as "morally wrong" and rejected the legal and political premises and consequences of apartheid.

Eagleburger's remarks, however, amounted to more of a mild disapproval of apartheid than an indication of a policy shift from previous administrations' practices concerning South Africa. The U.S. continues to acknowledge the status quo there. In fact, Eagleburger's statement reflects the long-held emphasis on the preservation of perceived U.S. strategic and economic interests in South Africa. In 1981 President Reagan said that the U.S. had previously "failed" to recognize how many people in South Africa — black and white — are trying to remove apartheid and the gains that have been made. He also maintained that South Africa's mineral wealth was essential to the free world and that South Africa had been a U.S. ally in every war.

Quiet Diplomacy

Today there is little substance to U.S. condemnation of apartheid. Although sanctions against the Soviet Union have been embraced, economic sanctions as a means to influence the South African government have been rejected by the Reagan administration and the U.S. has chosen to abstain in U.N. Security Council resolutions calling for South African troop withdrawal in Angola. Instead U.S. strategy is one of encouraging the Botha government as it makes small reforms, in the hope that they would lead to larger ones. The administration has cited as signs of such improvement the South African government's 1979 decision

to grant blacks the right to form trade unions, a court-ruling enabling some black migrants to become permanent residents of urban areas and, most recently, the new constitution which will provide the franchise for the country's colored and Indian population, but not for Africans.

"The Reagan administration is on the horns of a 'dilemma' in its relations with South Africa. How can it reconcile its concern for free trade on the one hand and its putative concern for human rights on the other with its confirmed support for a regime which perpetuates the most gross and systematic human rights violations?"

At all levels questions are being raised over the "quiet diplomacy strategy." They include:

- What exactly constitutes a "sincere and honest" effort on the part of white South Africans to end apartheid and are not those "reforms" that have been made actually cosmetic?
- Would not long-term economic and strategic interests of the United States be better served if the government actually took steps in discontinuing its support for the white-minority controlled South African government, lessened its growing economic stake in South Africa and adopted a foreign policy reflecting this country's principles?
- Why has there been hesitancy until now to adopt the policies (as embodied in the Solarz amendment, the Gray amendment and Berman amendment) covering areas such as — prohibiting investment in and loans to South Africa; supporting U.N. economic sanctions against South Africa if they are proposed in the Security Council; prohibiting the sale of krugerrands; reducing

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clandestine "gray area" violations; requiring American businesses in South Africa to implement the Sullivan code for their black employees; and supporting further restrictions on nuclear cooperation with South Africa — when sanctions against Poland, Iran and Uganda were more readily adopted?

"The government has many methods by which it controls dissent. Besides guns, it controls the water, food and electricity of the large black ghettos. But the most widely used instruments of control against opposition used by South African authorities are banning and detention."

The Reagan administration is on the horns of a "dilemma" in its relations with South Africa. How can it reconcile its concern for free trade on the one hand and its putative concern for human rights on the other with its continued support for a regime which perpetuates the most gross and systematic human rights violations? One thing is clear: "constructive engagement" is not working to end apartheid in South Africa. Unequal education, restricted personal and social interaction between racial groups, and the "homelands" policy continue. In each of these areas it can be seen just how pervasive the policy of separate development continues to be and how detrimental it is to blacks in South Africa.

Apartheid

South Africa's white minority currently controls all of the state resources in a country of 22 million blacks, 3.4 million colored and Indians, and 4.5 million whites. South Africans who support apartheid, or "separate development," do not hide behind a euphemistic rhetoric. It is an overt and blatant policy of segregation and political and economic discrimination against blacks; a policy buttressed by a complex legal structure, security system and theology (Dutch Reformed Church) consolidating wealth, power, and privileges in the hands of whites. It equates race with class on the basis of physical characteristics. Defenders of apartheid take the view that the cultures of whites, coloureds, Asians and African ethnic groups are so distinct that they are irreconcilable and argue that every race has a unique destiny and therefore must be kept separate and allowed to develop along their own cultural lines. Interaction between the racial and ethnic groups would result in contaminating cultural purity. Therefore, in order to suppress the emergence of black political and economic power and gain legitimacy internationally, the National Party, which came to power in 1948, took the Afrikaner ideology and immediately devised and enacted a series of laws which would also improve the demographic white/black ratio in what was officially designated as "white South Africa;" emphasize ethnic diversity; and insulate the minority white population from uprisings by the black majority.

Education. Despite an increase in the amount spent on education for blacks and the announcement last year that "sweeping educational changes" would be implemented, the education system continues to perpetuate apartheid. Thirteen times as much money is spent to provide schooling for white students as for blacks. In addition, the government maintains separate ministries of education for each race, and requires that blacks themselves pay for better schools and teachers. The black dropout rate is so high that only three percent finish high school, and many young blacks feel that even with an advanced education the prospects for employment and advancement are dismal. The government has long neglected the education of blacks even though there is a real need for trained labor and an expressed desire by American corporations operating there to promote black employees.

Labor. Many whites are fearful that the progress made by blacks in the labor force will be at their expense and thus they use their influence with the government and employers to protect their status. While black unions are recognized — although the country's powerful mining union is controlled by whites — and some limitations on black employment have been relaxed, these "advances" cost some 500 strikes and hundreds of arrests. Mines employ the largest single category of black workers in South Africa outside of the agricultural sector, yet black mineworkers are not allowed to establish legal unions, bargain for wages and are excluded from the best jobs. Although many blacks applaud these labor reforms, they point out that the government is attempting to establish greater control over black trade union activity by requiring these unions to file detailed reports on their membership, finances and activities.

"Homeland laws serve as the cornerstone of apartheid's economic and legal structure and maintain the 87/13 ratio of white/black land."

Security. Under the dehumanizing "pass law" system nearly every aspect and movement in the lives of black South Africans is controlled. With the enactment of the Group Areas Act and Native Trust and Land Act, blacks must carry passes under the threat of being jailed, must secure permits to work and after one year of employment are forced to return to the "homelands" or live illegally in urban townships. All of this has resulted in the separation of many families. During the past decade, the pass law courts have handled an average of over 210,000 cases a year.

In order to preclude any effort to oppose government mandates, the laws themselves have been written in such a way as to neutralize or destroy any opposition. The government justifies the existence of such statutes (the Defense Act, the Officials Secret Act, Police Act, Prisons Act, Unlawful Organizations Act, and the Riotous Assemblies Act) by defining its opposition as communist threats to South Africa. Communism, however, as defined in the Suppression of Communism Act, the Terrorism Act, and the International Security Act of 1976 is any doctrine which "aims to bring about any political, industrial, social

or economic change within the Republic by promotion, or disturbance... by unlawful acts or omissions..." or which "aims at encouragement of hostility between European and non-European races of the Republic."

"Blacks are forced to find shelter in car lots, lean-tos of cardboard or tin, or junkyards."

In fact, the government has many methods by which it controls dissent. Besides guns, it controls the water, food and electricity of the large black ghettos. But the most widely used instruments of control against opposition used by South African authorities are banning and detention.

An example of the use of detention without charge is the case of Nelson Mandela, the recognized leader of the African National Congress (ANC), serving a life sentence since 1961 for "seeking to overthrow the government with violence." According to estimates by the South African Institute of Race Relations, over 400 people were detained during 1983. According to U.S. State Department reports, 52 persons died in detention between 1963 and 1978.

Banning is another method used to silence critics, both black and white. There is no recourse or appeal with this and no reason needs to be given for implementing it. Most banning orders restrict a person for five years and can be renewed. It prohibits a person from speaking publicly, being quoted, and entering an educational institution, publishing house or court. In addition, a banned person is limited to the number of persons he or she may meet with at a time. An example of banning is the massive crackdown on October 19, 1977. On this day the government banned virtually all black consciousness and related organizations (19 in all), imprisoned most of their leaders and held them without trial. Currently, Winnie Mandela, founder of the Black Parents Association and wife of ANC leader Nelson, is under a banning order and has been "free" only eleven months since 1962. This despite U.S. officials' protests for the South African government to lift her ban.

Homelands

Homeland laws serve as the cornerstone of apartheid's economic and legal structure and maintain the 87/13 ratio of white/black land. With the passage of the Native Trust and Land Act (1913 and 1936) and Group Areas Act (1950), Africans have been denied the right to buy white-held land and for the most part, are restricted to live in reserved "homelands." Groups are forced to live on land the government prescribes as theirs.

Arguably the most flagrant human violation perpetuated by the South African government is resettlement or the "homeland" issue. Presently approximately 250,000 blacks

are forced to live in ten economically unviable, scattered homelands covering only 13 percent of South Africa's total area with few schools, little food, water and medical care. Studies indicate that since 1948 approximately some 3.5 million blacks (mostly Africans) have been resettled and at least another two million are to be moved to these reserves. Those Africans who are forced to resettle in the "homelands" may have little or no ties to those areas.

"What the U.S. must decide — against the backdrop of what apartheid actually entails — is that stronger actions such as divestment or economic sanctions are required to reinforce its anti-apartheid rhetoric."

These homelands — whose population consists primarily of the old, sick, young children, women and men waiting to find work, have proven to be not only economically impractical (farming is subsidized and land overgrazed), but also rural slums where unemployment runs high (only one-seventh of the blacks living in these reserves are economically active) and where poor health care is the norm. This is exemplified in the infant mortality rate. In these rural areas there are approximately 240 deaths per 1,000 live births for blacks as compared to 12 deaths per 1,000 live births for whites.

Although the homelands receive 85 percent of their annual budget from South Africa's Parliament — white officials wish to eventually see these homelands become independents. South Africa now has only nominal responsibility for the four homelands which have decided to be independent, while in the past it was directly responsible for those areas politically and economically.

To many, these reserves, which were officially created in 1950, serve solely as labor pools for South Africa and enable the country to relinquish responsibility to its black citizens' welfare and strip them of their South African citizenship, deeming them instead citizens of the "homelands" and "legal aliens" upon entering South Africa. Thus, whites become the majority in South Africa, financial assistance for the homelands becomes "foreign aid" and apartheid becomes cosmetically acceptable to the international community.

In urban areas outside the homelands, the only housing allowed for blacks are government-owned houses or apartments. The severe shortage of this housing is a reflection of the policy of the government's 20-year plan to remove as many blacks from the western cape as possible. As a result, blacks are forced to find shelter in car lots, lean-tos of cardboard or tin, or junkyards. They are also taxed at higher rates than whites. The authorities regularly tear these shelters down and charge the homeless for the demolition. In the last year, more than 200,000 were arrested for violating residential and travel restrictions — a 90 percent increase since 1981.

Recent examples of the government's methodical scheme of resettlement include:

- In Badplaas, 300 families refused to leave their homes in the Eastern Transvaal in a region thought of by most whites as a "desirable vacation spot in the hills." While Badplaas is a "prescribed area" the government has chosen not to proclaim it a township, and thus residence there is illegal. This is despite the fact that the people have lived there since the end of the 19th century.
- In the 142-year-old village of Embhuleni, the 3,000 residents have been classified as illegal squatters and have been ordered to move to resettlement camps in a black tribal reserve 20 miles away where one-room metal huts without floors or ceilings await them. As incentive the government had initially (and since withdrawn) an offer of \$125 a family. By refusing to move, villagers risk losing their rights to work in town anywhere in South Africa and instead become migrant workers with little hope of finding employment.

Constructive Engagement and Real Reform

The possibility of reform in South Africa depends on how one looks at the limits of the present. Some hold the belief that whites will ultimately reform the system in order to protect their interests and survive. Others feel reforms made will be only modifications and incremental changes with whites still controlling the country.

To survive and prosper South Africa must be a stable society — one that is free from legally-enforced discrimination. African labor is the backbone of this society. Its vitality, combined with the fact the black population is not only growing numerically, but also becoming increasingly educated and frustrated with the heavy police surveillance, harassment and efforts to divide them and a liberal white population that realizes the immorality and impracticality of the South African system, ultimately will lead to a new nationalism where political and economic power is shared.

"If the U.S. is siding with the white regime, can it afford the damage to its political, economic and strategic interests in the rest of Africa, in an eventually black-ruled South Africa, in the rest of the Third World and strained relations in the United Nations?"

What the U.S. must decide — against the backdrop of what apartheid actually entails — is that stronger actions such as divestment or economic sanctions are required to reinforce its anti-apartheid rhetoric. To continue with its to date ineffective "quiet diplomacy" is too risky, just as it is risky for the U.S. to continue to remove itself from the black nationalism movement in South Africa. While the African National Congress has official contacts with other western countries, the U.S. government chooses to cite the black organization's ties with communist governments as the

reason to refuse to deal with these groups. The U.S. faces a situation that is becoming more polarized and one in which violence is the only means of achieving political and economic rights. If black leadership becomes more radical and pro-Chinese or pro-Soviet, can the U.S. effectively identify itself with black aspirations? If the U.S. is siding with the white regime, can it afford the damage to its political, economic and strategic interests in the rest of Africa, in an eventually black-ruled South Africa, in the rest of the Third World and strained relations in the United Nations?

There exists also the U.S. interest in its own race relations at home. If large-scale racial war comes to pass in South Africa, how will the American public react and what will the U.S. government do? Racial polarization in South Africa could have divisive and inflammatory effects on politics within the U.S. and a detrimental effect on race relations between black and white in Africa and beyond. Most dangerous of all, are the possibilities of East-West competition in Southern Africa, with the U.S. on the wrong and losing side.

"It may be wishful thinking to expect U.S. actions to reverse centuries of white South African philosophy and decades of practicing apartheid, but it is both immoral and foolish to support a doomed, racist system."

Time is running out in South Africa. Under apartheid, racial polarization is increasing. To hold onto the possibility that mere economic growth and the adoption of principles such as those drafted by Rev. Leon Sullivan will strengthen black economic power and leadership is too optimistic, as is the tendency to view the history and complexities of Southern Africa simply as an extension of the East-West ideological cold war. U.S. credibility is becoming increasingly suspect as long as the white regime is embraced as an ally.

The U.S. has invested \$14.6 billion in South Africa. Some argue that U.S. company divestment of holdings would assure America's irrelevance to South Africa's future, negate the changes towards more democratic institutions and take work away from blacks. But by the U.S. disinvesting, South Africa's economy stands to be harmed more than the blacks there who stand to lose their citizenship and who have no political and economic rights.

It is not enough to contribute to relief efforts in drought-stricken areas and to admit more black South Africans to study at U.S. universities as a means of conscience-easing. These efforts do not change the discriminatory system that necessitates such actions, just as constructive engagement is producing no real reforms in South Africa. It may be wishful thinking to expect U.S. actions to reverse centuries of white South African philosophy and decades of practicing apartheid, but it is both immoral and foolish to support a doomed, racist system. ■

Reviews Reviews Reviews Reviews Reviews Reviews Reviews Reviews

by Mike Lewyn

In *Consequences of Party Reform*, Nelson Polsby, one of America's leading political scientists, examines the impact of the changes in the presidential nominating process which have occurred over the past fifteen years — most notably the expansion of popular participation in the process through the use of primaries.

Polsby does not like what he sees, and eventually recommends a return to the bossism of the pre-reform era. The author begins by briefly discussing the pre-1968 system, in which party leaders in most states selected delegates without substantial consultation with the party rank and file.

Polsby goes on to examine the consequences of reform for political parties, accurately noting the decrease in power of state party elites, the increased influence of the media and the centralization of power in the national parties.

The author seems especially bitter about the last of these trends. He describes national parties as "a frequently moribund and . . . still only questionably legitimate party bureaucracy." Anti-reformers normally chant the shibboleth of "strong parties" at every opportunity; yet here the parties' national committees are lampooned. How can one be for strong parties if they are, as national bodies, fundamentally illegitimate? It would seem logical that a reformed, centralized party with a mass base is far stronger in most senses of the word than a collection of fifty feuding principalities.

"Polsby examines the consequences of reform for political parties, accurately noting the decrease in power of state party elites, the increased influence of the media and the centralization of power in the national parties."

Polsby suggests, however, that centralization has in fact resulted in stronger parties, since the parties have had their mass bases eroded by reform. As evidence he notes that over the three elections since reform began in earnest (1972-80), the rate of general election defection by Democrats has been 27 percent, as opposed to 18 percent in the previous five elections. The implication is that reform has weakened pragmatic party leaders, and therefore led to the nomination of candidates unacceptable to a large majority of the rank and file.

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Polsby overlooks, though, the factual circumstances of the 1972 and 1980 elections. In 1972, George McGovern was nominated not because of his strength in primaries but because of his proficiency at winning "open caucuses" which, by admitting ideological activists while excluding the rank and file, combined the worst aspects of bossism and of primaries. McGovern won because reform had not gone far enough; in the purer, more reformed system of 1976 he would not have been nominated. Carter's 1980 nomination cannot entirely be blamed on reform either, since the "pragmatic party elites" generally supported Carter, as they do nearly every incumbent president. None was denied renomination between 1884 and 1980, not even Herbert Hoover, which suggests that Carter would have won under any system. The purest "reform" process, that of 1976, also nominated a candidate who did as well among the membership as most pre-reform nominees.

Polsby's major concern is that under a reformed system, governing is more difficult. "Rather than building coalitions, they (candidates) must mobilize factions," he says. This deprives candidates of the experience in coalition-building which they need to govern successfully.

"The author insists that interest groups have some sort of right-to-rule through bureaucracies in a pluralist society, a profound misinterpretation of American political culture."

The reason coalition-building is difficult in primaries is that when any faction may enter a serious candidate, a candidate need only gain a small percentage of the vote to ensure the continued survival of his candidacy. Candidates are therefore encouraged to build small groups of intense followers. Broadly based candidates, Polsby argues, are hurt by the lack of deliberation in an electoral process which does not allow for second choices and by the lack of peer review (which injures politically experienced pragmatists).

Polsby's argument has some difficulties. The very difficulty of candidacies surviving suggests that sooner or later the field will be narrowed down to two candidates, who will then have to broaden their bases and build coalitions. For instance, in 1972 the Democratic field narrowed down to Humphrey vs. McGovern, in 1976 (in most states) to Carter

vs. Udall, and in 1980 to Carter vs. Kennedy (and Reagan against Bush on the Republican side). Even Jimmy Carter was able to reach out beyond his original Southern base to include liberals, blacks, labor and, in 1980, state party elites in his nominating coalition. Peer review (screening of candidates by fellow politicians) exists as well in a reformed system, since candidates without elite support are less likely to be taken seriously by the media and general public.

But the proof of a thesis is in its application to reality. Polsby takes Jimmy Carter as a case study of the difficulties in governing in a reformed system, ignoring President Reagan's legislative successes under less favorable conditions.

"What Polsby demands is a mostly client-oriented government, classically illustrating Theodore Lowi's point in The End of Liberalism that pluralism is 'good theory but bad ideology.' "

Polsby attacks Carter and Richard Nixon (who was nominated as the favorite of the party pros) for adhering to a view of political legitimacy resting entirely on the electoral process, and suggests that they manifested their world-view by trying to form a government without interest groups. The author insists that interest groups have some sort of right-to-rule through bureaucracies in a pluralist society, a profound misinterpretation of American political culture. Generally, there are checks and balances which restrain plebiscitary instincts, but even those involve the electoral process.

Carter specifically comes in for criticism for "proclaiming a disbelief in the reality of the interest-group composition of the Democratic Party." Polsby believes that because of reform, Carter could win without elite support and therefore thought he could govern without it.

Even if clientelism is a good way to run a government, Carter practiced it far more enthusiastically than Polsby will admit. For instance, how many presidents have created an entire Cabinet Department (Education) at the behest of one union (the NEA)?

Yet Polsby believes that even Carter's record of sellouts to interest groups was unsatisfactory. What Polsby demands instead is a mostly client-oriented government, classically illustrating Theodore Lowi's point in *The End of Liberalism* that pluralism is "good theory but bad ideology." The power of well-heeled interest groups is turned by Polsby from a reality to a positive good, even to the extent of whittling away the popular sovereignty upon which the whole structure depends.

Polsby suggests, in fact, that reform has weakened the parties. He fears that without "mediating structures" the public will be vulnerable to fads and short-term crazes, again revealing his distrust of the electorate.

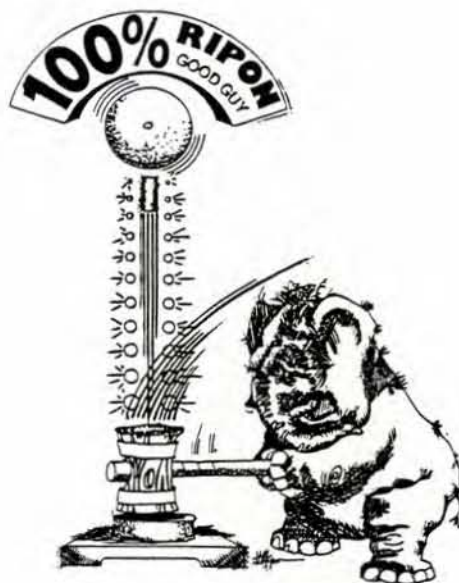
But are the parties really weaker than when reform started? Since 1972, the first year of the reformed nomination system, the percentage of voters who were independents rose only from 29 percent to 31 percent, a statistically insignificant difference. Congressional voting cohesion has increased over the past ten years, and the 1980 and 1982 elections appear to have involved unusual (compared to the 1970s) partisanship and institutional activity by the parties.

In his last chapter, Polsby suggests that reform does not live up to its democratic pretenses. He notes that primary voters are unrepresentative of the party rank and file and that party leaders are even more unrepresentative.

After discussing various proposals for further change, Polsby asks whether "parties are recoverable," noting accurately that "nostalgia, in short, will not do as a foundation for public policy." But the author then gives in to nostalgia, urging a return to the pre-1972 system. He feels that such a system will produce more electable and experienced nominees. The 1984 presidential race suggests that presidential candidates already have plenty of experience; of eight Democratic candidates, six are senators, and one a former vice president.

Polsby also prefers the decentralization of the old system, arguing that local parties have the best chance of bringing to the national nomination process the "authentic voices of the people." Perhaps so. But the best way to insure that the people's "authentic voices" are heard is to require that they participate. One wonders what the consequence of a return to the pre-reform process would be. Would people be less likely to support nominees they had no voice in choosing? Would the number of independents rise significantly for the first time since reform started? One might think so.

Even assuming the feasibility of a return to pre-reform politics, the most pressing question is one of values. The political culture of the U.S., in ideal if not in reality, is a democratic one where sovereignty rests in the people. In recent years, America has moved away from that trend by allowing activist judges and bureaucrats to hoard power, and by centralizing government so that politicians are further removed from the people. One factor offsetting these trends was created in the 1970s, when the people were allowed some substantive voice in the selection of party nominees. But Polsby and other prophets of nostalgia would deny the voters even the small consolation of selecting a president, effectively creating a closed system in which two self-perpetuating elites have a duopoly on power. Here lies the real significance of Polsby's book, given the partial retreat from reform by the Hunt Commission and the increasing popularity of economic corporatism. In fact, it is a book less about practical politics than about an ideology — namely an ideology of elitism. ■



The Chairman's Corner

by Jim Leach

In an executive-legislative confrontation of profound proportions, the House and Senate this spring approved a non-binding resolution condemning the U.S. role in laying mines in Nicaraguan harbors.

Although Congress has authority to cut off funds for such operations, it opted instead to make a political rather than policy point. In a speech on the House floor, I expressed frustration at Congress's tendency to criticize but not take responsibility for foreign policy decisions. Nevertheless, I supported the hortatory "sense of Congress" resolution because it was the only legislative vehicle the majority party made available by which concern about the direction of our Central American policies could be registered.

The Congressional Debate

Of fundamental importance in the congressional debate were three basic issues: the merits of U.S. policy in Central America; the administration's approach to international law and conflict resolution in general; and the administration's decisionmaking process and its implications for constitutional government.

From a policy perspective, the administration is today in the ironic position of arguing that Nicaragua must respect the rights of its neighbors but that we ourselves are not bound to respect the rights of ours. In El Salvador, we stand foursquarely against forces which are armed and financed from abroad who would shoot their way into power. In Nicaragua, we stand foursquarely with such forces; we are the financiers of anarchy.

Few in Congress have any sympathy for the leftist tactics in El Salvador, but our tit-for-tat response in Nicaragua has lowered us into the gutter with the violence-prone revolutionaries we so loudly condemn. In the process we have undercut the moral imprimatur upon which U.S. policy in Central America is based. Subversion to halt subversion, terrorism to stop terrorism, is of dubious legal or moral validity. As profoundly, state-sponsored terrorism appears not only to be counterproductive in the region, but of such a nature to spark a general breakdown in international order. The conduct of foreign affairs is always controversial, but seldom have both our ideals and our actions been so thoroughly problematic.

For decades there has been debate about whether the United States should play the role of policeman for the world, with some arguing that it is a chore which we lack either a legal source or adequate resources to undertake. But a new dimension to this debate is implicit in the administration's recent assertions about Central America.

The Rule of Law

The decision of the administration to suspend, for two years, U.S. acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice with respect to disputes concerning Central America drives a stake into the heart of

the rule of law. It symbolizes a ragged retreat from post-World War II U.S. commitments to international law and international organizations.

The decision to suspend the World Court's jurisdiction followed closely on the heels of another U.S. decision this spring to veto a U.N. Security Council Resolution which condemned the mining of the Nicaraguan harbors. Even our closest ally, Great Britain, abstained rather than vote with us against that resolution.

The administration seems to be suggesting that not only will we play the role of policeman for the world, but rather than enforcing the law, the interventionist cops we are funding in Central America are themselves above the law.

The most fundamental issues of world politics are, in the first instance, how we contain and constrain weapons of mass destruction and, in the second, how we can best advance the rule of law. To refuse to submit disputes to the World Court and abide by arbitration decisions of that body is to deny our heritage. Wouldn't a more profound and persuasive American policy encompass going to the International Court of Justice and filing a cross-complaint against Nicaragua and its activities in El Salvador? Dispute resolution based on court briefs holds more potential for peace than the escalation of terrorism for which we must accept partial responsibility.

But at issue in our Nicaraguan policy is not just the niceties of international law. Our own constitutional processes demand that careful procedures be followed when military actions are entertained. At the same time that State Department witnesses came last month before committees of Congress to register "resentment" that issues of this nature be publicly discussed, Senator Barry Goldwater, in a blistering letter to CIA Director William Casey, suggested that an "act of war" had occurred, without prior notification of the Intelligence Committee which he heads.

The real issue, however, is not simply whether the Intelligence Committees of Congress are fully apprised of covert governmental activities, but whether Congress as a whole takes responsibility for such actions when they become of such magnitude as to involve war-making authority.

The Constitution does not distinguish between overt and covert wars. The president has no constitutional mandate to attack a foreign country without explicit authorization from Congress. Analogies to Vietnam are often facile, but as we look at the mining of Haiphong it is interesting to note that the decision was made in an open fashion with full public debate. While Congress never authorized a declaration of war against North Vietnam, it openly appropriated funds for mining activities. In the Nicaraguan mining incident, Lloyds of London received earlier notification than Congress, and those in Congress who were finally consulted after the mines were laid were obligated not only not to tell the public but not to talk with their own colleagues.

It is difficult not to conclude that our foreign policy is becoming increasingly elitist. A bipartisan foreign policy can only be established with bi-institutional sanction. On trial in our Central American policy is not only a particular policy but the Constitution itself. ■

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National News

Reagan campaign strategists believe the president can take the South in November due to the white backlash vote expected against the growing black influence in the Democratic Party. But while southern whites may vote Republican on the presidential ticket, they will retreat to traditional Democratic positions in local and state races. Republicans can thus only hurt themselves by relying on the white backlash and ignoring the traditions of the party of Lincoln . . .

Apparently the New Right's role within the Republican Party is changing. John T. (Terry) Dolan is stepping down as chairman of the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) and has joined forces with fellow conservatives Richard Viguerie, Howard Phillips and Paul Weyrich to discuss strategy and the formation of a new political party — the Conservative Populist Party. Dolan claims that conservatives will be on the defensive and that they will probably suffer severe losses due to the Reagan administration. The new party is also an attempt to lay the groundwork for what may be a fight to determine President Reagan's political heirs. Yet Viguerie was quoted recently as saying, "We are not Republicans and our goal is not to advance the cause of the Republican Party, but those issues we believe in, whether it's prayer, taxes or national defense."

This is particularly interesting in light of a recent Roper poll in which 34% of the respondents called themselves "middle-of-the-roads," up from 29% when President Reagan first took office.

State News

The New Republican League (NRL) of **Minnesota** is organizing to combat the impact of the "Religious Right," a growing political force. The NRL, Congressman Bill Frenzel and Senator Dave Durenberger have made concerted efforts to keep the party there in the hands of progressive Republicans. But the "Religious Right" has a stronghold in Representative Frenzel's district and may prevent him from gaining the party's endorsement . . .

Illinois Senator Charles Percy was victorious in his primary race against Congressman Tom Corcoran. He now faces Representative Paul Simon in this fall's general election . . .

Mary Louise Smith, the **Iowa** Republican national committeewoman since 1964, is stepping down from party office. Smith, a moderate, was the first woman national party chair and has been a strong advocate of the Equal Rights Amendment and civil rights enforcement. The Republican Party will sorely miss her leadership . . .

The primary race for the Fifth District seat of retiring **Michigan** Representative Harold Sawyer is well underway with at least two moderate candidates, Paul Henry and Greg Doublestein, competing for the nomination. Henry, a state senator since 1979, was recently described as one of the few serious, thoughtful Republican figures in Michigan politics who neither fell from power nor came to power in the shuffle which followed Governor William Milliken's retirement in 1982. Doublestein was a former legislative aide for Oregon's Senator Mark Hatfield and a congressional liaison officer in the Department of Health and Human Services during the current administration . . .

Ripon Congressional Advisory Board members Bill Green and Sherwood Boehlert are facing potentially difficult races in **New York**. Congressman Green, who represents the 15th district, will face a formidable candidate if either Betty Loll or Andy Stein wins the Democratic primary. Congressman Boehlert (25th District) has recently been targeted by a Right-to-Life group because of his pro-ERA, pro-choice, and pro-nuclear freeze positions . . .

Moderate Mary Mochay is moving ahead in the **New Jersey** primary. If she wins, she faces a tough race against Senator Bill Bradley in November . . .

In **West Virginia**, the Republican Party is working to seek a high GOP turnout for the June 5th primary. Nominations will be sought for the office of senator, attorney general and state auditor. In addition, party officials are planning a strategy to attract Democratic votes in November since a Republican victory depends on a swing vote of 20 percent . . .

A coalition of Reagan Republicans and moderate GOP members has been successful in gaining 22 seats of the 64 available on the **Washington, D.C.** Republican Central Committee. This appears to be a major step toward increasing the party's strength which has dropped from 22,000 to 13,000 since 1980.

Ripon News

In January of this year, the Republican National Committee (RNC) announced that it would not hold regional public platform hearings. The Ripon Society decried this move to further close the party and began immediately to organize a series of public conferences on issues of importance to the Republican Party platform.

The first of these meetings was held on March 31 in Michigan. A panel of Republican moderate delegates to the August convention in Dallas accepted testimony from other active Michigan Republicans on such topics as arms control, budget deficits, ERA, freedom of choice on abortion, and environmental conservation . . .

In Philadelphia on April 14th, the Society held its annual issues conference, a "Chautauqua on the 1984 Republican Party Platform." Through two panel discussions, two debates and an open exchange of audience participation, issues relating to civil rights, women's rights, defense spending, and arms control were discussed. These comments, as well as those from Michigan, are being compiled for presentation to the RNC. The next conference will be held in Connecticut during June . . .

Finally, Ripon wishes to recognize its newly-elected officers for the 1984-85 term: Representative Jim Leach, chairman; Fred Kellogg, president; Ken Grossberger, vice president for administrative affairs; Linda Topping, vice president for political affairs; Rick Kessler, treasurer; and Ken Ruberg, secretary. ■

Washington Notes and Quotes

Just four months ago, conventional wisdom suggested that congressional efforts to reduce federal deficits exceeding \$180 billion a year would be postponed until 1985. Conservative leaders, including presidential adviser Lyn Nofziger and columnist Robert Novak, argued that American voters wouldn't concern themselves with staggering deficits until interest and inflation rates began to rise. The Republican Right, still tied to supply-side doctrine, continued to advocate a hands-off approach to defense spending and revenue raising, instead preferring to criticize Federal Reserve monetary policies, support a politically-appealing but budget-busting 10% flat-tax proposal and embrace the Grace Commission's beguiling recommendations on "fraud, waste and abuse."

At the moment, however, most bets on congressional inaction are off, despite a short 85-day session and the usual partisan bickering. The reason: moderate Republican lawmakers are playing a more visible and influential role in budget deliberations. Senate Republicans, led by Budget Committee Chairman Pete Domenici and Finance Committee Chairman Robert Dole, have already trimmed the president's defense budget and pushed for tax reform . . .

Elsewhere, moderate Republican Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum has joined Iowa Republican Chuck Grassley in a bipartisan effort to enact an across-the-board federal spending freeze covering discretionary domestic spending, defense spending and entitlements. The proposed freeze is defended as "necessary . . . effective . . . fair . . . simple . . . and right" as a first step towards fiscal responsibility . . .

All this follows a February 8 Ripon Society press conference in which Representatives Bill Clinger, Nancy Johnson, Jim Leach, Sherwood Boehlert, Bill Green and Tim Petri outlined a procedural approach to breaking the budget impasse. Though moderates have not yet unified behind any single blueprint for action on deficits, it's already clear that they're largely responsible for any progress seen this year, along with House Republican leaders like Congressmen Barber Conable and Bill Frenzel . . .

In March, liberal Republican Senator Lowell Weicker led a successful two-and-a-half week fight against a proposed constitutional amendment permitting government-sanctioned school prayer. Joining Weicker in opposition were seventeen Senate Republicans, ten of whom serve on Ripon's Congressional Advisory Board. The *Washington Times*, a conservative daily financed by the Unification

Church, added its two cents to the debate by describing Weicker as a representative of "upscale constituents of the sort who drink white wine out of little silver flasks at college football games . . ." . . .

More recently, moderate Republicans on Capitol Hill introduced legislation on April 12 to overturn the Supreme Court's *Grove City College* decision which they fear will undermine enforcement of the nation's most important civil rights laws. The legislation would protect Title IX and three other statutes prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, sex, handicap or age in federally-assisted programs. Claudine Schneider and Hamilton Fish Jr. are providing leadership in the House; Bob Packwood is joined by Bob Dole, Majority Leader Howard Baker and seventeen other Republican cosponsors in the Senate . . .

Arms control initiatives continue to occupy attention among congressional moderates who are increasingly concerned with the present state of U.S.-Soviet relations. Ripon Society Chairman Jim Leach is a principal author of legislation providing for a mutual and verifiable moratorium on the testing and deployment of new nuclear ballistic missiles and anti-satellite weapons and the testing of nuclear warheads. Mark Hatfield is an original Senate cosponsor of the same legislation which is endorsed by the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. Also drawing attention is legislation written to safeguard against space-based and chemical weapons, introduced by Senators Larry Pressler and William Cohen, respectively . . .

Given the majority party status of Senate Republicans, moderates there generally have been more cautious in voicing progressive viewpoints than their House counterparts. It is therefore not surprising that the increased visibility of Senate moderates in recent months is drawing comment in the public press. The *Wall Street Journal* commented on March 28 that "GOP Senate moderates, an important swing group with about 20 votes . . . are blocking the conservative social agenda . . . reclaiming the initiative in economic policy . . . and steering a middle course between hard-right conservatism and Great Society liberalism." It seems to me that the world is coming in our direction," declared Washington Senator Slade Gorton in the same article. A day earlier, the *Washington Post* ran a similar story, citing moderate Republican assertiveness on matters ranging from home heating aid and Central American military policy to taxes and school prayer. ■