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RIPON FORUM

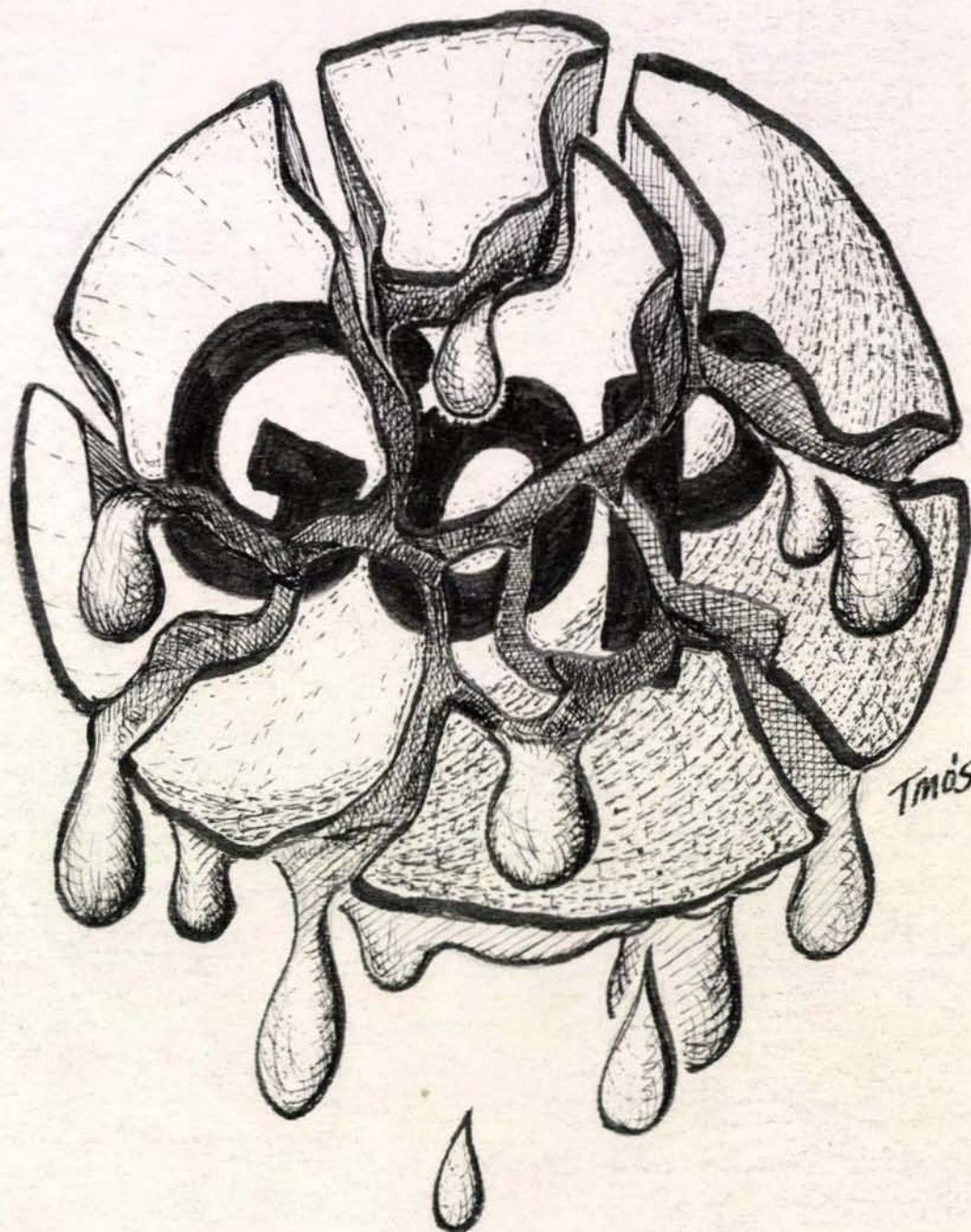
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Looking to 1988

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RIPON FORUM

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Editor's Column

Sacramento Bee political editor Martin Smith wrote recently that Ronald Reagan has been the "superglue" that has held the conservative movement together for 20 years. Of course, Mr. Reagan also has been the "superglue" that has held the Republican Party together since 1980. But the president will be leaving office soon, so perhaps it is time Republicans begin considering the future of their party.

In this issue, New Jersey Governor Tom Kean says that the GOP must not look for another charismatic personality to provide unity, but rather base its growth upon ideas. And Ripon Forum editorial board member Steve Klinsky argues that progressive Republicans have much to contribute to that growth. In a review of Richard Reeves's book, *The Reagan Detour*, Klinsky outlines four themes which progressive Republicans can use to broaden the GOP. Lee Auspitz also claims that unless Republican Party officials pay closer attention to party rules, Democrats will have the largest say on the structure of Republican delegate selection in 1988.

—Bill McKenzie

MEMO

TO: THE EDITORS

FROM: JACK KEMP, M.C.

RE: "LOSING THE MIDDLE GROUND: THE DEBATE OVER FAMILY PLANNING FUNDING"

Carolyn Weaver's article "Losing the Middle Ground: The Debate Over Family Planning Funding" in the February, 1986 issue of the *Ripon Forum* is riddled with inaccuracies and misrepresentations. Miss Weaver's attempt to manufacture "facts" to fit her predetermined thesis is unworthy of publication in your magazine.

Miss Weaver asserts that the Kemp-Hatch amendment to Title X of the Public Health Services Act, as originally drafted, would have prohibited federally funded family planning clinics from counseling clients about abortion. It would have done nothing of the kind. The amendment prohibited federal funds from going to organizations that "perform abortion procedures, counsel for abortion procedures, or refer for abortion procedures" and clearly applied to the positive act by an employee of a federally funded family planning clinic of recommending to a client that she *should* have an abortion. Nothing in the original Kemp-Hatch amendment prohibited the non-directive discussion of abortion as a legal option, and as Miss Weaver notes, the "counsel for" clause was dropped from the amendment before it was even offered.

Even more outrageous is Miss Weaver's "knowing" aside that "Rep. Kemp also opposes the IUD and the Pill." This statement is nothing less than a fabrication and has no basis in fact or reason. I have repeatedly stated—and demonstrated—my support for a federal commitment to providing family planning services that include *all* legitimate forms of birth control to those individuals who could not otherwise afford them. However, abortion is not a method of birth control. I believe that federally funded family planning programs will be strengthened if they are required to concentrate all of their resources on preventing unwanted pregnancies, rather than terminating them once they've begun.

Another inaccuracy Miss Weaver included in her article is the statement that I "led" the fight against the reauthorization of the

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A Conversation with Thomas Kean

Food lines stretch out of a Methodist church in Trenton, New Jersey, but just down the street one can see the exterior of a nearly completed office building shining brightly in the noonday sun. The sight is more than imagery, because it reflects the actual dichotomy that now exists in New Jersey: economic growth existing alongside urban poverty. But if progressive Republican Governor Thomas Kean has his way, the growth side of that equation will soon erase the connection of New Jersey with industrial decay. In fact, Kean, whom David Broder calls the "hero" of the Republican Party, claims in this interview with Forum editor Bill McKenzie, that the restoration of the state's spirit is his most significant accomplishment since entering office four years ago.

Of course, New Jersey has a long way to go before some Americans believe it is the "Garden State." But the message of rights and opportunity that its governor is preaching is an important first step. New Jerseyans seem to agree, because the boyish Kean was reelected in November 1985 with over 60 percent of the state's vote. He did so with strong support from both unions and blacks, a feat which also has gained him considerable national attention. He dismisses questions about presidential ambitions, but there is an old saying that "what the world takes, Trenton makes." With time the world beyond Trenton may be hearing more from Tom Kean.

Ripon Forum: Following your November 1985 reelection, *The New York Times* wrote: "Mr. Kean described his message as a 'vision' and said he hoped to spread it by speaking out around the country, something he did not do during his first term." What is your political vision?

Kean: The message of the Republican Party has got to be built around opportunity. This is the historic message of the Republican Party, from Abraham Lincoln and the Homestead Act on. That message has sometimes been lost during our history, but it is still vital to the American dream or experience.

The urban enterprise program, for example, is a product of the theme of opportunity. By using the tool of private enterprise, incentives have been provided to develop our cities. In turn, jobs have been created where it was previously said jobs couldn't be created. 7,000 new jobs will be created in New Jersey's central cities, and 2,000 of them will be in Newark alone. The program shows how people who historically have been denied the ability to share in creating progress can benefit from the theme of opportunity.

Ripon Forum: Is the idea of a "level playing field," which you spoke about after your reelection, related to this?

Kean: That fits right in with the theme of opportunity. You can't

ask somebody to advance in the kind of society we live in without first giving them certain tools. If you put someone who has been denied a basic high school education on the starting line next to someone who has had a first-class education, it's pretty obvious who's going to win. Likewise, some people have been denied equal opportunity due to the color of their skin, or to the lack of basic necessities early in their life. As a society, we have to step in and redress those kinds of imbalances.

Ripon Forum: But a considerable number of measures have been enacted over the last two decades to correct such imbalances, and a number of problems remain. For example, statistics show that only 41 percent of all black children under 18 live with two parents, and more than half of all black families with children are headed by women.

Kean: People react to incentives, and there has been an incentive for some fathers to leave their homes. If they had stayed, many families would not have been able to get assistance. I'm suggesting that we have to build incentives into the system.

Ripon Forum: What kind of incentives exist in New Jersey?

Kean: A number of outreach programs have been developed in the black and Hispanic communities, the aim of which is to provide the kinds of skills and opportunities needed to succeed. I also support affirmative action, which is directed toward people who have not been given the tools to compete. With such measures, individuals can then go as far and fast as they want.

Moreover, the GOP should reach out to those people who are standing in a bank line to see a loan officer. That includes the man or woman who has a small business and thinks they'll now take the chance to expand. Or, the fellow who's waiting to get a college loan for his child. Or, the person who lives in a pretty bad neighborhood, but who now wants to invest in a better one. Those kind of people have a vision, and this country has always appealed to them. Our party should appeal to them, too.

Ripon Forum: Over the last decade, the urban Northeast has been hit particularly hard by economic downturns. What measures do you support to redevelop the Northeast?

Kean: The Northeast is doing pretty darn well these days. New Jersey is a prime example. Along with Massachusetts, it is leading the region's economic resurgence.

Having said that, we do have problems, and measures are needed to stimulate and direct economic growth. For instance, the aim of New Jersey's new transportation trust fund is to rebuild the state's sagging infrastructure. That is critical to attracting new businesses and jobs. We're working on roads that desperately need help, we've bought new buses for the transportation system, we've taken over a railroad, and we've held fares down for two or three years. People said that mass transportation

was not the way to go, that it was just too expensive and was losing ridership. But we stopped the rise in fares and invested in the system. The result has been a dramatic increase in ridership.

Moreover, we put together an environmental trust fund to build resource recovery and sewage plants which can meet the needs of the Clean Water Act. We've also used Industrial Development Bonds (IDBs) to target growth in areas of high unemployment and to create various public/private partnerships. Because of these measures, all sorts of things are under

"The message of the Republican Party has got to be built around opportunity. This is the historic message of the Republican Party, from Abraham Lincoln and the Homestead Act on."

construction. For example, three or four years ago, nothing was happening in Trenton. Now, a considerable amount of development is under way. The same phenomenon is occurring in Newark. Our strategy is very growth-oriented and very planned.

Ripon Forum: What effect will Gramm-Rudman have on your strategy?

Kean: Interestingly, tax reform will have a greater effect. Under the proposed reform, Industrial Development Bonds will be capped if any private ownership is involved. That will return us to the idea that government is the only one that can operate state and local services, which is strange since this administration believes so deeply in privatization. It doesn't make sense to cap projects that will create growth, revenues for the state, and funds for the federal government.

But concerning Gramm-Rudman, I recently met with the state's mayors, and many of them said they were just beginning to see the light when Gramm-Rudman was passed. Now, things will become very, very difficult. For example, some mayors said they were using revenue sharing to pay police and fire workers. Since revenue sharing will be cut out entirely, without even a phasedown, police and fire workers will have to be laid off.

"I recently met with the state's mayors, and many of them said they were just beginning to see the light when Gramm-Rudman was passed. Now, things will become very, very difficult."

We've adopted a different strategy in New Jersey. Last year, the state initiated a program which placed 2,000 extra policemen on the street. But unless a city can put the policemen on the street, they don't get the money. The program is part of our growth strategy, because with more policemen on the corner, more businesses will locate in an urban area.

Ripon Forum: Let's return to your political vision. Have you spoken out about it around the country?

Kean: I'm not going to a great deal. My job is being governor of New Jersey, although by winning an election I've attracted a lot of invitations. I've accepted one in New Hampshire, and will be accepting four or five others. But I don't believe I can move around the country and still be a good governor of New Jersey.

Ripon Forum: You've said that you don't want to be a national candidate, particularly in 1988. Why not?

Kean: It's incompatible with being a good governor. With the possible exception of a high visibility state, like New York or California, you can't be a governor and run for president. If I really wanted to run for president, you and I wouldn't be talking. I'd be on the same circuit that Jack Kemp and George Bush are on.

Ripon Forum: But what about after you're governor?

Kean: I'm not going to look to the national scene. I made a very definite decision to move towards state government. This is where a lot of the opportunities exist.

Ripon Forum: But you seem to have a strong, bold vision for the Republican Party. What about running in 1992?

Kean: Although you never want to rule anything out, I look at myself more as the messenger, as somebody who says that this is the direction the Republican Party has to go beyond Ronald Reagan. We have an extraordinary president who will go down as one of the great figures in history. He's reshaped the fundamental way we think about issues and politics. And the party is revolving around him as our planet revolves around the sun.

But the danger is that when the sun is removed from the center, you create a vacuum. And if that vacuum is not filled by ideas or vision, then it is liable to fall apart. This would give the Democrats the kind of opportunity they shouldn't have. Irrational things are coming out of the mouths of Democrats. They really don't have anything around which they can unite. Repub-

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licans do. In fact, I don't change my speech when I go from the Chamber of Commerce to the AFL-CIO. If my next appearance is at a black church, the speech remains fundamentally the same.

Ripon Forum: Is the reception the same?

Kean: Yes. When you talk about growth and opportunity, you're saying things all those groups understand. Organized labor wants decent jobs, the Chamber of Commerce wants business to grow with minimal interference, and blacks are tired of not being able to have a portion of the economic pie.

Ripon Forum: What kind of campaign should Republicans run after Ronald Reagan leaves office?

Kean: One based on ideas. They shouldn't look for a personality or a charismatic individual. Those people come along every now and then, but that's not what you build a party around. To turn the Republican Party into a permanent majority in this

"[Republicans] shouldn't look for a personality or a charismatic individual. Those people come along every now and then, but that's not what you build a party around."

century, you must start with a consistent philosophy and judge your programs by that philosophy. Is it pro-growth? Does it create opportunity? Does it create a level playing field? Is there something people of any background can understand? The best leaders in this country talk that language.

Ripon Forum: You've talked about the Republican Party being unified. Can the GOP exist as a coalition?

Kean: All parties are coalitions. The question is whether there is a central core. The Republican Party was united around a set of beliefs from the Civil War through Teddy Roosevelt's presidency, and Franklin Roosevelt created a similar core of ideas for Democrats. Today, both parties are trying to find that core, although Republicans are a lot closer to finding it. I don't find anything I say that is looked down upon by any segment of the party. We're going to have disagreements, but we've got to

recognize that we don't disagree on the fundamental message: the creation of opportunity.

Ripon Forum: So the Republican Party is wide enough for Jesse Helms and Lowell Weicker?

Kean: You're talking about the extremes, but I would hope so.

Ripon Forum: The November gubernatorial elections in New Jersey and Virginia proved that the political center should not be overlooked. Already former Virginia Governor Charles Robb and other Democratic officeholders have formed the Democratic Leadership Council to guide their party back to the center. What should the leadership of the GOP do to capture the middle?

Kean: I reject the world "middle," just as I reject the words "conservative" and "liberal." "Aggressive" is a word I like to use. If you follow the kinds of policies that I'm talking about, you're talking about a pro-growth philosophy. You create a sense of excitement and understanding about the country's direction. The Republican Party has the philosophy to do that, but it needs to get out of the boardrooms and country clubs and start talking to people. People understand opportunity almost as well as they understand democracy.

Ripon Forum: But it seems that there remains a difference within the GOP on a number of "rights" issues, such as support for the Equal Rights Amendment, extension of the Voting Rights Act, and freedom of choice on abortion.

Kean: Social issues can't be central to the Republican message, although civil rights is not a social issue. It is an opportunity issue. If people don't have civil rights, for heaven's sake how can they participate in a democracy? People just have to have equal rights, or they're not going to have equal opportunities. Moreover, you cannot go into certain communities with the message of opportunity and be credible if people think you don't believe in equal rights.

Ripon Forum: The charge has been leveled at moderates and progressives within the GOP that they've not paid enough attention to party affairs. In what shape will you leave the New Jersey Republican Party?

Kean: Anyone who is titular head of a party will answer positively, but I think that if you talk to any of our county chairmen you will find the New Jersey GOP is in its best shape ever. I've purposefully concentrated on party-building. We've strengthened county organizations and helped elect local officials. We've got a higher percentage of control in county organizations than we've probably had in 50 years.

Ripon Forum: But there's been speculation that since the New Jersey Assembly is now dominated by more conservative Republicans, it might be difficult to pass the kind of social legislation that was enacted during your first term, such as the divestiture of New Jersey's holdings in the stock of companies involved in South Africa.

Kean: Up to this point, the Republican Assembly and I have not found an issue on which we disagree. That will occur, but I'm getting programs through this Legislature that the previous one blocked. An insurance reform measure was just passed, as was a bill to give colleges more autonomy. I hope I will get through an

initiative and referendum proposal and a civil service reform measure. The last four governors have not been able to get the latter passed, but I think I have the votes to do it.

Ripon Forum: New Jersey also has been confronted with serious questions about the disposal of toxic wastes. How do you propose to hasten the cleanup of such wastes and who will bear the brunt of the cost: the state's taxpayers or waste producers?

Kean: Up to their level of responsibility, waste producers will bear the costs. But the problem comes when you can't find the responsible party. If there has been dumping at a site, and the responsible company went out of business 20 years ago, there's only one option left: the taxpayer with a combination of Superfund and state resources.

Even when the United States Congress passes the Superfund, we plan to continue spending more per individual on cleaning up toxic waste than any other state in the country. Of course, the clean-up process is frustrating. It takes a long time to identify the source, test the groundwater, and determine if there's a problem. But since we have a bi-partisan commitment in New

Jersey, I suspect that we will be the first state to say we cleaned up toxic waste. We may not be able to make that statement for 10 or 15 years, but the cleanup of toxic wastes will remain a top priority.

Ripon Forum: There's also been considerable talk in New Jersey about tax reform, and you've called for a study of the state's tax structure. What would you like to see the study produce?

Kean: It is an unusual study, because unlike previous ones which have examined revenue sources, this one looks at spending, too. Its first job is to examine state spending through the turn of the century, and then to determine the revenue sources the state will need. Beyond that, the study has to look into a series of fairness questions. Like most states, a "crazy-quilt" tax system has been built up over 50 or 60

years. If more money was needed, then the question always became: what's the easiest way to get it politically? When you do that 20 or 30 times, you get a tax system that isn't based on rationality. What I've asked the commission to devise is a tax structure that will meet the state's needs fairly and with rationality. It is a bi-partisan commission, so presumably it also will be concerned with selling the plan.

"If people don't have civil rights, for heaven's sake how can they participate in a democracy?"

Ripon Forum: What are you most proud of in your first term?

Kean: The spirit we've developed in the state. There are many individual programs of which I am proud, but it seems that the state now has a can-do spirit. People in New Jersey recognize that there's no reason they can't do anything as well or better than anybody in the area. Instead of looking to our neighbors in New York and Pennsylvania, we're promoting ourselves and solving problems. In many ways, we're setting examples for the rest of the country.



Ripon Forum: What disappointed you most about your first term?

Kean: That's always a difficult question. I'm an optimist by nature and figure that whatever disappoints me will be solved in the future. But the bureaucracy's been tough. Coming from the private sector, I've found that it takes much longer to get things done in government. Making government move in the direction you'd like it to go is a slow process. I would have liked to have moved it faster.

Ripon Forum: What are the priorities of your second term?

Kean: The first is promoting jobs. So many of our programs and policies revolve around that. The second is the environment. We're a crowded state, and we've got a problem of where to throw our garbage and how to keep our air and water clean. But the third priority—education—may be the most important. I've gotten 16 or 17 proposals passed which are fundamentally

"People in New Jersey recognize that there's no reason they can't do anything as well or better than anybody in the area. In many ways, we're setting examples for the rest of the country."

changing education in New Jersey. Some other educational proposals are pending, and they involve everything from traditional teacher training to improving teacher pay. We now have the highest minimum teacher salaries in the nation.

We're also concentrating on higher education, and we are pursuing a unique program. Money is not just handed out to colleges and universities. Educational institutions must show that they can get some of the top people in their field. For instance, to receive extra state funds a university must develop a

"I've purposefully concentrated on party-building. We've strengthened county organizations and helped elect local officials."

proposal for excellence in a specific area. The proposal is then judged by a panel of experts from outside the state, and if it is approved the college or university receives the "challenge" grant. Last year, two state colleges received the entire \$10 million allocated for this competitive program.

The business community has been particularly helpful in promoting education. The state's high-tech effort, for instance, has been put together with the cooperation of the private and public sectors. They've been able to recruit some of the finest people in the country to our universities. The same thing is true for our medical and dental schools. We don't show our colleges how to use the state money. They tell us how to use it. I hope this incentive-based approach to improving higher education is something other states can pick up. ■

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Forum Editorial: America's Poor and America's Teens: Dealing With The Problem

There they were, dressed in khaki fatigues and prominently displayed across our television screens, almost like those troops you see training in Angola or Nicaragua. Except these figures were young and American, and marching in a shelter in East Harlem. The CBS Evening News reported the "soldiers" on the screen were not part of a "contra" effort, but rather trainees in the Youth Cadet Corps, an offshoot of the Youth Action Program in New York City. The program is an attempt to give street kids an opportunity to make it in the "real world," and since leaving the borders of a ghetto demands considerable determination, these youths were parading around in uniform, barking signals, and building their confidence.

Admittedly, the scene from a recent CBS News broadcast was a bit unsettling. After all, the military mind has its limits, and there are other ways to build assuredness. But self-confidence is what many inner city youths lack, and programs which build

"The foremost aim should be to maintain the federal government's commitment to eradicating discrimination."

such are to be applauded. The egos of many ghetto youths are fragile, and what is often perceived as an external hostility is the product of a deep-seated insecurity. In the 1960s, this insecurity was recognized to be a function of the cycle of poverty, and programs like the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act and the Jobs Corps were initiated to break the vicious circle. But since manifestations of the cycle of poverty remain, many people wonder whether the attempts of another generation to eradicate poverty have failed.

The answer is no, those attempts have not failed. Instead, they should be seen as a first step. Without programmatic measures to provide better educational opportunities, job training, and financial assistance, many minorities would not have been able to escape the quicksand of poverty. The imprimatur of the federal government has been necessary to crack discrimination, or at least slow it down, and allow more Americans to enter the marketplace.

Deep-seated problems, of course, remain. The unemployment rate for black teenagers is 41.6 percent, and the unemployment rate for all blacks is 14.9 percent. Half of all black families with children are headed by women, and the median income of those families declined from \$9,380 in 1967 to \$8,648 in 1984. Moreover, 42 percent of all black families live in poverty, and black family median income is 56 percent of white family income.

Federal Commitment

To correct these problems, several goals must be pursued. The foremost aim should be to maintain the federal government's commitment to eradicating discrimination. Politically, this means supporting such measures as the Voting Rights Act and the Civil Rights Restoration Act. The former ensures no American will be slighted at the voting booth, and the latter restores the previously broad coverage of status banning discrimination on the basis of race, sex, age or handicap by institutions receiving federal funds.

Economically, affirmative action programs and minority business hiring goals are needed to remedy historic, systemic injustices. The Reagan administration, of course, has waffled on each of these aims. Attorney General Edwin Meese III recently proposed to end a 21-year policy of using goals to encourage federal contractors to hire more minorities and women. The longtime Reagan aide wants to permit such goals on a voluntary basis, although he has been opposed by the majority of the Reagan Cabinet (Labor Secretary Bill Brock in particular), 69 senators (Robert Dole and Pete Domenici included), the National Association of Manufacturers, and the Business Roundtable. Perhaps such opposition will convince conservative ideologues such as Mr. Meese that affirmative action and hiring goals are needed to provide the level playing field that is so essential to equal opportunity.

"The second goal should be the development of a tougher approach to federal spending . . . A more demanding, work-oriented welfare program, like that proposed by moderate Republican Representative Nancy Johnson, is needed."

Quality, Not Quantity

The second goal should be the development of a tougher approach to federal spending. Some liberals made the mistake in the 1970s of assuming that the mere existence of a federal program was more important than its quality or effectiveness. An example is public welfare spending. While it has been important in providing security for many destitute families, welfare also has created a dependency among some recipients. A more demanding, work-oriented program, like that proposed

by moderate Republican Representative Nancy Johnson is needed. The Johnson plan is an attempt to reach chronic welfare dependents, such as those who have children under the age of six, and provide them with the option of job training or further education. It also seeks to promote personal advancement by providing participants with guidance by a career counselor. And incentives, such as medical benefits and transportation services, are provided to ensure that welfare recipients participate in the program, which sits now before the U.S. House of Representatives.

Problem of the Spirit

Of course, the most difficult goal to achieve in combatting the cycle of poverty is the development of individual respect. At the heart of many social problems is a sense of defeat. And that lack of purpose can lead to a loss of ideals. Perhaps what is also needed is a message of moral reaffirmation. At the conclusion of Bill Moyers's recent CBS documentary on the plight of the black family, the former press secretary to Lyndon Johnson asked Carolyn Wallace, the manager of a community center in Newark, what could be done to stem the rise in black teenage pregnancy. "They won't listen to me," Moyers said in reference to the need for greater personal responsibility among some black youths. "It doesn't make any difference," Wallace shot back. "You've got to say it anyway. They may not listen to me, either. But [when] everybody's saying it, it's going to be like a drum-

beat, and sooner or later it will sound."

The message of that drumbeat is one of individual responsibility, of personal discipline and steel-headed perseverance. It means, as Jesse Jackson says, babies not having babies. But it also means revitalizing the work ethic and providing opportunities for that ethic to be put into action. The Youth Action Program is a good example, because it instills discipline while also creating a chance for young people to develop skills. The youth participating in the program design projects and are given the right to hire staff. Deteriorated homes have been rebuilt, a tutoring program has been initiated, and a pregnancy prevention plan has been put into place.

Programs that focus on a young person's abilities go far in conquering the problem of the spirit. A government agency or institution can accomplish much, but what many youngsters

"Programs that focus on a young person's abilities go far in conquering the problem of the spirit."

need is individual attention. They require people who are willing to work with them, and develop their sense of worth. That doesn't mean just black youngsters, either. Nearly 17 percent of white families are headed by single parents. As Carolyn Wallace concluded, the problem facing America's teens "is going to surpass color . . . Nobody's going to be safe unless we all send out this drumbeat—hey let's deal with it. Let's deal with the problem." ■

Jacob K. Javits, In Memoriam.

On a cold November afternoon two years ago, Jacob Javits welcomed several Riponers into his law office in New York. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the future of progressive Republicanism, and the senator who had been a proud liberal Republican told the group that he would do whatever he could to help the cause of Republican progressives. He talked for some time and then concluded the meeting by saying that he loved each one there.

Why did a Senate legend speak so forthrightly to a group of individuals, most of whom knew him only by reputation? The answer is simple and goes to the heart of the man. Jacob Javits was a possessor of strong passions, the strongest of which was that human beings have an obligation to each other. At a Ripon Society dinner in New York a year later, he repeated that same message. "You have an obligation to the society which protected you when you were brought into the world, which taught you, which supported you and nurtured you. You have an obligation to repay it," the senator told the audience.

One might say that Jacob Javits knew then that his years would not be many. His primary chore since 1980 had been to combat the debilitating amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, also known as "Lou Gehrig's Disease." The illness had robbed him of his strong voice and placed him in a wheelchair.

Yet the determined Javits persevered, just as he had for 34 years in the United States Congress. The son of Manhattan's Lower East Side worked long hours in both chambers to ensure that equal rights were available for this nation's minorities, that the hard earned dollars of private pensioners would be protected by the federal government, and that the power of the presidency would be limited in foreign pursuits by the voice of the people—the United States Congress.

The dedicated legislator also had been a student of Lincoln, and he told the Ripon dinner last November that GOP progressives have a "profound mission to perform politically." Whether "in the majority or the minority," he said, "we have a great function to play. We have a duty to use power to the best effect. [Remain] devotees of the concept of a national party in which Lincoln so vividly believed."

No doubt, Abraham Lincoln would have been proud to have had a student like Jacob Javits. The New York senator possessed the fire of a brave man, and dared to stand for his convictions. In the autumn years of his life he also sought to pass the torch of equality and justice on to another generation. In that mission, like many others of his career, Jacob Javits succeeded. Like Lincoln, his sense of obligation will burn in the years ahead in the lives of those young Americans who care about fairness. ■

Party Rules: Democrats in The Driver's Seat

by Josiah Lee Auspitz

Rules wrangles are all the more delicious to party professionals because there is no inevitable electoral consequence. The rules professionals, who form a stable behind-the-scenes group in both parties, understand that elections more often turn on peace, prosperity, personality and potluck than on the arcane questions of party rules, and they are wont to indulge themselves in procedural maneuvers that the general public only vaguely understands.

Yet beneath their petty machinations, the rules professionals are custodians of long-term questions about the structure of the two-party system. The more responsible professionals understand their public trust, and have the disciplined political intelligence to distinguish principled conduct from tactical maneuver, even when they choose the latter. Though rules decisions do not directly determine any single election, they do profoundly influence the underlying structure of our political parties.

The Democratic Achievement

Since 1968, the Democrats have been criticized for a protracted series of lawsuits and commissions centered on party rules. So much attention has been focused on their small problems that few have noticed the enormous achievement of the Democratic rules establishment during this period. While the Republicans stood by complacently, the Democrats revamped the entire process of presidential selection to suit their intra-party needs.

Their main innovation has been proportional representation (PR), by which a candidate who receives a given percentage of the vote in a primary, state convention, or caucus is entitled to a like percentage of delegates. PR has become so widely accepted that today, among the 100 state parties, only the California GOP retains a winner-take-all state-wide system. The unanimous

Josiah Lee Auspitz is an occasional contributor to the Ripon Forum. © 1986, Josiah Lee Auspitz.

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statewide delegation, which was common in both parties prior to 1968, has now become very difficult to engineer. The Democrats have thus enabled constituencies which cannot command a majority in their geographical area to be represented in national presidential politics. This suits the Democrats's post-New Deal need to move from a "coalition" of sectional monoliths to a more genuinely pluralistic and individualized middle class citizen's party.

Moreover, the Democratic rule-makers have also taken corrective measures against the well-known weaknesses of PR. In its pure form, proportional representation encourages splinter

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groups and ideological and ethnic polarization. The Israeli and Italian parliaments and the French Fourth Republic exemplify its problems. Early on, the Democrats adopted a 15 percent threshold as the minimum vote for qualifying for a proportional share of delegates. But in the absence of a stampede like that to Jimmy Carter in 1976, even this figure made a deadlocked convention a strong arithmetical probability.

Breaking Deadlocks

Hence under the Hunt Commission, which reported in 1982, the Democrats introduced several majoritarian correctives. Some of these were purely arithmetical; notably, the raising of the minimum threshold from 15 percent to a 17-25 percent range to reduce the power and number of splinter candidates. But the most important philosophical departure was to reserve nearly one-fourth of the convention for pledged and unpledged party officials. This gave formal recognition to the doctrine of "responsible party governments," in which the president's nomination is prebrokered through the congressmen, mayors, governors and party officials with whom he will have to deal. It also assured the presence on the convention floor of experienced politicians who, quick to break any deadlock, would preempt the bargaining power of "third force" candidates.

A second important corrective was the so-called congressional district, winner-take-all option by which states could abandon PR altogether. On this option delegates are elected by a

simple plurality at the congressional district level. According to the Democratic theory, these delegates, elected on their local reputations, will be especially likely to switch their votes if there is a need for a "deliberative convention." In 1984 seven states with about a quarter of the convention seats chose this option. The combination of party officials and congressional district delegates meant that about one half the 1984 convention delegates were elected under conditions that would assure their flexibility.

The result, as Jesse Jackson discovered late in the game in 1984, was to make a "third force" candidacy difficult to sustain. The failure of Jackson to wield a power broker's role in San Francisco had nothing to do with his being black, but with the careful design of the rules to discourage any candidate from engaging in massive vote bargaining on the convention floor.

It is a tribute to the Hunt Commission that the main elements of its solution to the Democratic problem have only been tinkered with by the successor Fairness (or Fowler) Commission for 1988. The thresholds have been moved back down to 15

"Their main innovation has been proportional representation, which has become so widely accepted that today, only the California GOP retains a winner-take-all state-wide system."

percent, but as a counterbalancing move even more unpledged officials have been added to assure a smoothly brokered convention in the event of deadlock.

And it is a further tribute to the Democrats's sense of humor that they have cheerfully abandoned their past mistakes, even when these are approved by the Supreme Court in landmark decisions. One such case, decided in 1975, established their right to set racial quotas, but by 1978 they had repudiated quotas in their rules. A hard-fought 1981 case sustained their right to outlaw delegates elected in Wisconsin's open primary, yet in 1986 they restored Wisconsin's system.

The 1988 Rules Advantage

In all, the Democrats have done as much as can be done with rules to set the stage for a post-New Deal revival. They may be weak on money, ideas, leaders, programs, and morale—but they have done a thoroughly professional job with their party structure. And just in time: 1988 is the first year since 1968 when both parties are expected to have fully open nominations.

"One thing is certain about 1988: the Democrats will have the largest say on the structure of Republican delegate selection."

One thing is certain about 1988: the peculiarities of the two parties' national rules decree that it is the Democrats who will have the largest say on the structure of Republican delegate selection. The Republican National Committee does not have any rule-making power between conventions. The GOP rules explicitly defer to state law on matters of delegate selection and timing of primaries—or as the lawyers say, the GOP rules incorporate state law by reference. Thus, any changes which the national Democrats impose are likely, without contrary action in the few state legislatures controlled by Republicans, to be legislated at the state level for both parties. For example, in 1988, as in previous elections years 1976-84, the Democratic threshold on PR will, in the absence of state-by-state GOP alternatives,

become the Republican threshold as well.

The rules agenda of the Democrats, then, has more than parochial interest. On four counts—the balance between caucuses and primaries, the modification of pure proportionality, the congressional district winner-take-all primary, and the timing and structure of key state primaries—the measures adopted by the Democrats may have greater impact on the Republicans than among themselves. There are already signs that the Democrats are aware of this power.

Caucuses v. Primaries

In 1984 the direct primary receded to below its 1968 levels in the Democratic nomination process. This fact was masked in statistics issued by the Democratic National Committee, which counted as primaries six "beauty contests" in winner-take-all congressional district states, where delegates were elected independently of the primaries. Organized labor has declared in favor of a further movement away from primaries and towards caucuses in 1988.

Traditionally, caucuses pit organizational against "amateur" Democrats. But the old wisdom that this favors organized labor does not hold in those states where the issue-oriented activists of yesteryear have become today's hard-boiled professionals. In primary states organizational Democrats have often suffered from defections to media-oriented candidates, but this, too, could change if they get behind a charismatic candidate. The strongest competitive argument for a caucus system among the Democrats, then, is not intra-party but inter-party—namely, that widespread use of caucus systems tends to inhibit rapid Republican growth.

The "realignment" of attitudes to favor the GOP is an old post-war story. (The GOP, after all, briefly won control of both houses of Congress in 1946 and seemed to have set the stage for further realignments in 1956 and 1972). To turn a temporary shift of attitudes into a realignment of party loyalty and participation, however, has always required a more open Republican structure. Without the experience of participating in a GOP primary, Democratic and Independent voters are slow to redefine themselves as Republicans. Instead, they see votes for this or that Republican as judgments of personality or as ways of chastising a Democratic Party which they still consider their own. Hence ambitious Republican leaders have often pressed for open primaries, at least as a transitional phase, to accelerate the movement of voters into the GOP. Direct and open primaries have traditionally helped "moderates" in weakly Republican industrial states, but the Reagan example suggests that "conservatives" too, may be able to draw on fluid Independent and Democratic votes.

Caucuses, by contrast, usually draw those who are already experienced in prior organizational activity. In areas with strong GOP traditions, caucuses reinforce mainstream Republicanism, with participants drawn in large measure from existing ward, precinct and local candidate organizations. In the South, however, and wherever grassroots GOP organization is sparse, caucuses are likely to attract the participation of issues-oriented activists. As with the "amateur" Democrats, such activists generally need a few elections before they develop a political style that is more than a liability in a national campaign. And this is particularly true of those elements of the evangelical and right-to-life movements likely to invest efforts in Republican caucuses. The 1980 rather than the more controlled 1984 convention gave some clue to the "amateur Republican" delegate; at the Detroit convention the Reagan professionals were barely able to control their own forces at platform committee meetings.

No generalization can hold for all states, but nationwide a fashion for direct primaries and particularly for open primaries benefits the GOP, while a fashion for caucuses helps it to retain its existing strength where it is already strong but gives it predictable national liabilities where it is weak. The plan of southern Democrats to group their states into a regional primary (a device that is, of course, objectionable for reintroducing the sectionalism that national parties were set up to counteract)

“Direct and open primaries have traditionally helped ‘moderates’ in weakly Republican industrial states, but the Reagan example suggests that ‘conservatives,’ too, may be able to draw on fluid Independent and Democratic votes.”

would as a tactical matter benefit the GOP by enabling many closet Republicans in the South to make their first party-identifying act. But Democratic legislatures could thwart the enormous GOP potential of this device by scheduling caucuses rather than open primaries.

Proportionality Mischief

The Democratic proportionality thresholds have a similar potential for causing mischief among Republicans. We have seen that the Hunt Commission countered the thrust of PR toward fragmentation and deadlock by making the Democratic convention more “republican”—that is by introducing indirect forms of representation and raising the proportionality thresholds. The most prominent device was reserving 14 percent of the slots at the 1984 convention for unpledged elected and party officials, the so-called “super-delegates,” and another 8 percent for pledged officialdom.

“The internal organization of the GOP convention is not designed to bear the weight of intense rivalry. . . . The Democratic rules, by contrast, assume a level of conflict and diversity that requires more serious attention to committee structure and formal procedure.”

Republicans, who hew more closely to the separation of powers as a rationale for their presidential convention, resist such provisions for party officialdom and are legendary for denying delegate seats to popular office-holders. As a result, the lowering of proportionality thresholds will have greater fragmenting effects among them. If no single candidate stampedes public opinion, how will they winnow down a multicandidate field? In the past, Republicans have been able to rely on their majoritarian instincts to avoid an impasse. But the movement of issues-oriented activists into the party opens the GOP convention to the iron logic of proportionality. Any media-oriented candidate whose supporters are more concerned about issues than about winning can, by persevering through to the convention, hope to have more leverage in the GOP system than Jesse Jackson had in San Francisco.

Moreover, the internal organization of the GOP convention is not designed to bear the weight of intense rivalry, especially if a multi-candidate field prevents a first ballot victory. GOP convention committees on rules, credentials and platforms do not reflect the weight of state delegations on the convention floor (each state has two committee votes regardless of size), and the

rules for presentation of minority planks have been further tightened to assure that the GOP convention will be more bottled up than a Democratic one. Republicans like to rely on a sense of civility outside the rules. When their good manners break down, as happens every generation or two, the problems of reconciliation are compounded by the unfair advantage that one side or another has taken of procedures that did not bear close scrutiny to begin with. The Democratic rules, by contrast, assume a level of conflict and diversity that requires more serious attention to committee structure and formal procedure.

The State Party Role

The flexibility of the GOP to broker a deadlocked convention may thus depend on those states where the legislatures have availed themselves of the new winner-take-all, congressional district option permitted by the Hunt Commission. This is the next best thing to the old favorite son device for assuring gubernatorial control over a delegation. In 1984 this pro-organization option was used by the GOP in six states that usually elect “moderate” Republican governors. In four of these—New Jersey, West Virginia, Illinois and Pennsylvania—the GOP would appear to be strong enough to retain or initiate its own system without Democratic cooperation. Republican gubernatorial gains in 1986 could lead to further initiatives on this front.

It is striking that, short of preempting the ground with federal legislation, Republicans have no way to affect the rules of the game on the national level. At the state level they can make changes only in those states where they either control the state legislatures (as in Michigan in 1984, New Jersey after 1986, Indiana always) or where a tradition of deference lets each party choose its own system for presidential competition. Michigan Republicans, for example, acted promptly in 1985 to make their district caucuses the opening event of the nomination campaign.

The tradition of deference permits the most marked variation in California, where it preserves on the Republican side the only remaining state-wide winner-take-all direct primary in the country. This device, retained for its obvious benefit to a Reagan presidential candidacy in 1976 and 1980, did not provide a visible margin of victory in those years. But if the California date is moved up, or if the GOP race is close, a winner-take-all system may seem too big a wild card to go unchallenged. Even during the Reagan ascendancy, GOP conservatives from small western states have seen the California primary as a circumvention of the GOP prohibition against unit-rule voting. Yet any orderly revision by the California GOP before the 1988 convention would require the cooperation of a Democratic legislative majority.

To break out from under the power of the Democrats, Republicans have recently begun to use the courts. The resourceful Connecticut GOP has sued to hold an open primary in defiance of a law written by the Democratic legislature. In approving the GOP petition, the U.S. District Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit noted that Democratic enactment of a law forbidding Independents and Democrats from voting in an open primary violated not only the First Amendment rights of the GOP but a fundamental principle: “few concepts are so antithetical to the notion of representative democracy as that of a temporary majority entrenching itself by manipulating the system through which the voters, in theory, may register their dissatisfaction by choosing new leadership.”

The RNC, for its part, made a major investment of resources after 1984 in legal action to block the pro-Democratic gerrymand-

dering of congressional districts. In doing so it articulated an exceptionally activist interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment and of judicial intervention in state legislative affairs. It further proposed a broad definition of "gerrymandering" to include computerized programs that follow a one person one vote standard. To make a show of its bona fides the RNC has

"To break out from under the power of the Democrats, Republicans have recently begun to use the courts. . . . Unfortunately, the inattention of the national GOP to its own rules limits the benefits it can expect from a judicial offensive."

chosen to file an amicus brief with the Supreme Court to overturn the pro-Republican districting plan of the GOP-dominated legislature of Indiana. (If the general principle were accepted, the overturning of pro-Democratic redistricting in other states might give the GOP a chance at winning a House majority in 1991.) As a further legal maneuver the RNC filed an amicus brief in a North Carolina case alleging "dilution" of the franchise of blacks.

Skeletons in the Republican Closet

Unfortunately, the inattention of the national GOP to its own rules during the past two decades limits the benefits it can expect from a judicial offensive. Its own national convention happens to retain provisions inserted as an ethnic gerrymander in the 1920s, a period when both parties were carried away with nativist sentiment. They now dilute the votes of American citizens in the populous states to a degree unparalleled anywhere

else in the political system. Beyond invoking its First Amendment right to free association, the party does not even try to justify its structure. Its current (1972) allocation formula, for which Morton Blackwell claimed authorship in a 1985 *Washington Post* interview, adds to these old provisions bonuses that attempt (thus far without success) to build in a self-entrenching sectional majority based on a single election. At a time when the Democrats have withdrawn official recognition of special interest and sectional caucuses, the RNC has restructured its executive committee along sectional lines and has even added to its official list of "auxiliaries" of hyphenated Republicans: to the old list of black, Hispanic, and "heritage" (mostly Asian and East European) Republicans, it now has written Jews and labor into the rules. Finally and amusingly, the doctrines of judicial activism, gerrymandering, vote dilution and Fourteenth Amendment rights which the RNC lawyers have submitted to the Supreme Court in the Indiana and North Carolina briefs undercut both a political and legal defense of the GOP's own convention formula.

It is true that the Democrats perpetuate their power by an often sleazy manipulation of rules, but the national GOP has too many skeletons in its closet to mount a vigorous public counter-offensive. It maintains superiority in fundraising, campaign management, and advertising technique—all of which are important advantages in a commercial society. But since America is also a rule-of-law society, Republican weakness on the rule-based dimension of its competition with the Democrats is not a trivial matter.

To the limited but profound extent that rules affect winning, then, the Democrats are now structured for long-term health, while the GOP is structured for long-term trouble. ■

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Title X program in June, and that I termed a vote in favor of that authorization as an "abortion" vote. The fact is that I did not lead the fight on that issue; I did not even speak during the debate! Those duties were ably handled by my colleague, Rep. Thomas Bliley. I did vote against the reauthorization, because it was brought up under a shortcut procedure that curtailed debate and prohibited amendments from being offered. And while most pro-life groups do consider a vote against the reauthorization as a pro-life vote, I have never been asked by Miss Weaver or anyone else to characterize that vote one way or another.

I have never talked to Miss Weaver about this or any other subject. She did contact my staff repeatedly and was provided with information about my position. Yet she chose to ignore the facts. I recognize that the abortion issue is an emotional one, over which there is a great deal of disagreement. I believe that the lack of consensus about when life begins is in and of itself a compelling reason to oppose abortion—if we err, we should err on the side of life. But regardless of our differences of opinion on this issue, there is no excuse for irresponsible journalism of this type. It is a discredit to your publication, and I protest in the strongest possible terms.

Carolyn Weaver Replies:

Representative Kemp's letter is a misrepresentation of his own amendment, as his colleagues in Congress will instantly recognize.

As was widely reported at the time (by the *New York Times*,

Congressional Quarterly, *USA Today* and *The Washington Post*, among others), Mr. Kemp's original amendment would have barred even the mention of abortion to clients of federally funded family planning clinics unless the woman's life would be endangered by the pregnancy. Mr. Kemp has never before disputed that this was the intent of his amendment.

The amendment, moreover, was written not to ban "counsel for" abortion procedures, as Mr. Kemp misquotes it in his letter, but "counseling for" abortion procedures. "Counsel for" has an implication of advocacy that now serves Mr. Kemp's purposes. The correct wording clearly refers to the neutral discussion of abortion as a medical option.

Family planning clinics receiving federal money have *always* been prohibited from advising women to have abortions. Mr. Kemp, in fact, rejected a substitute amendment that would have restated that ban on the grounds that it was meaningless.

Concerning the "knowing aside" that "Rep. Kemp also opposes the IUD and the Pill," it was Mr. Kemp's own aide on abortion and family planning issues who volunteered to me that Mr. Kemp opposes the IUD and the Pill as abortifacients.

Mr. Kemp is correct that I misidentified him as a leader in the move to defeat the family planning program reauthorization in June. He had reportedly originally planned to offer his amendment to that bill, but did not take an active role in defeating it. Leaders in that fight did indeed characterize it as an "abortion" vote, as I reported. I regret the error, but it does not undercut the central point, which is that Mr. Kemp is a leader in the assault on family planning programs. ■

Out of Angola

by Terrence M. O'Sullivan

“U-NI-TA! U-NI-TA!,” the crowd of conservative activists chanted wildly, as their favorite African “freedom fighter”—Angola’s Jonas Savimbi—stepped up to receive an award from the American Conservative Union and the Young Americans for Freedom. The socialist rebel leader, who mixed easily with the conservative Republican power that night, was in Washington to court Ronald Reagan, the United States Congress and the American people. And his aim was simple: to secure aid for his army of rebels, which is currently fighting the Marxist government in Angola.

The Reagan administration has billed Savimbi as the African answer to Nicaragua’s “contras,” but the leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) also has been described as a man of many faces. *The Washington Post’s* Leon Dash says that Jonas Savimbi is “an enigma, a man on whom many labels can stick—brilliant, charismatic, affable, unyielding, forgiving, temporizing, Machiavellian, opportunistic, lying, nationalistic, Marxist, Maoist, pro-Western and socialist.” Whatever Savimbi is, the debate over United States aid to him has been spirited.

A Convoluted History

To understand that debate, one must first grasp the nature of the Angolan civil war. Angola is the size of Texas and California combined, and it has been the site of conflict since independence movements began in Africa over 25 years ago. In fact, the country’s fight for freedom has been the continent’s most perplexing, rife with irony that would be humorous but for the fact that the situation has been so devastating to the Angolan people.

Angola came under Portuguese rule almost four hundred years ago, and it has experienced some of the colonial era’s worst exploitation. Until the turn of this century, this southwest African nation was a penal colony and the home of an intricate racial caste system, similar in many respects to that of South Africa’s apartheid. Luanda, the capitol of Angola, was known for “the good life” (some called it the Rio de Janeiro of Africa). But it also was one of colonial Africa’s “whitest” cities. Black Angolans lived almost exclusively outside of Luanda, and most languished in poverty: 98 percent were illiterate and the vast majority were without medical services.

During the 1950s resistance began to develop, and by 1961 Angola’s first guerilla bands began to harass the Portuguese colonialists. That continued until 1974, when internal political

problems in Portugal led to a military coup in Lisbon. Soon after, the new regime announced that Portugal’s colonies would be set free within a year, and Portuguese nationals began to flee Angola. Everything that wasn’t nailed down went with them, and, more importantly, the country was left with no government and little trained manpower.

In the years before Angola’s independence three major guerilla groups had emerged. The largest, Holden Roberto’s pro-western National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), was aided by the United States, which sought to counter the Soviet-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). Roberto also was aided by Jonas Savimbi, but Savimbi formed UNITA in 1966 after a major falling-out with Roberto. And while UNITA was the nation’s smallest resistance group, it also received aid from a wide variety of sources, including China, France and the United States.

On the eve of Angola’s independence in 1975, the Portuguese tried to negotiate an interim government between these factions. But since each group tried to gain dominance, the bid failed. In the process, the CIA-backed FNLA unexpectedly wilted in the face of the Soviet/Cuban-aided MPLA. The pro-western forces were thus faced with a losing battle, so South Africa, anxious about the fighting adjacent to its territory of Namibia, entered the fray. The MPLA responded by seeking more Cuban aid, and as that aid arrived in October 1975, the South Africans launched a full scale invasion of Angola. An alliance had been secretly negotiated between the South Africans and Savimbi, and the South African/UNITA forces pushed to within miles of Luanda.

By then, however, over 20,000 Cuban troops had come to the Popular Movement’s defense, and the UNITA/South Africa movement was stalled. The United States was pressed for further assistance, but since the American public was just being made aware of its \$40 million in covert aid, Henry Kissinger and the Ford administration were turned down when they requested aid in late 1975.

Congress was fearful of another Vietnam-like involvement, and the Clark Amendment, which officially denied additional funds for U.S. covert operations in Angola, was passed. A chagrined South Africa was thus forced to withdraw from the battle.

In the meantime, the MPLA had secured enough control of Luanda and a portion of the surrounding countryside to claim victory by November, and international diplomatic recognition soon followed. (The Ford White House, embarrassed by its defeat, refused to recognize the new Angolan government.) Moreover, Cuban forces remained, and Jonas Savimbi, with aid from South Africa, settled into a ten-year military stand-off.

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Reluctant Allies

Recent moves, however, have changed the nature of that standoff. Last summer, Congress repealed the Clark Amendment in an apparent demonstration of its willingness to support the administration's "Reagan Doctrine." While the goal of that doctrine has been to back anti-communist "freedom fighters" in places like Nicaragua, Cambodia, Afghanistan and Angola, the administration has chosen not to seek overt aid for the Savimbi-led resistance. Perhaps fearing an open debate, it has preferred instead to channel aid covertly through the CIA.

But whether covert or overt, there are several factors that argue against supplying aid to Mr. Savimbi. First, there is considerable doubt about the intensity of the MPLA's loyalty to the Soviet Union. One must pay a price for being an ally of the Soviets, and the Angolans are doing just that. There are nearly

"Whether covert or overt, there are several factors that argue against supplying aid to Jonas Savimbi."

35,000 Cuban troops and Soviet advisors stationed in Angola, but the MPLA government must send an estimated 60 percent of its annual income to Havana and Moscow for military and other costs. In fact, Angola's president, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, claims that our intervention will only lead to more Cuban troops in Angola, and has even asked that the U.S. not force him into an increased dependence on the Soviets.

The MPLA government is also undoubtedly aware of the Soviets's heavy-handedness. Throughout the Third World, the Soviet Union is known for its opportunism as well as its racism (in Somalia and Angola, the Russians established segregated beaches). Countries like Somalia, Ghana, Egypt and Guinea have expelled them; and in virtually every other place where communism has been tried in Africa, it has failed.

One reason for this failure is rooted deeply in African culture, and may be exemplified by the old saying: You can never buy an African government; you can only rent it for a day. Africa cannot be seen solely through an East-West prism because Africans are first and foremost individualists and tribalists. Only after that identity is considered do the concepts of nationalism or ideology come into play. As David Lamb, a *Los Angeles Times* correspondent who spent four years covering Africa, says in his book *The Africans*: "Africa, unlike, say, China, does not have the tradition of central government so essential to the propagation of communism. It has no history of placing common welfare above that of the family or tribe. It has no experience in being industrious in any endeavor unrelated to individual survival. The tenets of Marxism are alien to African culture."

If Africans have any intrinsic leaning, it is toward democracy. Village and tribal government leaders are elected by various forms of popular consent, which provides some local tradition of democracy. Most Africans also are deeply religious people, whether Muslim, Christian, or animist, and this does not lend itself either to the acceptance of pure communist dogma.

Of course, the communist rhetoric of some African governments has often caused westerners to miss the realities of African politics. In turn, new African nations have been denied the chance to develop democratic, western-leaning tendencies. This includes the MPLA government. In 1975, it was written off as hopelessly Marxist, although neither the government nor its president have turned out to be Marxist monsters. In fact, they have frequently approached the U.S. seeking an official rap-

prochement, but on each attempt they have been rejected.

Economically, of course, strong ties do exist between the United States and Angola. Chevron/Gulf has over \$600 million invested in an oil recovery and refinery operation in the small, coastal region of Cabinda. The facility is by far Angola's greatest income producer, and one of the new MPLA government's first official acts was to ask Gulf to resume its operations, which were suspended during the mid-1970s. The majority of Angolan oil is now shipped to the United States and constitutes most of the \$1.1 billion in annual trade between the two governments.

The Angolan government also benefits from U.S. Export-Import Bank loan credits and guarantees, which have provided for joint oil projects between Gulf and the Angolan oil company, Sonangol. But since the Reagan administration and its congressional allies view this as contrary to administration policy in Angola, they have sought to stop such assistance. According to the White House, Gulf Oil should "put American national interests before its own."

Destructive Engagement: the Regional Question

Of course, determining interests has not been the Reagan administration's strong suit either. Consider the effects of the administration's five-year policy of "constructive engagement" in South Africa. By advocating "sustained and orderly change," the Reagan administration promotes a notion that most others in the region have abandoned: that white South Africans will voluntarily turn over power to the black majority. In fact, the administration's policies have served to heighten the perception that the U.S. tacitly supports the white South African government's policy of racial apartheid.

That perception must especially be taken into account when considering providing American aid to Jonas Savimbi's guerillas. In his "alliance with the devil," Mr. Savimbi not only has received substantial support from the white South African

What the United States must ask itself, then, is: can it afford to promote an image of alignment with Jonas Savimbi and the white South African government—particularly if we wish to mediate in the assuredly tumultuous days ahead in southern Africa?"

government, he also has assisted South African forces in suppressing SWAPO and anti-apartheid ANC guerrillas in Angola and nearby Namibia. The rebel leader claims that his support is purely practical and based upon survival. But in the eyes of black southern Africans, Mr. Savimbi is seen as a pawn of the white Pretorian government.

What the United States must ask itself, then, is: can it afford to promote an image of alignment with Jonas Savimbi and the white South African government—particularly if we wish to mediate in the assuredly tumultuous days ahead in southern Africa? It is inevitable that the United States will have to deal with South Africa's emerging black leadership, and if we have been consistently on the "wrong side" of the apartheid issue, a high price will be paid. In fact, while supporting South Africa and its allies in the name of anti-communism may be a noble goal, it also may ensure Soviet support among black-ruled governments in southern Africa.

Of course, there have been some signs of moderation in the United States' African policy. This has been especially notice-

able at the State Department, which in 1984 brokered a dramatic agreement between South Africa and Mozambique's Marxist leader, Samora Machel. The so-called Nkomati Accord mandated that each nation stop supporting the rebels that were plaguing the other: Mozambique agreed to halt support for anti-South African ANC guerrillas, and South Africa pledged not to provide further aid to Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO) guerrillas. (There has been speculation, however, that the latter aid continues.)

In fact, the improvement of relations with Mozambique provides a good example of what U.S. policy towards Angola could be like. While the Mozambique government is similar to that in Angola, its positive response to U.S. overtures demonstrates that regional cooperation is possible. Similar overtures to Angola would find a welcome. Since its people now face a war-induced famine, the MPLA government desperately needs economic stability. And because it has demonstrated its rather loose adherence to Marxist dogma by embracing the capitalistic Cabinda Gulf Oil operation, it is highly likely that it would welcome

further U.S. development aid and improved relations.

If that sounds like weak-kneed collaboration, remember that Jonas Savimbi has questionable democratic credentials. The former Maoist has repeatedly criticized the Luanda government for being multi-ethnic, and has advocated a policy of black supremism. Moreover, there is no guarantee that the UNITA leader will not turn into another U.S.-backed despot: Mobutu Sese Seko, Zaire's president, has raped his country of nearly \$3 billion, but he has remained acceptable because he is "pro-American."

Ultimately, however, the simple fact of taking sides in this little war could irreparably damage our status in the region. Two of three U.S. intelligence agencies admit that Savimbi has little chance of either winning the conflict or joining a coalition government. With the prospect of a destructive, drawn-out involvement, we are faced with a situation that may benefit no one but the Soviet Union. ■

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A Republican Primer on Acid Rain

by Sherwood Boehlert

In the wake of the second summit meeting between President Reagan and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, the debate over clean air and "acid rain" has returned to the headlines. At their March 1986 meeting, the president dropped his long-standing refusal to acknowledge the problem, and pledged greater efforts to develop a long-range acid rain control policy. In Congress, the debate has enlivened considerably.

Because Congress is closer than ever before to reaching agreement on how to deal with acid rain, I would like to provide some insight into the specifics of the problem, as well as the tradeoffs involved in our efforts to control it. Ripon readers may be most interested to learn that this year, moderate Republicans are leading the way in crafting a realistic and responsible approach to controlling acid rain.

Problems of Acid Rain

I would guess that by now we all know "acid rain" or "acid deposition" is the name given to an air pollution phenomenon that results when emissions of sulfur dioxide (SO₂) and nitrogen oxides (NO_x) undergo changes in the atmosphere and return to Earth in acidic wet or dry form. Most of the harmful emissions are from coal-fired electric utility plants in the Midwest; SO₂ and NO_x emissions also come from a variety of industrial sources in all areas of the country, and a significant portion of the NO_x emissions come from autos and trucks.

A few facts and figures help illustrate the size and scope of the problem: more than 13,000 Canadian and American lakes have already been acidified; last summer, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) found surprisingly advanced acidification in Florida's lakes. Another EPA study has estimated \$7 billion worth of damage done annually to public buildings and monuments in only 17 states. The shock of suddenly acidic spring snowmelt in Rocky Mountain streams is having a drastic effect on small animals essential to the food chain. A byproduct of NO_x emissions, ozone, decreases photosynthesis and is the culprit for millions of dollars of forest and crop losses.

Not only has acid deposition caused damage to natural resources across the U.S., but it has also led to strains in our diplomatic relations with Canada. Last year's "Shamrock Summit" led to the appointment of special envoys Drew Lewis and William Davis, whose January 1986 report explicitly stated that

transboundary pollution is "contributing to acidification of sensitive areas in both countries." But the Canadians argue we produce more of the stuff than they do, and have pressed the U.S. to move ahead with an emissions reduction program. If Prime Minister Mulroney had been unable to win any constructive measures from President Reagan, it could have meant the downfall of his government.

"Ripon readers may be most interested to learn that this year, moderate Republicans are leading the way in crafting a realistic and responsible approach for controlling acid rain."

At this point, it is only fair to mention that some scientific uncertainty still exists concerning the full size, significance and future trends of the damage we're experiencing. Some controversy still exists over acid deposition's effects on forests and humans. Opponents of immediate acid rain control programs, including the administration, have argued that we don't yet know enough about this complex beast to order expensive new government programs.

The scientific consensus for action, however, has existed for several years. In 1983, the National Academy of Sciences recommended a 50 percent reduction in the emissions that cause acid rain, approximately 10-12 million tons of SO₂ and 4-6 million tons of NO_x. Last fall, a group of respected environmental scientists issued a review of the major government acid rain research and concluded, "Adequate scientific information exists to select emission-reduction strategies to reduce acid deposition efficiently." Perhaps New Jersey Governor Tom Kean said it best: "If all we do is continue to study the problem, we'll end up with the best documented environmental disaster in history."

Options

So if acid deposition poses such a serious environmental, economic, and diplomatic crisis, why hasn't the Congress or the executive branch taken some appropriate action? Predictably, the problem is complexity. At one point, Drew Lewis said, "This has got to be the most intractable problem I have dealt with in public life." There is no shortage of proposals for dealing with acid rain, but all have fallen victim to competing regional and economic concerns.

In the executive branch, the Environmental Protection

Sherwood Boehlert is a member of Congress from New York and a member of the '92 Group, a House Republican caucus.

Agency has made several recommendations, most notably a moderate proposal by former EPA Administrator William Ruckelshaus to reduce harmful emissions by four million tons. That initiative was denounced by environmentalists as insufficient; it was sunk by officials at the White House for being too expensive and intrusive. More and more study was ordered instead.

"There is no shortage of proposals for dealing with acid rain, but all have fallen victim to competing regional and economic concerns."

In Congress, acid rain proposals have generally called for a full 50 percent reduction in the emissions that cause acid rain, and there have been two major variations on how to reach that goal. The "least cost" approach, best embodied in the House "Udall-Cheney" bill, simply lays out reductions goals and various deadlines, and leaves the free market to decide how the reductions will be made. This approach is an economist's dream, since the federal government's role is relatively minimal.

Under this scheme, the polluter pays the full cost of complying with the law, and of course, that means the heaviest payment burdens would be passed along to electric consumers. Also, the high-sulfur coal mining industry, concentrated in the Illinois-to-West Virginia coal belt, has adamantly opposed this approach since the cheapest and easiest way to reduce sulfur emissions is to switch to lower-sulfur coal, putting thousands of miners out of work.

The other leading proposal, embodied in 1984's "Waxman-Sikorski" bill, lays out the reductions goal, mandates expensive pollution-control "scrubbers" to be installed at the country's worst polluting plants, and offers government subsidies to the

"Working together in the House, moderate Republicans have offered a solution. They have produced serious momentum on the acid rain issue."

polluter to ease the economic impact of these requirements. To further spread the costs of the program, "Waxman-Sikorski" included a small nationwide tax on electricity production, a provision which caused westerners to oppose the whole bill since western power is mostly clean hydroelectric or nuclear.

By mandating technology, "Waxman-Sikorski" offered maximum protection to the coal miners, but earned the wrath of industries opposed to federal government intrusion in their business. The Democratic package had been carefully designed to "buy off" various opponents, especially midwesterners, but it failed at the subcommittee level by one vote, and died.

92 Group Proposal

This brings us to where we are now. As of March 1986, the federal Clean Air Act has not been reauthorized since it expired in 1981; its programs have been approved only through the appropriations process. Some have argued that we should try to pass a bill without getting bogged down in the whole Clean Air Act, but it's obvious that the 15-year old law must be updated. Can congressional leaders ever hope to bridge the wide differences of opinion on acid rain and pass a bill?

Working together in the House, moderate Republicans have offered a solution. Until now, no one has tried to bridge the "scrubbing-switching" dilemma; no one has been able to craft a bill that recognizes both the social and economic costs of controlling acid rain. This year, moderate House Republicans made the attempt, and have produced serious momentum on the acid rain issue.

Beginning in November, I began hosting meetings that pulled together seventeen members of the House '92 Group, the moderate Republican caucus, as well as Representatives Newt Gingrich of Georgia and Vin Weber of Minnesota, conservative leaders with respectable positions on environmental issues. Our goal was to craft an acid rain proposal that Republicans could support; one which achieved deep emission reductions at the least possible cost, with the greatest flexibility for industry to comply, the least possible disruption to the coal industry, and with the least possible impact on states which don't contribute to the problem.

We have achieved those goals and more. In early March, this Republican Working Group on Acid Rain proposed establishing

"The president's endorsement of the U.S.-Canada report was a small step for a president, but a great leap for our environment and relations with Canada."

state-by-state "bubbles," in which state authorities would have the flexibility to reach a single, low national standard for emission rates by any manner they found feasible. The emission rate standard is low enough to ensure deep reductions; the flexibility keeps costs to a minimum; and coal miners's jobs are protected since for many sources the cost-effective choice will be installing "scrubbers."

The '92 Group proposal found more ways to keep costs low and the program workable. Most importantly, the Group's proposal was crafted to earn the support of leaders from all sections of the country. The result was a major breakthrough, offering to Democrats a chance to compromise on an acid rain package that could appeal to a broad range of Republicans.

Most significantly, the package had major input from the '92 Group co-chair, Representative Tom Tauke of Iowa, a key member of the subcommittee with jurisdiction over the issue. Tauke will undoubtedly play a leadership role in this year's acid rain debate, and could convince other subcommittee Republicans to support his position.

Conclusion

As this goes to press, the acid rain debate is changing daily. The Democrats have already recognized that our efforts are directed toward a bill more likely to pass the full Congress. Republicans see an opportunity to deal with acid rain in a reasonable way. And finally, as he has done on so many issues, the president has acted more pragmatically at the last minute than his rhetoric would have suggested, paving the way for congressional resolution of the issue. The president's endorsement of the U.S.-Canada report was a small step for a president, but a great leap for our environment and relations with Canada.

For the first time on this issue, we have an opportunity to put partisanship aside and do what is right for all regions and interests. Those opportunities are rare, and I'm working to make sure we don't miss this one. ■

Norma Paulus: The Woman Who Would Be Governor

by William P. McKenzie

Many economic prognosticators predict that the markets of Asia and the Pacific will be the next Western Europe, and Norma Paulus contends that America's Northwest should position itself as the gateway to that frontier. But since the recession of 1981-1982 had a tremendous impact on that region, particularly its timber industry, the 1986 Oregon Republican gubernatorial candidate claims that the Pacific Northwest has yet to develop a strong sense of itself.

As the next governor of Oregon, Norma Paulus would like to establish that identity. Too many people don't know where Portland is, she says, and while cities like Seattle conjure up images of natural beauty, most Americans don't know about the Pacific Northwest's economic potential. The states should thus stop feuding over issues like the Columbia River Gorge and begin aggressively marketing themselves. In fact, the former Oregon secretary of state claims that Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Alaska can become the focal point of shipping to and from the Pacific Rim.

The central issue in Oregon's 1986 gubernatorial contest is economic development, and the race most likely will boil down to the candidacies of liberal Democrat Neil Goldschmidt and progressive Republican Paulus. Goldschmidt, who served in the Carter White House as secretary of transportation and as mayor of Portland from 1972 until 1979, believes that a "partnership" must be developed between government and Oregon's key industries. Tax breaks must be provided and help should be given on trade issues.

Likewise, Paulus believes that incentives should be given to industry, particularly Oregon's high-tech concerns. But she contends that growth should be "directed" by the business community. "That's crucial," says the Nebraska native, whose family fled the Midwest during the Great Depression.

Yet Paulus's brand of Republicanism is not of the self-help, don't-bother-me variety that has characterized the GOP since the days of Herbert Hoover. The 52-year old mother of two has developed a fierce record on behalf of women and minorities, and says that her family's miserably poor economic circumstances during the 1930s taught her much about the importance of civil and equal rights. She describes herself as a "staunch feminist," and claims that Oregon has appointed more women to high office than any other state.

Like many Oregonians, Paulus also speaks her mind about the environment. As a state legislator in the early 1970s, she sponsored the Bottle Bill, the Willamette Greenway, scenic easements and bike paths. Such measures not only fit her in with the independent-thinking of Oregon Republicans like Mark Hatfield and Bob Packwood, but also relate to Paulus's belief that Oregon can become "the next Vail, the next Aspen." Oregon lacks an effective tourist policy, Paulus says, and as governor she would like to initiate one. Top ski conditions have been overlooked, and people need to know that Oregon has "the best Shakespearean theatre outside of Stratford-Upon-Avon."

William P. McKenzie is editor of the Ripon Forum.



The political strength of both Norma Paulus and Neil Goldschmidt lies in a coalition of women, environmentalists and teachers. But Paulus says that the Oregon Democrat is speaking out of both sides of his mouth. Timber executives seem to think he is in favor of increasing the "allowable cut," and environmentalists believe he supports greater conservation. That will catch up with him, his opponent says.

Indeed, polls bear out Paulus's point. The most recent poll conducted by *The Oregonian*, the state's leading newspaper, reveals that Paulus leads her opponent by seven percentage points. This might surprise some since Goldschmidt, a Nike corporate executive, looked almost unbeatable when he announced his candidacy last summer. Having been elected mayor of Portland at age 32, his rise in politics has been well-documented.

But perhaps the conditions of his rise also have provided the reason for his fall. The 45-year old lawyer's political moves have centered too much around Portland and Washington, D.C. And just as experience in the latter doesn't translate easily into local support, the 33 counties outside the Portland area often resent Portland's sense of importance. Goldschmidt just may not be able to hurdle the state's political faultline, even though he began his year with a tour of several rural counties. As *The Oregonian's* Foster Church wrote in January, "if he should make 15 such tours, he cannot hope to match the familiarity Paulus enjoys."

"Familiarity and trust" is in fact the slogan of Paulus's campaign, and it also is the reason she cites when explaining why she has drawn the majority of voters earning under \$25,000 a year and those earning over \$50,000 a year. "The poor are more apt to trust a woman," Paulus says, and the higher-income, better-educated voter is "more liberal and tolerant." Anyway, she claims, one of her strengths is her "ability to relate."

To women in particular? To some degree. An *Oregonian* poll last fall showed Paulus receiving 50.9 percent of the female vote, while Goldschmidt drew only 27.9 percent. And another poll showed that 82 percent of the state would vote for a woman. But Paulus, whom the *Ladies Home Journal* in 1979 voted one of the "Ten Women of the Future," knows that such statistics can be misleading. As one of her advisers reminded her, "82 percent of the people would vote for woman, but 100 percent will still vote for a man." ■

Reviews Reviews Reviews Reviews Reviews Reviews Reviews Reviews

A Progressive Republican Guide

by Steven B. Klinsky

THE REAGAN DETOUR

Richard Reeves; 1985; \$7.95 softcover
Simon & Schuster; 141 pages

In his broad ranging and thoughtful book, "The Reagan Detour," reporter Richard Reeves surveys the current state of national politics and concludes that President Reagan has not fundamentally changed America's march down the path of FDR's New Deal. "Reagan," writes Reeves, "proved to be a principled and determined leader who won many battles, but lost his war to change the American direction. The Reagan years would be a detour, necessary if sometimes nasty, in the long progression of American liberal democracy. Americans seemed destined to choose political and social individualism over economic individualism, continuing to uphold and defend government, sometimes grudgingly, as the most trustworthy available protector against accumulations of wealth and other sources and manifestations of private power." In this time of "fast technology and quick Americans," Reeves argues, the Reagan detour will soon end and he presents three issues which "will inevitably bring liberalism and the Democrats back into fashion and power—sooner rather than later." In fact, however, his book's questions and answers prove most useful, and most encouraging, to progressive Republicans.

The Importance of the Center

Reeves's fundamental thesis is that the American electorate's ideological center determines election outcomes; that the opinions of the center are fundamentally stable; that these opinions are well known to the candidates through polls, and that ultimately, it is the politicians who bend to the will of the center rather than the electorate falling in step behind the candidate. The election rhetoric of opposing candidates becomes essentially interchangeable, as in 1984 when Reagan stressed his support of poverty programs, housing subsidies and Social Security while Walter Mondale stood squarely against new domestic spending programs and for a strong defense.

A great politician can use ideas to shift the center's consensus by remaking its world view. Roosevelt succeeded at this. Reagan, in Reeves's opinion, has fallen short. Reeves describes the

president as a true revolutionary, a sincere apostle of the view that government is the problem not the solution. Reaganism is defined as "a determined systematic effort to reduce the domestic functions of the Federal Government by choking off its revenues while at the same time diverting a greater proportion into the military." The American public, in contrast, opposes growth in government but continues to desire the preservation of the American welfare state at its current size. The result is that the federal budget remains at 20-25 percent of the nation's gross

"According to Reeves, three issues 'will inevitably bring liberalism and the Democrats back into fashion and power—sooner rather than later.' In fact, however, his book's questions and answers prove most useful, and most encouraging, to progressive Republicans."

national product, Democrats control the House, Social Security and other basic welfare programs stand intact and polls show no basic changes in public opinion on the role of government.

Reeves concludes, I think correctly, that any perceived mandate for extreme conservative Republicanism in 1980 or 1984 was a chimera. In 1980, Reagan won through a call on American populism, optimism and nationalism against an incumbent who had declared political bankruptcy. In 1984, Americans, flush with the economic recovery, voted their pocketbooks. (Indeed, points out Reeves, voters who said their own political views matched Mondale's, but that they would be better off financially under Reagan, were for the president by better than four to one.) In short, there has been a Reagan landslide, but not a Reagan revolution. Reagan will go down in history as a successful president, but a failed ideologue.

From this reasonable argument, Reeves draws an unreasonable conclusion: that the nation is positioned for a renaissance of Democratic liberalism; that since the electorate has not been pulled to the far right, it is positioned to swing to the left. He rests his hopes of a "detour" on a general penchant of the American electorate for change while demonstrating that the electoral consensus has maintained its stability and independent mindedness against even the "Great Communicator." The specific data Reeves cites in his book presages the ascendancy, not of Democrats and liberalism, but of the type of progressive Republicanism supported by this journal.

As described by Reeves, the nation's electoral strength is in

Steven B. Klinsky is a member of the Ripon Forum editorial board.

the center and the two political parties are ripe for a permanent realignment to reflect that strength. The traditional Democrats, led in 1984 by Cuomo, Jackson, Kennedy and Ferraro, continue to define themselves as the party of the "new people"—of recent immigrants and newly empowered minorities—united against the old Protestant Yankee Republicans. This definition holds little appeal for the successfully assimilated children of these new people—the prosperous second and third generation voters who are economically secure and "would almost certainly choose to identify with insiders and the older American heritage. They'll go with the Yankees. They'll go with the

"A great politician can use ideas to shift the center's consensus by remaking its world view. Roosevelt succeeded at this. Reagan, in Reeves's opinion, has fallen short."

winners." This is particularly true of the young professionals who, says Reeves, "could split between the Democratic and Republican parties, perhaps even reconstituting dormant liberal Republicanism. They fit that old mold: culturally liberal, economically conservative. There were a lot of them out there, and a permanent shift to Republicanism by enough of them would change American politics for a long time." The traditional Democratic party also holds little appeal for neoliberal Democrats, whose plans for economic growth often require opposition to labor unions. This group also might find a home in progressive Republicanism.

The Republican Party is characterized by Reeves as intellectually fragmented, held together only by the personal power and magnetism of Ronald Reagan. "Pull out the center, the nucleus of the whirling mass, and the whole thing might implode." Progressive Republicanism is only one ring in this intellectual atom, but it is the one which most nearly reflects what the American center—the American electorate—believes. Reading Reeves, it is clear that the Republican Party must acknowledge this equivalency if it wants to achieve a true mandate and a true political realignment. A similar point was made recently by Democratic pollster Patrick Caddell. "Baby boomers," wrote Caddell, "are the single largest generation in the whole American experience. Their potential in politics is great—they could

"Reeves concludes, I think correctly, that any perceived mandate for extreme conservative Republicanism in 1980 or 1984 was a chimera."

make up 60 percent of the electorate in 1988. . . . It is a cliché to say that baby boomers are essentially more liberal on social and cultural matters and more conservative on economic issues, but the truth is, that is what they are, and they have been that way since the early 1970's. . . . Neither party has been able to reach this generation in a way that would allow it—and its aspiration to change the world—to become a central power force. Which leads to the real question for 1988 and beyond: Which party, if either, is going to be able to accomplish that? The one that does will likely be the majority party for the rest of the century." Or as Reeves says, quoting David Boaz of the Cato Institute, "There are special interests in both parties, and America's political future may well be determined by whether the Democrats declare their independence from the AFL-CIO before the Republicans break free of the Moral Majority." It is the progressive Republicans, the majority Republicans, who are the G.O.P.'s vehicle for fundamental political realignment.

As a Democrat, Reeves prescribes three issues which he believes will reset the electorate's world view and restore America to its liberal and Democratic past. These issues are the definition of "national interest" (i.e., the size of the military budget), a reaffirmation of "old-fashioned populism" (i.e., a return to the little guy using government to fight big money rather than, as in Reaganism, the little guy using big money to fight government), and "some creative pioneering relationship between the work of each American and the productivity of the nation" (i.e., creative approaches to the problems of declining industries, displaced workers and American competitiveness).

Of these three issues, neither the first nor the third is inherently a Democratic or liberal issue. Americans are united in their desire for national security at the lowest cost. It is only a question of how; a practical issue, not a philosophical one. Similarly, restoring American competitiveness and displaced jobs is a goal of all, and if the best thinker on this issue is not elected, his ideas should be (in the finest American business tradition) quickly copied.

"The specific data Reeves cites in his book presages the ascendancy, not of Democrats and liberalism, but of the type of progressive Republicanism supported by this journal."

Reeves's remaining issue—populism—is potentially a major Democratic war cry, but a bad one. Reagan has used his own brand of populism effectively, teaming up with the Moral Majority and focusing anger at big government. Similarly, says Reeves, "A little class warfare—called 'Populism', of course—wouldn't hurt the Democrats. Who pays? You or the boys at the country club?" Republicans typically rely on equal opportunity as a fundamental premise when arguing for freedom from government interference, but right to equal opportunity without equal resources is, in Reeves's view, a sham. "The countering Democratic idea to such Republican notions and manipulations of 'equal opportunity' had to be some sort of enforced fairness. And the way to win support for such ideas was to convince enough people that they were systematically being treated unfairly. Populism!"

In promoting "a little class warfare", Reeves's position is promoting demagoguery. It should be abhorrent to Democrats who seek solutions rather than scapegoats, and particularly so to liberal Democrats. As Reeves rightly points out in a different section of his book, "Except in economic theory, the populism that created much of America's political history was never liberal about very much. . . . (P)opulism seemed, variously, anti-everything—anti-elite, anti-intellectual, anti-urban, anti-

"Progressive Republicanism . . . most nearly reflects what the American center—the American electorate—believes."

foreigner, anti-black, anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish. Populism was nationalistic, often to the point of xenophobia. Liberal intellectuals, who mocked Ronald Reagan's appeal to 'average' Americans should have known better, would have if they had remembered how the anti-business neopopulism of the New Deal overlapped with the anti-xenophobic, anti-intellectual populism of the House Un-American Activities Committee and

Senator Joseph McCarthy. In the endless American search for conspiracy and evil, populism has also always been closely tied to religious fundamentalism and public apprehension over cultural differences and any cultural change." Reeves's call for a meaningful concept of "equal opportunity" is important, but his reliance on the negative, unthinking anger of populism is badly misplaced.

Reeves's greatest strengths are his sense of history, his emphasis on ideas as the key to electoral victories and his continual focus on fundamental questions—What is a Republican? What is a Democrat? Why did Reagan win? What issues will rule the day? Just as Reeves's facts argue for the critical position and coming ascendancy of progressive Republicanism, his search for key Democratic issues raises the search for progressive Republicanism's own key themes. His analysis of politics today suggests four themes and one caution.

"Reeves's call for a meaningful concept of 'equal opportunity' is important, but his reliance on the negative unthinking anger of populism is badly misplaced."

Progressive Republican Themes

First, progressive Republicans should promote a cultural and procedural openness to new members within the G.O.P. Reeves argues that the Republican Party is psychologically closed—desiring new votes, but treating Republicanism itself as an exclusive club or as an elect moral status. Progressive Republicanism as the ideology of the American electoral center—the American majority—is the vehicle of realignment and party growth. As progressive Republicans, we must actively encourage new members—the Democrats, baby boomers and independents—who are ideologically sympathetic to join with us and must open the party's rules so that the G.O.P. can indeed become the new majority party.

Second, progressive Republicanism must maintain support for individual liberties against restrictions based on religious fundamentalism, ignorance and prejudice. This loyalty to classical liberalism is the one fundamental ideological distinction between progressive Republicanism and conservative Republicanism. At the same time, we must draw a clear distinction between those regulations which are acceptable in order to protect rights or human life (such as hand gun controls) and those which are unacceptable interference with private acts or beliefs (such as enforced school prayer). We must also draw a clear distinction between permitting acts as a matter of principle and the perceived encouragement of such acts.

Third, progressive Republicanism must maintain the G.O.P.'s traditional emphasis on enhancing social welfare through economic growth and the free market rather than through government enforced redistribution and state planning. This is the one fundamental ideological distinction between Democrats and Republicans and is the only philosophy consistent with individual freedom and sustainable national prosperity. A strong economy is a goal of all, however, and tax cuts, fixed interna-

"Progressive Republicans must defend and implement these ideas rationally, compassionately and with the same ideological fervor with which they are attacked."

tional exchange rates and other economic prescriptions which promote such prosperity should be analyzed and adopted on their merits without regard to which party or party faction first put them forward. At the same time, the basic New Deal redistribution programs—the famous "safety net"—must be preserved, and calls for economic growth for all must not be used to mask programs for exploitation by special interests.

Fourth, as Reeves properly argues, if direct government intervention and redistribution of wealth is resisted in favor of a market system, equal opportunity must be a meaningful concept. In particular, quality education must be accessible to all and racial, sexual and ethnic barriers must be eradicated.

Fifth, the caution: progressive Republicanism must remember its ideological foundations. When ideas have long been widely accepted without challenge, it is easy to forget they are ideas at all. In fact, classical liberalism and prosperity through the market system are extremely substantive ideas which took an Enlightenment to produce, and are infinitely more subtle than the basic desires to take from those who have possessions we do not and to stop those who do things we do not like. But human progress is not always forward, and even good ideas can lose their consensus if they are not defended. We must defend and implement these ideas rationally, compassionately and with the same ideological fervor with which they are attacked.

These five themes—cultural openness, classical liberalism, emphasis on economic growth (supply-side or otherwise), emphasis on meaningful equal opportunity and intellectual clarity—provide the structure for a distinct, substantive, and attractive progressive Republican platform. While progressive Republicans form the majority of the minority party, they speak most clearly for the majority of the American electorate. If the Republican Party is truly to lead the nation, it must adopt that voice as its own. ■

What's Ahead in the Ripon Forum

- The 1988 Presidential Horse Race
- Who's Who in the Progressive Republican Movement
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PLUS: Reviews, Commentary & Profiles of Leading Political Figures

The Chairman's Corner: Lessons from the Philippines

by Jim Leach

The myth that developing countries have less of an interest and less of a stake in the democratic process than mature western democracies was punctured this February in the Philippines. The courage demonstrated by the Philippine people demands our attention and commands our respect.

For citizens to stand up to vote for a candidate whose only weapon was her convictions and then sit down before the tanks of the certified winner whose only claim to legitimacy was his control of the vote count may be unprecedented in human history.

Ferdinand Marcos's life belongs to his family, but his wealth belongs to the people from whom it was taken."

Hitherto armies have been designed to protect people, not vice versa. But when Filipinos of all ages responded to the request of the church-controlled radio station to become a human dike between the elite palace guard and elements of the professional military who questioned the integrity of the election process, Stalin's sneering query as to how many divisions the Pope controlled was definitively answered: more than any autocrat.

For the moment at least, the widow of the martyred hero Benigno Aquino stands tall as a modern day Joan of Arc. President Marcos found that it was simply impossible to loot a people and at the same time advance their welfare.

The Collapse

The economic and political infrastructure of the Philippines collapsed because the moral fiber of the leadership of the country itself collapsed. Corruption bred cynicism and the attendant poverty of opportunity for the masses bred an irrepressible demand for change.

In his wanton theft of the financial resources of his people, Ferdinand Marcos lost the moral capacity to govern. In his theft of the ballot box, he lost all stamp of legitimacy. Marcos's house of illegitimate wealth and power, therefore, had to fall and the United States had no responsible option except to recognize the legitimacy of Cory Aquino's assertion of authority.

Jim Leach is a member of Congress from Iowa and chairman of the Ripon Society.

Heroes in history are usually the conquerors, but the vanquished, too, command respect—if they lose for the sake of principle or if they step aside to prevent societal division. A century ago, when civil war threatened to tear asunder Japan, with forces of the last Tokugawa shogun confronting the populist forces of the emperor, Tokugawa Keiki recognized the senselessness of the confrontation and just before a climactic battle abdicated his claim to power. Thousands of lives were saved and a generous place in Japanese history was carved out for the shogun—not for winning his last battle, but for refusing to fight it.

As arrogant as Marcos's rule had become, his quitting the palace without bloodshed may in the end be considered its highest moment. Likewise, in Washington the administration seemed for weeks to be confused and bent on a contrary policy, but at the last minute, if not second, of the last half, it did the right thing.

As a favor to the Philippine people—as an insurance policy against the prospect of civil war—the administration acted properly in pulling the rug out from under Marcos and offering him sanctuary in the United States. However, this sanctuary should apply to the man, not his fortune. His life belongs to his family, but his wealth, which conjecturally exceeds that of the Rockefeller family, belongs to the people from whom it was taken.

"The world community has a responsibility to help an extraordinary people address an extraordinary problem."

The question some may ask is why offer sanctuary to Marcos and not "Baby Doc" Duvalier, the recently deposed potentate of Haiti. The answer rests in part on the conviction that "Baby Doc's" safety could not be guaranteed in a country where over a million Haitian refugees may be inclined to retribution. But the case for differing assessments of the appropriateness of sanctuary rests primarily on a fundamental distinction between a mass murderer and a mass burglar. Duvalier's crimes are simply graver than Marcos's.

Now that the politics of the Philippines appears to have been righted, the bigger challenge of righting the economy and dealing with the communist insurgency lies ahead. To change the government has taken great courage; to turn the economy around and address the insurgency will take great perseverance. The world community has a responsibility to help an extraordinary people address an extraordinary problem. ■

6 Library Court

The recent election in Illinois of Lyndon LaRouche supporters Mark Fairchild and Janice Hart points to the need for all Americans to pay closer attention to the electoral process. Fairchild and Hart captured the nomination of the Illinois Democratic Party for the office of lieutenant governor and secretary of state, primarily because Illinois voters said they knew little about the candidates. Unfortunately, those voters are finding out the hard way about the LaRouche ticket, which has little to say about Illinois issues and much to say about world domination by Queen Elizabeth and Henry Kissinger. The Democratic Party gubernatorial nominee, Adlai Stevenson, might be forced to form a third party, and while this might ensure Republican Governor Jim Thompson's reelection, it is an unfortunate incident because voter apathy transcends partisan politics and implicates each of us . . .

An organization that *has* done considerable work in making voters aware of candidates is the Women's Campaign Fund. The Washington-based political action committee contributes regularly to progressive women candidates, and this year it has made donations to 15 Republican candidates. Among those Republicans are a number of moderates and progressives, such as Colorado senatorial candidate Martha Ezzard, gubernatorial candidates Arliss Sturgulewski of Alaska, Julie Belaga of Connecticut, and Norma Paulus of Oregon. Congressional candidates include moderates Carrie Francke of Missouri, Mary Burrows of Oregon, and Ann Haney of Wisconsin . . .

Unfortunately, Francke also has been the subject of fierce internal politicking in the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC). The Missouri chapter of the National Women's Political Caucus first declined to endorse Francke, and the reason brought into question the NWPC's bipartisan credentials. While Francke met the Caucus's endorsement standards, she was suspect because she campaigned for Senator John Danforth in his 1982 reelection bid against then-Democratic State Senator Harriet Woods. The national office of the NWPC urged the Missouri chapter to reconsider its endorsement, and in late March the chapter finally endorsed Francke. . .

Governorships

Moderate Republican Governors Thomas Kean of New Jersey and Lamar Alexander of Tennessee were recently featured in *Newsweek*, and a poll conducted by the national newsweekly showed that the nation's governors placed Kean and Alexander among the nation's 10 best. Kean was noted for his support of civil rights measures and Alexander was praised for his handling

of educational reform . . .

Another moderate Republican governor, Dick Thornburgh of Pennsylvania, was recently selected as campaign chairman of the Republican Governors Association. His position is important because in 1986 36 gubernatorial elections will be contested. Since Republicans only control 16 governorships, Thornburgh would like to radically increase that figure.

Among those moderate 1986 gubernatorial candidates who might assist in that task as they seek their states' governorship are Representative John McKernan of Maine, a Ripon Congressional Advisory Board member, Pennsylvania's Lieutenant Governor William Scranton III (Thornburgh cannot succeed himself), and Oregon's Norma Paulus . . .

Congressional Races

In Arkansas, Democratic Senator Dale Bumpers recently received a low 47 percent approval rating, and there is talk that Republican challenger Asa Hutchinson, a former U.S. attorney, could pull an upset. Hutchinson, however, needs greater financial assistance . . .

The ongoing investigation into the amassing of a personal fortune by House Banking Chairman Ferdinand St. Germain, a Rhode Island Democrat, has created an opportunity for former Rhode Island GOP chairman John Holmes to upset the veteran St. Germain. An outspoken moderate, Holmes has also received credit for the surprising number of GOP victories in his traditionally Democratic state . . .

New Jersey Representative Marge Roukema, a moderate Republican, faces a primary contest from conservative Republican William Grant. Grant also ran for Congress in 1974 . . .

Ripon Congressional Advisory Board member Bill Clinger of Pennsylvania faces a return match from his 1984 opponent, Democrat Bill Wachob. The race is serious since Wachob received 48 percent of the vote in 1984.

Ripon News

On February 25, more than 100 Ripon friends and supporters gathered at the home of Ripon Society chairman Jim Leach to commemorate Abraham Lincoln's 177th birthday. Senator Daniel Evans, Representative Bill Green, former Ambassador Elliot Richardson, and former Representative John Buchanan were among those in attendance . . . On April 27, the Society will hold its annual meeting in Chicago. More information about this will be forthcoming. ■

Washington Notes and Quotes

The Ideological Winds of Spring

In theory, weather and climate represent one of seven factors which fundamentally shape the objectives and conduct of public administration. Hurricane-stricken Gulf Coast residents and weather-dependent farmers, both interested in the role played by government before and after natural disasters, will attest to the possibility.

Judging from the administration's pronouncements and actions in recent weeks, one might also surmise a strong correlation between weather and White House policy. Just as the advent of spring brings unpredictable weather and the threat of tornadoes or thunderstorms, the spring of election year '86 has been marked by gale-force rhetoric, a few warm successes and chilling gusts of ideology.

* * *

Note first that on February 26 the House of Representatives overwhelmingly approved legislation sponsored by Ripon Chairman Jim Leach urging the president to begin immediate negotiations to end nuclear testing. Inasmuch as encouraging the president to begin negotiations is not a particularly radical concept, 28 Republican senators and 49 GOP representatives supported the measure.

Disregarding votes by both houses of Congress in support of comprehensive test ban negotiations, disregarding a nine-month old Soviet offer not to explode any nuclear weapon as long as the U.S. did not, disregarding an unprecedented Soviet acceptance of open test facility inspections, and disregarding a high degree of confidence in the ability to verify a test ban, the Reagan administration rushed ahead on March 22 with a nuclear test explosion originally scheduled for mid-April.

The five day forecast for arms control: too early for any thaw in this administration's approach to U.S.-Soviet relations.

* * *

Observe also that the Republican-controlled Senate Budget Committee agreed on March 19 to a fiscal year 1987 budget plan which proposes \$14 billion in domestic spending cuts, \$25 billion less for defense than requested by the Pentagon, and \$19 billion in new revenues.

The budget plan was offered by Senate pragmatist Pete Domenici, was supported by six of the committee's deficit conscious Republican moderates (Andrews, Boschwitz, Danforth, Gorton, Grassley and Kassebaum), and was passed by a 13-9 vote with bipartisan, centrist support.

Given impending Gramm-Rudman deadlines which pose a potentially deadly threat to the president's defense buildup, one might have hoped for early White House endorsement of the budget plan (or quiet opposition). Presidential spokesman Larry Speakes argued, however, that the Republican budget plan "achieves a desirable goal by means of totally unacceptable methods." *Congressional Quarterly* quoted another White House budget official as "profoundly bored by the Budget Committee. What they do doesn't make a bit of difference."

The short term forecast for deficit reduction: 50 percent chance of progress after the weather warms. Like the groundhog who doesn't like what it's seen, White House operatives and congressional conservatives will wait a while before deciding whether to join the real debate.

* * *

One final note on the whirlwind of foreign policy developments and debates occurring as this article is written.

Most observers and particularly Republican moderates welcomed the administration's decision to place American diplomacy on the side of democratic movements in Haiti and the Philippines. Unlike conservatives in the Helms wing of the Republican Party who were understandably quiet about events in Manila, traditional Republicans and Democrats joined in bipartisan applause of the administration's actions.

While only time will reveal whether Corazon Aquino can reform the Philippine economy and effectively deal with the communist NPA insurgency, it's well understood that neither Ferdinand Marcos nor strong U.S. support of Marcos could have met the challenge. With some luck, the White House's role in the peaceful transfer of power may eventually represent a real and lasting foreign policy achievement by the president.

Contrast that with the political and military storm building over U.S. policy in Central America. Although moderate Republican representatives are frequently divided on the wisdom of military intervention, as compared to their growing cohesiveness on economic and social legislation, sixteen House Republican votes against contra aid were sufficient to temporarily slow the administration's move toward military involvement in the region.

Predictions that the White House will soon prevail over Congress in securing additional military aid are almost certainly correct, but don't underestimate the potential for growing Republican opposition to the administration's policies. The last \$100 million doesn't appear to have served any identifiable interest—a fact the public understands and Congress can learn.