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RIPON forum

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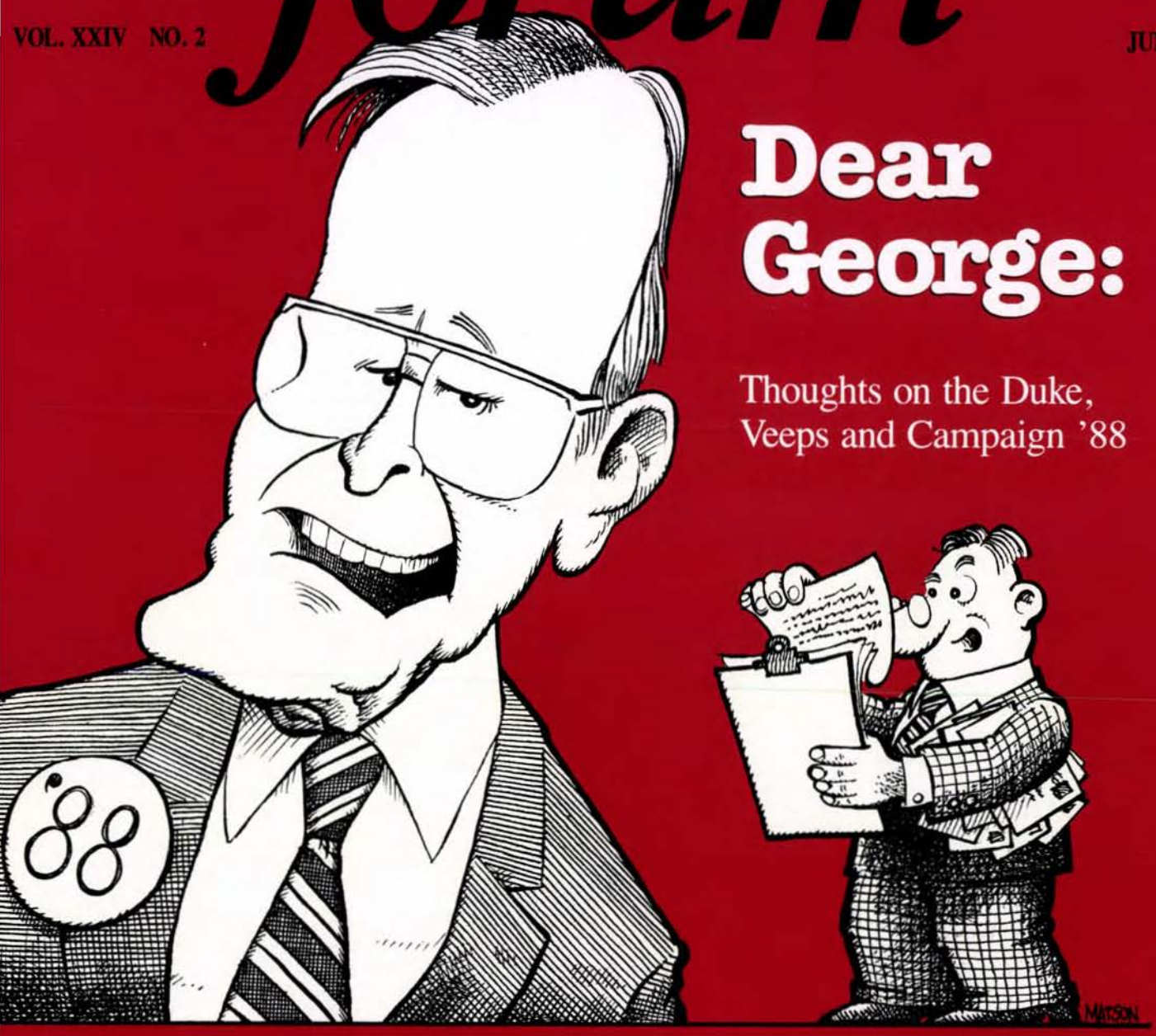
Dear George:

Thoughts on the Duke, Veeps and Campaign '88



A Conversation with David Eisenhower

EDITOR'S COLUMN

The 1988 election has now boiled down to two candidates—George Bush and Michael Dukakis—and in the coming months they will select their running mates and pronounce their ideas on America's future. We decided it was time to offer George Bush advice on both.

A *Forum* editorial provides thoughts on running mates, and claims that the vice president must look for someone with excitement and/or the common touch. A piece by *Forum* associate editor Dale Curtis summarizes a variety of platform ideas, none of which should provoke New Right hysteria. Even if they do, that's the Right's problem. The themes are filled with common sense, offered by mainstream Republicans and ones that the vice president must consider if he is to offer a comprehensive vision of the future.

In somewhat of a coup, we present portions of correspondence between Republican Senator Daniel Evans and Vice President Bush. The letters were initiated by Evans, after his staff met to discuss how the vice president could improve his image and message. Since most of the Evans staff is under 35, the ideas are related to the future.

Also, the last Republican to run against Michael Dukakis—John Sears, who ran for governor of Massachusetts in 1982—writes an "open letter" to his friend George Bush. He urges the promotion of a Bush Agenda, and provides some ideas on how to use that agenda in the Fall. In his column, Ripon Society chairman Jim Leach claims that members of the press are right to consider Iran-contra a scandal of judgment, but wrong to think that George Bush should be held liable for it. As Leach writes, the other scandal in Washington may be that of press perspective.

Historian David Eisenhower also provides unique insights into this election. In his interview in the *Forum,* Eisenhower says that the 1988 election reminds him of the 1940 election. Voters then wanted continuity and sent Franklin Roosevelt back to the White House. Of course, whether that will occur, no one knows. But the historical understanding provided by Eisenhower—on foreign policy matters as well as politics—is a reminder that 1988 will be a continuation of this nation's dedication to democratic procedures.

—Bill McKenzie

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A Conversation with DAVID EISENHOWER

David Eisenhower occupies a unique spot in American life. His grandfather, Dwight Eisenhower, was Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in World War II and the 34th president of the United States. His father-in-law, Richard Nixon, became the 37th president of the United States. Through his family, David Eisenhower has directly viewed some of the nation's most important events since 1952.

But David Eisenhower's own work as a historian is becoming increasingly important. The first volume of his three-volume study of his grandfather, "Eisenhower At War: 1943—1945" was released by Vintage Press in 1986. The second volume, which deals with the Eisenhower years from 1951-1957, is now being completed. In this interview at his home in Pennsylvania's Delaware River Valley, Eisenhower discusses with Forum *editor Bill McKenzie the effect World War II had on the current American-Soviet relationship, the legacy of his grandfather's presidency, the meaning of Watergate, the modern Republican Party, and 1988 elections. In light of the recent Moscow summit and the upcoming general election, his insights provide relevant commentary.*

Ripon Forum: Your grandfather, Dwight Eisenhower, served as president of the United States from 1953-1961. As a historian of his presidency, what do you consider his most important legacy?

Eisenhower: There were two currents at work in the 1950s. One was forward-looking and involved talk about missiles, space exploration and control of the Atomic Bomb. World War II had unleashed a technological revolution, and the United States and its allies were attempting to control, as George Kennan put it, the runaway horse of technology. The other current was backward-looking: how do we resolve the political impasse left over from World War II?

These two currents came together in the high point of the Eisenhower administration, which was the 1955 Geneva Convention. This meeting was the first gathering of the Big Three Powers—the U.S., Great Britain, and the Soviet Union—since Potsdam in 1945. France was asked to attend, but Germany was not, and the meeting, which is relatively obscure in summit history, let people know that the political division left over from World War II would not be allowed to ignite a hot war between East and West.

At the same time, the summit set the tone for the future by discussing how the Big Three plus France would try to harness and control atomic development.

The fact that those discussions took place—and all that they implied—was the culmination of the Eisenhower years.

Ripon Forum: The summit pointed us from the past to the future?

Eisenhower: Yes, and that is what Eisenhower was elected to do. He was a military hero, but that doesn't explain why the military man was elected. The military man was elected because he was perceived to be the best equipped to solve the leftover problems of World War II. Russia's capability to build an A-Bomb, the Chinese revolution, and the Chinese attack on Korea left Americans with a conviction that much was still hanging in the balance.

Another important accomplishment as president was building a bipartisan foreign policy. Although he embraced much of the New Deal, Eisenhower was a Republican and not a closet Democrat. That's been debated because he built a foreign policy that was supported by even most Democrats. He was a Republican president in a Democratic era. After he was relected in 1956, the Eisenhower administration was very much on the wane. The international issues became less important and civil rights became the critical issue.

Now, in turn, Democrats are today attempting to make Reaganism a bipartisan policy. The Democratic Leadership Council is looking for a moderate who will ratify and embrace elements of Reaganism.

Ripon Forum: You write in your book "Eisenhower At War: 1943-1945" that it was "the complex Allied-Soviet relationship that forced Eisenhower to think as a politician." Could you elaborate upon that statement?

Eisenhower: He had to look at things as politicians did. The Allies faced a manpower problem, the key to which was sustaining American energy and willingness to fight the war in Europe. The United States almost didn't get involved in the war, but after Roosevelt mobilized the country Eisenhower had to manage the war in a way that sustained both the American war effort and the Alliance.

Some people think I disparage my grandfather's credentials as a military strategist by arguing this political thesis. But his military strategy was well-tailored to serve the campaign's political objectives. Certain imperatives had to be met, such as building the Alliance, meaning the Anglo-American Alliance and the Allied-Soviet Alliance. His strategies were tailored to meet Alliance objectives—so long as American forces advanced towards those objectives, victory was assured.

Ripon Forum: The historian Stephen Ambrose, who has also chronicled your grandfather's military career, disagrees with you. He contends that Eisenhower was not a political strategist, but rather a military strategist.

Eisenhower: My thesis is a little different from his. Dr. Ambrose began as a military historian, and he started with my grandfather's military career and worked on toward his presidency. I began studying my grandfather's presidency and realized that to understand it I had to first understand his military record. The logic of Eisenhower's position in the war carried over into his political career. The question I asked is why did he become president?

Ripon Forum: And the book you are working on now is about Eisenhower's first and second terms?

Eisenhower: That's right. The first term was when the real work takes place, although it is during the second term that granddad becomes more vivid. For the first time, things begin to slip away from him. When that happens, you become more explicit. That is why his speeches from that period are so well remembered.

Ripon Forum: Let's return to the Soviet-Allied relationship. In your book, you contend that the success of the 1944 Allied invasion of France depended upon the Soviets occupying the Germans on their Eastern front. And because of that Soviet presence, we could do little to stop them from moving through Eastern Europe.

Eisenhower: This isn't a question of gratitude. There was a military and political bargain at the 1943 Teheran Conference which put the Allies on a track to invade France. As I see it, we sacrificed certain geographical objectives for the sake of less tangible objectives, such as claiming a decisive role in the defeat of Nazi Germany. If we played such a role, then we could influence later events. And this was impossible without fairly close coordination with the Soviets, who valued our assistance and recognized that we would share mightily in the prestige of liberating Europe.

In exchange for that coordination, there's a logic in the way peace in Europe unfolds. At the 1943 Teheran Conference, the assumption was that American and British troops in Italy would not press into Germany and thus Eastern Europe, that the U.S. and Britain would invade the Continent from England, and that Germany, attacked from the East and West, would be unconditionally defeated and divided. In other words, we would liberate the West and areas where we were going to stay, and the Russians would liberate the East and areas where they had a vital interest. This unfolded like clockwork, but cooperation depended upon minimum trust and confidence—in the closing months, upon the United States not using its growing might to take on the Soviets before the German defeat. Even the British were grateful for our restraint, recognizing that a settlement and reconstruction in Europe were not possible without a basis for mutual confidence.

"Eisenhower recognized the crucial role the Soviets would play in Europe. He saw how important it was to deal with them and knew the trouble they could cause."

Ripon Forum: How would you compare the Eisenhower and Reagan approaches to the U.S.S.R.?

Eisenhower: They have a lot in common, but they also have a lot not in common. There are differences having to do with their times. The tone of the Eisenhower administration, even down to his farewell address, is the restraint of American power. We had overwhelming advantages and Eisenhower urged mutual respect and balance for the sake of converting that temporary advantage to our long-term benefit. Reagan's mission in the 1980s was not to restrain American power in the aftermath of victory, but to restore it after Vietnam. His rhetoric has therefore been more aggressive.

Ripon Forum: Eisenhower as president was aware that the Soviets paid a tremendous price in World War II, namely the loss of millions of lives, and that they retained a great deal of paranoia about foreign threats. Reagan, on the other hand, has been more willing to manipulate the Soviet fear of an outside threat and has been more of a saber-rattler.

Eisenhower: That may well be true. There is something unique about Eisenhower that people have not focused on. He is the only World War II European theater veteran who served as president. John Kennedy, Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford served in the Pacific, while Ronald Reagan served in the Army Signal Corps and did not go overseas.

The European War was different. In the Pacific, we faced Japan as a united nation. But Europe involved our civilization and war there was more akin to civil war. It also was controversial at the outset in America. Eisenhower recognized all this and knew the crucial role the Soviets played and would play in Europe. He saw how important it was to deal with them, and knew the trouble they would cause. Parenthetically, Eisenhower spent more on defense as a percentage of GNP than Reagan has in eight years.

Ripon Forum: So how was Eisenhower's approach to U.S.-Soviet relations distinct from that of other presidents?

Eisenhower: First, he was referring to why we had become involved in Europe. America had inescapably become a great power and could not renounce it. At the same time, America was a democracy and Eisenhower was mindful that historians have argued that democracy and great power are incompatible—one has to be traded for the other. Eisenhower rejected

that, as did Americans in World War II. Given our great power, to have ignored the suffering and aggression in Europe would have corroded democracy in the United States.

Times have changed. Unlike 1961, the great issue facing the United States today is not so much the East-West relationship, but rather the North-South issue. As a great power, the United States faces the same issue in a new setting: how are we going to relate to the great underprivileged masses of the world? Are we going to take a stand with the "haves," as opposed to the "have-nots?" I don't think our democracy can afford such a position.

"I don't think the Reagan era is over. This election is more like 1940 than 1960. . . There's more to be done, and Bush represents continuity."

As part of the industrialized North, we cannot wall ourselves off from developing nations. That doesn't mean we must necessarily abstain from military involvement in such places as Nicaragua and Panama. Our willingness to sacrifice for objectives in an area can indicate our concern.

As I see it, Ronald Reagan has shifted the focus of American foreign policy away from the nuances of Europe toward those of Central America. I've felt from the moment that he took office, Reagan, a Californian, has had a very different perspective on foreign affairs. It's been logical and consistent, and he deals with a problem that is more immediate to the Western part of the United States, namely Central America and our hemispheric relations.

Ripon Forum: During your grandfather's presidential farewell address, he warned of a growing military-industrial complex, a term that has become part of our national vocabulary. How do you think he would view Ronald Reagan's five-year, trillion dollar defense buildup?

Eisenhower: I think he was stating the moral that his generation derived from the Depression-era. The moral had to do with Germany and the fact that an industrialized and civilized nation had surrendered to a military-industrial complex. But America's survival in the Depression and victory in World War II meant that our values applied to a modern, complex world. Afterwards, we remained a democracy as we waged the Cold War. The key in Eisenhower's mind was citizenship—to exercise the responsibility of citizenship so that we insist government be accountable and that the military-industrial complex justify what it undertakes in the name of the public good. He was not calling to dismantle it, but rather for politicians to hold it accountable.

After reviewing several intermediate drafts of that speech, I concluded that Eisenhower's farewell address, couched as a warning about the future, was essentially a retrospective. He had grown up in the horse-and-buggy era in Central Kansas, and had seen the dawn of a more complex world. Moon probes were being planned, the atomic era had begun, and the world's population had doubled. He was saying that civilization had once succumbed to the savageries of a new complexity, and we need not do so again. Our struggles had proven that we could be both free and modern, but it's up to us. He didn't say "dismantle the military-industrial complex," but rather that we need to remain an alert citizenry. Good citizenship in his mind was caring about and believing in a free way of life that can be made to work.

Ripon Forum: After his administration, we went into a period of rapid social change and political upheaval. Do you see the same thing happening in the 1990s? After all, we are living through another era of "good feeling," but under the surface lie some real structural problems.

Eisenhower: I don't think the Reagan era is over. I think this election is more like 1940 than 1960. I predict that 1988 will be like a reelection, not an election. Reagan was elected in 1980 to deal with deep-seated economic problems, such as stagflation, and those economic problems are not yet solved. We are not dealing with the trade problem and retooling the American economy. There's more to be done, and Bush represents continuity. Ordinarily an elected president offers new themes, but Bush is like Roosevelt going into his third term. Roosevelt was not elected because the Depression had been solved and the American people were grateful. Rather, the Depression was *being* solved, and the American people wanted more of the Roosevelt remedy. This is what's going on this year.

"If the Democrats cannot resolve the fragmentation within their own party, which is a hint of a larger fragmentation in society, then the Republican administration will have to confront it. There should be no cause for complacency within the GOP."

Ripon Forum: But underneath the era of "good feeling" lies what seems to me growing racial and economic tensions. There seems to be a greater psychological tension between haves and have-nots.

Eisenhower: That's what the Jackson candidacy shows. And Republicans should be aware, because if the Democrats cannot resolve the fragmentation within their own party, which is a hint of a larger fragmentation in society, then the next Republican administration will have to confront it. There should be no cause for complacency and Republicans ought to be thinking about ways to remedy the almost unanimous allegiance of blacks to the Democratic Party.

Ripon Forum: Let's shift to another subject—Watergate—which you might have an unusual view of. As a historian, you have to deal with facts objectively, yet you are also Richard Nixon's son-in-law. What lessons did you learn from that ex-

perience and what lessons did we learn as a people?

Eisenhower: It was a serious constitutional crisis, as opposed to the Iran-contra affair, which is an effort to recycle Watergate. History never repeats itself.

For our family, Watergate was a very painful and unsettling thing to go through. But it was not as unsettling and painful as wondering when and how the Vietnam War would end. Watergate exposed the strain our representative government goes through in a prolonged war. I also see it as the last chapter of the Vietnam War.

I can recall a James Reston column in February 1973 saying that since the Paris Peace Accords had been signed, we could look forward to another era of "good feeling." I could remember thinking to myself, "not yet." Too much had been said during Vietnam, and too many positions had been taken. It seemed likely that the end of the war would lead to a Watergate of some kind. That accounts for a certain amount of Mr. Nixon's fatalism. He defended himself beyond the limits of human endurance in 1973 and 1974, but he stopped well short of using in his self-defense the full extent of the powers of incumbency.

Ripon Forum: Did Nixon recognize that even resolving Vietnam was not going to lead to an era of good feeling?

Eisenhower: I think he did. I'm not sure he'd say he did. But there was a fatalism that meant the resources of the office of the presidency would not be used as efficiently and effectively in Nixon's defense as they could have been. Watergate was the next phase of the Vietnam War debate, and it was going to have to be worked out, not stopped or throttled.

In the end, important constitutional questions were faced. And many litigational precedents were set. Nixon's resignation was itself a precedent. All of this is distinguishable from the current Iran-contra affair.

Ripon Forum: But isn't the Iran-contra affair similar in that some members of an administration thought they knew best and attempted to place themselves above the law?

Eisenhower: I think it was a cyclical situation where a lot of people saw a potential Watergate. The parameters superficially resembled Watergate, but it was an altogether different affair. Iran-contra involved an overture to a foreign government, which is clearly a presidential prerogative. It also involved an apparent loophole in the Boland Amendment, which Congress deliberately put there. Congress didn't want to decide about the Nicaraguan contras, and may have been content to allow the administration to decide. Anyway, the congressional probes lacked conviction and this made it possible for North and Poindexter to become national heroes. I'll be very surprised if they ever serve time for violating the Boland Amendment. Nobody I know favors Oliver North or John Poindexter going to jail.

Ripon Forum: But there is also the revelation by *The Washington Post's* Bob Wooward that the late CIA Director William Casey wanted to establish a shadow government to carry out foreign policy.

Eisenhower: I have always felt that this was the potentially serious aspect of Iran-contra. If Congress had come up with proof that Iran-contra was one of many efforts to fund right-wing causes and a shadow government through arms sales and other means, then you would have something bigger than Watergate. That has not been the case.

Ripon Forum: In a recent article for *The New York Times Magazine* you wrote that "1988 will be an ideological contest, a test of whether America is, in fact, living in the conservative era Republicans forecast as long ago as 1971." Could you elaborate upon that statement?

Eisenhower: The Goldwater slogan in 1964–"in your heart you know he's right"–was an attempt to say that Americans really are conservative, even if they say they're liberal. And by 1971 or 1972, people were saying that somehow liberalism was violating or going beyond common sense. The Republican Party victory in 1980 was proof that liberalism had done so. The question for 1988 is whether the conservative movement represents the common sense of the country.

"Watergate exposed the strain our representative government goes through in a prolonged war. I see Watergate as the last chapter of the Vietnam War."

One thing that will decide the question is whether the Democrats are really serious about winning the 1988 election. So far, they haven't shown many signs that they are. I suspect that many Democrats don't have a real quarrel with what is going on. Lacking one, they really have to invent one. That's a very hard thing to do, because natural leaders don't just fall out of the sky. Leaders and parties rise with causes over long periods of time.

"The Republican Party victory in 1980 was proof that liberalism had gone beyond common sense. The question for 1988 is whether the conservative movement represents the common sense of the country."

Ripon Forum: Is this where Jesse Jackson's candidacy fits in?

Eisenhower: That's an interesting question. The long range danger Republicans face is that they will become smug about the victory I think they will win in 1988. It's good for the Republican Party to have a rush of Democrats trying to jump on the Reagan bandwagon, if that means Republicans have captured what the Democrats had in the 1930s, which was being the party of opportunity. That spirit is now in the Republican Party instead of the Democratic Party.

If the Republican Party is simply an assertion of the white middle and upper-middle class against everybody else, then the Republican majority will fade quickly. It will corrode us in the long run. That's why George Bush's theme of the 'politics of inclusion" is important.

Ripon Forum: But what about such Democrats as Al Gore, Sam Nunn and Bill Bradley, who are preaching from the center of the spectrum? Shouldn't Republicans be aware of their attempt to restructure the Democratic Party?

Eisenhower: I don't think they will. They simply confirm the status of the Republican Party as the governing party. Maybe it's like Republican moderates in the 1940s who wanted to make the New Deal a platform for a Republican administration. The "me-too" element of the Republican Party never really elected anybody, even my grandfather. His strength was that he combined the common sense of Roosevelt with what is really Republican in his emphasis on private enterprise and private remedies.

The next Democrat to be elected president will probably hail from their liberal wing. Like Reagan, the next Democratic president will have the complete trust of the party's core elements. The Democrats probably can't elect someone who's trying to throttle the party faithful.

Ripon Forum: What about the so-called "baby boom" vote, which is made up of many socially progressive yet economically conservative voters? Many are in the political center and are independent voters. Shouldn't the GOP also be concerned about capturing that vote?

Eisenhower: I think they have a large share without knowing it. The baby boom grew up during the 1964 Johnson-Goldwater race, so they had an adjustment to identify with the party of Goldwater. But I think they have. Reaganism is popular across-the-board.

Ripon Forum: But look at the voters that identified with John Anderson and Gary Hart in 1980 and 1984. Many of them were in the political center but without a particular party. In fact, the "baby boom" vote seems to wander aimlessly between parties.

Eisenhower: It's a progressive perspective. Anderson, as I understand it, appealed to a leadership element within the Republican Party. They were problem-solvers and decision-makers. Hart was trying to appeal to them in 1984, but I'm not sure he was successful. Reagan has captured it by providing bright, energetic leadership in the Republican Party.

What has surprised me is how easily Republicans of all shades have found a home in the Reagan era. The Ripon Society may be an example, because there has not been the break with Reagan that occured in the Democrat's Lyndon Johnson-Bobby Kennedy split.

Ripon Forum: What about the moderate Republican "Gypsy Moths," who prevented too many deep cuts in the domestic budget in 1981 and 1982?

Eisenhower: There was a little bit of it, but it didn't reach Johnson-Kennedy proportions.

Ripon Forum: My final question is about your chosen vocation. What led you to become a historian? Was it that you saw a lot of history first-hand at a relatively young age?

"The parameters of the Iran-contra affair superficially resembled Watergate, but it was an altogether different affair. Iran-contra involved an overture to a foreign government, which is clearly a presidential prerogative."

Eisenhower: It was an accident. The Nixon question was still so intense in 1976. My wife, Julie, and I were both aware that many of the basic questions coming out of the shocks of the 1970s, such as the unhinging of the White House and the fall of Saigon, were still unanswered. We wanted to explore these questions and have a say.

But my initial research led me to Eisenhower, and within two months I had discovered that his war record was the basis of his presidency. I found myself going back to the Teheran Conference, which is the place where the Eisenhower presidency, and maybe even the modern presidency, began. The modern president now speaks for the NATO Alliance, and many of the issues the Alliance faces today had their roots in that Conference. We now take it a year at a time. We are now working on a project about 1968. ■

A GUIDE TO THE '88 REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

Vice President George Bush has earned himself the nomination for president, so concerned Republicans are already turning to the broader picture: keeping the White House in GOP hands, and keeping the Republican Party strong and growing. There is much at stake. Who should be the Republican running mate? What stands should Bush tout to defeat a tough, competent opponent in what is likely to be a hard-fought, close election?

The Ripon Society named Bush its "Republican of the Year" in 1985, and nothing since has shaken our confidence that the man is highly capable, decent, and to use Richard Nixon's description, a "progressive conservative": a conservative, to be sure, but concerned about helping people and managing change. We firmly believe that, because of these traits, George Bush would make an excellent 41st president.

Doubtless some Ripon Republicans were committed to other candidates during the primaries, and some of us have been concerned by the vice president's conversion from Reagan rival to cheerleader. But it is now in the interest of every Republican to elect George Bush. If he has done nothing else, Reagan has given Republicans a taste of majority status, and it is one of the key missions of this journal to promote a Republican majority. If Bush loses, count on a return to guerilla tactics and the kind of negative agenda that keeps progressive Republicans a minority within a minority.

Further, for those who still think the Ripon Society is not composed of "real" Republicans, let's say it again: we stand for a growing economy and equal opportunity for all; an emphasis on the individual's rights and responsibilities; an honorable role in furthering world peace through both diplomacy and armed strength; environmental conservation; and a hope for our children's future that includes debt-free government, excellence in education, and unyielding standards of decency. George Bush is superbly qualified and genuinely committed to advance these Republican values.

"What George Bush needs most in his vice presidential selection is a person with excitement and/or the common touch."

People outside Washington are only beginning to see how tough an opponent Michael Dukakis may be. He has known failure, having served one term as governor from 1974 to '78 as a self-righteous, Carter-ish reformer, and getting knocked out in the '78 primary by a conservative Democrat (Ed King, who has since turned Republican). Dukakis learned from that experience, came back to defeat King in the '82 primary, and since then has built a liberal record in a more savvy, cautious manner.

Like John Kennedy, the last presidential nominee from the Bay State, Dukakis appeals to the huge number of Catholic and ethnic voters, and he should be competitive in the industrial belt, the urban South, and the Hispanic West. Moreover, as Stephen Hess, a Brookings Institution scholar was quoted, "The country tends to get bored with one party in office. We have a history of 'throwing the rascals out,' even if they are doing a good job." Without the burden of a national record, Dukakis is already leading Bush in the nation's largest, politically-crucial state, California. The challenge is for real.

For Number Two? The first question on everyone's mind is: whom should Bush choose as his running mate? It is, of course, mandatory that the choice be prepared to become president, but veeps are often virtual nobodies, chosen for personal or political qualities. Bush has a rich field from which to choose, and only a hazy identity of his own to balance. The process of elimination is simpler, though, with these thoughts in mind:

It is imperative that Bush not turn to someone who represents the Reagan-esque right-wing. Boundless economic optimism, a macho foreign policy and Bible-thumping moralism are as passe and discredited as televangelists. A winger on the ticket would remind folks of Bush's on-again, off-again conservative fervor. This is why folks like Jack Kemp, Jeane Kirkpatrick, or Westerners like Utah Senator Orrin Hatch are not what Bush needs.

Even more important, and no offense to anyone, but *two preppy, managerial Establishment-types on the GOP ticket would be suicide.* This caveat painfully rules out many of the finest VP prospects: the widely-experienced Donald Rumsfeld of Illinois, Treasury Secretary James Baker, or the popular former Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis. The urbane former governor of Tennesse, Lamar Alexander, is a favorite of ours, but somewhat of a Southern preppy; in any case, his hands are full as the new president of the University of Tennessee. The oft-mentioned Governor George Deukmeijian of California is not so WASPy, but this low-voltage pragmatist has only won his position with tiny margins, and it's difficult to see what strengths he would bring to the ticket.

What the Bush effort needs most is excitement and/or the common touch. The choice should not overpower Bush's character and low-key charisma, but could be a vivid demonstration that our party is still fresh, competent, and in touch with the dreams of the average American. This is the identity Bush has shown in the primaries, and he must keep moderate-conservative, working-class swing voters within the GOP majority coalition.

At the top of our list is New Jersey Governor **Thomas Kean.** There are two strikes against him. He is nearly knocked out by our first criterion, being a blueblood Easterner with an Ivy League education and quirky accent to match. Bush would be obliged to fuzz his identity again and play the Southerner on the ticket. Second, Kean is probably reluctant to leave his post as the spectacularly popular governor of a reborn state.

But Kean would generate palpable interest and a can-do attitude. His success with tax cuts and urban enterprise zones has won wide acclaim from conservatives like Jack Kemp, and he could strengthen the Republican economic agenda in Congress. At the same time, he has been an effective champion of the interests of blacks (he was re-elected in 1985 with 60 percent of the black vote and Coretta Scott King's endorsement—take *that*, Jesse Jackson!); of environmental protection; and excellence in education. His stands on foreign policy are reliably moderate-to-conservative. Here is a man who would underline the Bush agenda, make us competitive with independents and blacks, and even provide a boost to New Jersey GOP Senate nominee Pete Dawkins, who is locked in a close race with the Democratic incumbent.

How about **Elizabeth Dole?** The former Transportation Secretary and wife of Bush's rival, Senator Robert Dole, is articulate, savvy, and already well known. She could be helpful in her native South and would be free to develop a message among targeted groups of voters. Senator Dole, the defeated candidate for the nomination, reportedly accepts the idea. Secretary Dole would offer some pizzazz as the first Republican woman on a national ticket, easily outclassing Walter Mondale's '84 choice of Geraldine Ferraro.

And finally, if a Western conservative is needed, what about **Alan Simpson,** the folksy senator from Wyoming? His sense of humor is renown. His knowledge of Capitol Hill is excellent; Simpson is Senate Minority Whip, which makes him the second ranking Senate Republican. And his ability to work with Congress is proven; among other measures, he got Congress to pass the Simpson-Mazzoli bill in late 1986. This controversial bill tackled the formidable issues of immigration reform. Simpson is certainly no progressive, but neither is he a New Right favorite. Thinking conservatives and many liberals respect him, and he may be just the person George Bush needs. The vice president does not project his own charm well, and Simpson's Mark Twain-like humor would provide a nice balance.

"Bush should offer more than a defense of the status quo. He should address Third World debt, the global environment and further arms control proposals in action-oriented terms."

Platform: On issues, Bush has talked about being the "education president," paying more attention to the environment, and holding his administration to higher standards of decency and fairness. The tone is applauded and should give hope to moderates. But it's unrealistic to think he will adopt a more progressive platform, or what the right wing calls "me-too Republicanism"—we want what the Democrats want too, only less of it. That's a losing message in years when voters feel the eight-year itch. Moreover, it alienates conservative voters who make up the bulk of the GOP majority coalition.

If anything, Bush should be downright feisty when it comes to questions of taxes and spending, and deterring the Soviets, the bread-and-butter Republican message. Dukakis can trumpet the Massachusetts economic "miracle," but much of it is due to high-tech defense dollars and tax cuts mandated by a ballot referendum. Bush should ask voters to think twice about the tax hike which Dukakis would surely enact, and about a new spending spree by an undiciplined Democratic Congress.

The economic performance of this country since the 1982 recession has been very strong, and where gaps have occurred, such as the trade deficit, Bush should offer more than just a defense of the status quo. Republican ideas like public-private research partnerships, export promotion and "reciprocity"–pushing for access to foreign markets–are good places to start.

Further, Bush enjoys a stature on foreign policy that he must not squander to the neo-isolationist Democrats. This means he will have to be more forthcoming about the Iran-contra scandal. Either he objected and had little to do with the policy, or he was an ignorant bystander. Both possibilities are embarrassing, but not fatal. Certainly the Nixonian image of half-truths is more damaging.

Again, there are foreign policy successes this party and candidate can brag about: the INF treaty and nearly-concluded START agreement, excellent relations with NATO, avoiding any new communist regimes (especially when compared to the Carter years), and rolling back dictatorships in Afghanistan, Grenada, the Philippines, and Haiti. Bush should address Third World debt, the global environment, and further arms control proposals in action-oriented terms.

Bush can compare Dukakis to the last Democratic governor elected president, Jimmy Carter. Like Carter, Dukakis is a liberal with self-righteous, arrogant tendencies, posing as a centrist. Like Carter, it's difficult to see how he can impose discipline on a divided Democratic Party and Congress. Foreign and economic policy would almost certainly return to Carter's erratic pattern, as fine intentions evaporate into stagflation, and international withdrawal.

About the most you can say for Dukakis is that he's a decent guy who may deserve his chance. Unfortunately, more presidents have been elected on that platform than on any other.

George Bush should run a challenger's campaign, not the flatulent effort of an incumbent. The Democrats are running hard, and have a motivated, competent, united team. The pendulum is with them, and Republicans cannot afford to let it swing too far. ■

A CONSTRUCTIVE, PEOPLE-ORIENTED PLATFORM

A Guide to New Ideas That George Bush Should Not Overlook

By Dale Edward Curtis

Forget what the blase Beltway pundits tell you. This year, the nomination process actually has given us two intelligent, decent, competent men with markedly different views of the world. The choice of running mates (see *Editorial,* pp. 8-9) and platform themes may not be as gripping as the World Series, but to win this campaign, both parties will rely more than usual upon the images created in exercises like writing a platform.

Republicans can take heart this year that the right people are saying the right things. Take GOP Chairman Frank Fahrenkopf, Jr.: "The American people will rightfully reject a party of inflexible ideology and rhetoric which is not responsive to their real concerns . . . . [We must] offer bold new and innovative alternatives that are fiscally responsible, that fulfill the fundamental obligations of government, and that consider the needs of people."

George Bush has earned the right to redefine the Republican Party and our approach to the issues, and he should. Americans have almost an instinctive prejudice for change. Right, left, or in the center of the GOP, there are innovative approaches to age-old problems—economic growth and security, extending freedom to more and more people, helping families—that Bush should embrace as enthusiastically as he defends the record of the Reagan administration.

So here we have collected some of the best, most creative Republican thinking being done today. This is by no means a definitive or comprehensive summary of "the progressive Republican platform" (see "Notes and Quotes," pg. 24). There is not room for that document here, or to cover other, equally pressing concerns.

But we deliberately feature the work of outspoken progressive Republicans, to demonstrate their resonance with the party at large. A party with room for these ideas, and a party which has demonstrated it can make ideas work, deserves to be the party leading the nation.

"We can continue to meet our social obligations by helping people get and keep good jobs."

Steady, Sensible Economic Progress

You can't argue with success: inflation down, interest rates down, unemployment the lowest since 1974, manufacturing resurgent after a difficult transition. But Americans wonder if our current economy isn't built on a house of cards. To ensure it isn't:

"Major tax increases should be resisted and spending restrained while cuts are made from two areas that have so recently ballooned: defense and net interest. . . .

"If Europe and Japan would together spend only 4% of their GNP on common defense, then the U.S. could reduce its defense burden to about 5% of GNP (down from about 6.5%). This would save the U.S. roughly $60 billion annually, without requiring Japan to rearm, or the U.S. to withdraw from strategic regions. . . .

"Until we stop deficit financing, reduced spending on interest must come from restored monetary stability. . . . A reduction of interest rates toward the level of Japan and our own stable money past could save hundreds of billions by 1992. . . .

"As a first step, the Group of Seven nations should develop a new, shared blueprint for currency stabilization. The focus must be policy coordination, not merely costly interventions into currency trading markets. . . .

"Spending should grow slowly or even be held constant. Even a moderate level of economic growth can generate about $70 billion of additional federal revenue without tax hikes, and we can continue to meet our social obligations by rooting out inefficiencies, re-examining entitlement programs paid without regard to need, and especially helping people get and keep good jobs."

—New York investment counselor Steven B. Klinsky, from *A Newer World: The Progressive Republican Vision,* Madison Books, 1988.

Further Education Reform: Key to A Stronger America

"President Bush will understand that our worst inner city and rural schools are mere warehouses—storing children for twelve years and releasing them prepared for nothing more than the welfare lines or prison cell. He knows that even with the deficit, Washington can do more to help these children. [Also], a Bush administration will work to guarantee that no able and hard working student will ever be turned away from the campus gates because they can't afford the tuition."

Dale Edward Curtis is associate editor of the Ripon Forum.

—Remarks of Governor Thomas Kean of New Jersey, March 22, 1988.

Governor Kean is perhaps the most respected and experienced American education reformer, in a group that includes other current or former GOP governors like Lamar Alexander of Tennessee, John Ashcroft of Missouri, or George Deukmeijian of California.

The common themes of these successful reformers: public education needs stronger leadership, greater accountability, higher standards, and more money.

"Standards should be higher in practically every subject, but the federal government must place higher priority on science, engineering, mathematics, and languages. Merit pay and master teachers should be created, but only as greater recognition, compensation, and opportunities are provided for all teachers."

—William Clohan, former Undersecretary of Education; *Ripon Forum,* November 1986.

"The full participation of women in the economy requires that quality child care be available for their children."

Help Women and Families Deal With New Realities At Work

Rather than sharp hikes in the minimum wage, which hurts the poor through inflation and job losses, why not increase an existing tax credit for low-income workers and vary it by family size? "It's pro-work, since you have to work to get it. It's pro-family, since you have to reside with your children to get it. . . . It includes those who are not covered by the minimum wage and millions earning more than the minimum who still need help because of their larger families. All this at less cost to society and with far fewer bad side effects than the minimum wage."

Representative Thomas Petri of Wisconsin, a founder of the Ripon Society; Remarks to the Republican Platform Committee, March 30, 1988.

Concerning legislation to increase the quantity and quality of child care: "The full participation by women in the economy requires that quality child care be available for their children. . . . We need to encourage a wide variety of kinds of care; to encourage creative approaches to work schedules and employee benefits by the private sector; to preserve state and local flexibility to set standards; and to reform liability and tax obstacles that discourage potential providers from entering the child care field."

—Representative Nancy Johnson of Connecticut; Remarks to the House of Representatives, February 24, 1988.

Reverse the Tragic Epidemic of Teenage Pregnancy

"Nearly every physician who has ever treated a pregnant teen will tell you that it is ignorance, not information, that gets a teen in trouble. . . . Teens must be assisted and supported in deciding to abstain from sex; information about contraceptives must also be communicated. Neither is adequate by itself. . . . School-based clinics are effective in reducing pregnancies, drop-outs, suicide, drug addiction, and other serious health problems prevalent among medically underserved youth. They save the taxpayers money."

—Harriett Stinson, founder of California Republicans for Choice, and N.G. Bostick, educator; *Ripon Forum,* October 1987.

Combine the Pursuit of Energy and Environmental Goals

After the Anne Gorsuch Burford scandal of the early 80's, it's assumed that Ronald Reagan's Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) is a joke. To be sure, they have not pushed environmental protection as hard as we might wish. But platform writers should be wise to note a remarkable study by EPA's senior management in 1987 naming continuing air pollution as the nation's number one health and environmental threat.

Since 1986, the media and major environmental groups have given Republicans the lion's share of credit for advancing clean air legislation. Senate Minority Whip Alan Simpson has offered acid rain legislation; in the House, Representative Sherwood Boehlert created an active 40-member GOP task force that tipped the balance toward a solution that is tough on the problem, but easy on the economy.

"Energy efficiency is probably America's most unsung technological success story. . . . Unfortunately, we've cut

"Public education needs strong leadership, greater accountability, higher standards and more money."

investments in conservation research and development. . . . If we fail to do more in energy efficiency, U.S. firms will operate at a disadvantage compared to competitors like Europe and Japan; we'll fail to capture the multi-trillion dollar global market for high-efficiency equipment and services; we'll import more foreign oil; and we'll face either a dirty environment or higher taxes to clean up needlessly polluted air, water, and land."

—Representative Claudine Schneider of Rhode Island; Remarks to the Energy Efficiency Technology Exhibit, February 22, 1988.

Revive Constructive Efforts for Peace in Developing Nations

"Instead of continuing the narrowly focused, piecemeal debate over military versus humanitarian aid for the Nicaraguan contras, we must develop a comprehensive, long-term policy for the region as a whole. Expansion of efforts such as the Caribbean [trade] Initiative, the U.S. college scholarship program for Central American students, economic assistance and human development programs should be the focus of U.S. policy."

—Representative Carl Pursell of Michigan; Remarks to the House of Representatives, March 17, 1988. ■

DEAR GEORGE: Youthful Insights Into the 1988 Presidential Race

Early in April, Senator Dan Evans, R-WA, used one of his weekly staff meetings to pen a letter to George Bush. The letter took the form of notes Evans made as his staff discussed what they "would advise George Bush regarding his campaign." Evans sent the roughly edited notes to Bush who wrote back a self-typed letter.

Evans' letter to Bush and Bush's response were informal, they won't be used as policy instruments. But, they were constructive. Evans' staff addressed some crucial points.

"Dear George," Evans wrote, "I know you are getting advice from everyone but I thought it might be useful to run through the . . . notes I took [at my staff meeting]," and get "a sense of the kinds of things these young Republicans are thinking about."

The "young Republicans" and "a small sprinkling of some grayer heads" suggested changes which ranged from the personal to foreign policy.

"We'd like to know you more personally and see the human side that really is there, draw a stronger picture of who you are . . ." they said. "We are looking for a president of competence, experience and ability." And, of course, they added, "don't be . . . a whiner."

Their policy suggestions reflected a desire for a more activist policy on social issues. If "President Reagan's slogan was 'It is Morning in America' then perhaps the slogan for the next Administration needs to be 'It's time for America to get out of bed,'" they quipped.

On social issues, Evans' staff cited a "need to show compassion and help people recognize that effective management of government leads to success in human programs."

There were several suggestions regarding the role of women in the Republican Party, in the work place and in the country as a whole. Those at the meeting also expressed concern about child care, pre-school education, and savings plans for college.

"If President Reagan's slogan was 'It's Morning in America,' then perhaps the slogan for the next administration needs to be 'It's time for America to get out of bed.'"

Evans' staff addressed the traditional progressive Republican themes such as the environment and judicial appoiontments. Beckoning to Teddy Roosevelt, they extolled Bush to "put the term 'conserve' into conservative," and they cautioned him that judges should represent all of the people, not just particular special interests.

On foreign policy, the letter suggested that Bush should "attempt in every way to make it bipartisan. Publicly and regularly work with Democrats as well as Republican leaders . . ."

And no dialogue with George Bush is complete without some concern about Iran-contra. Evans' staff implored, "For *heaven's sake* don't surprise us on Iran-contra. Go to the President and ask his approval to tell the whole story including the advice you may have given him in your private meetings. (This was a strongly repeated suggestion from everyone in attendence—Dan.)"

The letter was candid and informal, and the tone was that of conversation, not impassioned rhetoric.

In the same vein, Bush responded with an informal missive which he typed himself, and included typographical errors; it was not sifted through secretaries and advisors.

Bush explained that he agreed with most of the suggestions. "I can do better at letting people see the 'human side that's there,'" he confessed. And though he expressed some concern about the "constant erosion of Presidential power," calling it "absurd," he does feel strongly about increasing opportunities for "women, about finding a non-budget-busting answer to day care, and about better cooperation with Congress."

Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter both ran for president on the theme of being "outsiders," anti-government. Government-bashing being the fun that it is, both former governors were elected by saying that we need someone from outside of Washington in the White House "for a change."

Maybe, though, it can be good to have someone who knows Congress, who has a rapport with the legislators. Bush has served in government for about 20 years, in Congress, the diplomatic corps, the CIA, and as vice president.

Whether the American public considers this a detriment or an asset is hard to decide. But Evans' staff suggested a couple of times that the president must work more closely with the Congress, and this dialogue seems full of such promise. ■

GEORGE BUSH AND HIS CLASS PROBLEM

BY WILLIAM P. MCKENZIE

Now that it is certain George Bush will be the Republican presidential nominee, his campaign, like that of all front-runners, will be besieged with numerous tedious questions. Among those will be queries about his role in the Iran-contra affair: What advice did he give the president and when did he give it? And what convincing evidence can he produce that shows he opposed President Reagan's policy of trading arms for hostages?

But the Iran-contra affair will not be the most troubling question for George Bush. Rather, his most annoying problem will be about class and whether or not his patrician upbringing would add to or detract from a Bush presidency.

Bob Dole tried to convince voters that the vice-president's upbringing will be a detriment. The son of a hardworking but poor Russell, Kansas Family, Dole campaigned on the theme that Bush, the son of a Connecticut senator and a graduate of Andover and Yale, is not "one of us."

Alright. Perhaps. George Bush is certainly not Bob Dole. But class does not necessarily have to work against a candidate. Consider Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt, two presidents from the upper class.

The presidencies of both men were about—or at least were perceived to be about—remedying problems associated with discrimination and the lack of opportunity. Theodore Roosevelt's administration sought a "Square Deal" for average citizens, which meant challenging the power of emerging corporations. And Franklin Roosevelt's administration brought about a "New Deal" for those debilitated by the Great Depression.

William P. McKenzie is editor of the Ripon Forum.

"What George Bush must do is dispel the notion that his own comfort will preclude him from making the future of this nation a proposition in which all can share."

Both presidencies were flawed, and did not produce all they promised, but what presidencies haven't been flawed? And isn't it significant that the lower classes did not resent those two upper-class presidents?

Some middle and upper income voters did not like either Roosevelt, of course. But that has to do with the fact that many middle and upper class voters were comfortable and had no desire to open up the nation's economic and social processes.

What George Bush must do is dispel the notion that his own comfort will preclude him from making the future of this nation a proposition in which all can share. Unfortunately, if recent voting statistics are any indication, that may be a difficult task.

Graham Allison and Katie Smith of the Kennedy School of Government wrote recently that "the proportion of Americans voting in presidential elections has declined almost steadily since a postwar apex in 1960, when 62.8 percent of eligible voters cast ballots." In the 1984 presidential election only 53 percent of those eligible to vote cast their ballot. And in this year's Super Tuesday electoral extravaganza, only 23 percent of eligible Texas voters participated in their state's primary. In Florida, only 22 percent of eligible voters participated.

To provide Americans with a genuine interest in their future, George Bush is going to have to be more than an "education president," which so far is his predominant domestic goal. George Bush is going to have to confront head-on what critic Irving Howe says is "an impulse toward a pseudo-aristocratic snottiness" in American society.

Unfortunately for Bush, the root of this new snottiness can be traced to the Reagan administration's lack of accountability to the nation's poor. Instead, it has attempted to cut social programs while simultaneously undermining voting rights statutes and existing civil rights decisions.

The statistics about poverty, particularly women and poverty, are everywhere. More than 34 percent of families headed by a woman are poor. Sixty-one percent of women receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children are teenage mothers. And only half of the girls who give birth before age 18 are likely to complete high school. (According to Planned Parenthood, 96 percent of women who wait until after age 20 to have children complete high school.)

If George Bush wants an issue to neutralize those who think he will only perpetuate "pseudo-aristocratic snottiness," here it is. And combatting the problems associated with poverty doesn't always require mega-spending.

Consider the child-care bill introduced by Republican Representative

Continued on page 21

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE VICE PRESIDENT

BY JOHN W. SEARS

Dear Mr. Vice President:

You are behind in the national polls, and unless we are rescued by the workings of the Electoral College, it is hard to be optimistic about defeating Mike Dukakis.

This is the letter of an old friend. In 1979, when I was a Boston City Councillor At Large (and a New Leadership Fund endorsee), I held a press conference in the Curley Room at City Hall and endorsed you. This time around, I stood loyally by you when you came out with the president in support of the INF Treaty. And you stood by me when I needed help running for governor against Mike Dukakis in 1982. These comments are those of a believer.

We have only a short time now to make a strategic decision; on the one hand, to take on the Reagan Agenda whole and entire, and go to the country as an uncomplicated extension of his presidency, or on the other, to approach the American people with a Bush Agenda, not necessarily in conflict, but rooted in problem-solving in areas where President Reagan has not developed interests or solutions.

As I write, there are six months until the general election. The media now report that President Reagan's endorsement of your candidacy was lackluster. Since the nation has known for a month or more that you are the inevitable Republican nominee, I take the president's lack of enthusiasm in this respect as unhappy evidence—that he is not likely to make an all-out, coast-to-coast effort on your behalf.

John W. Sears has held several elected offices in Massachusetts, and he was the Massachusetts Republican Party Chairman in 1975-6. His 1982 Massachusetts gubernatorial bid makes him the last Republican to run against Michael Dukakis.

"We have only a short time now to make a strategic decision to take on the Reagan Agenda . . . or to approach the people with a Bush Agenda."

That conclusion seems inescapable because he has given away 15 percent of the total time available for campaigning. The result has been that your campaign has been, for weeks now, entirely eclipsed by the excitement of the Jackson-Dukakis contest. The president could have equalized the news coverage for you, and he has not. This situation may change, but perhaps not in time.

This predicament, when added to polling figures which show your awareness and familiarity well below his, casts some serious doubts on the strategy of running your campaign entirely as the vicar of the Reagan administration and its policies. For example, it means you are paying much too high a price for the president's loyalty to Attorney General Ed Meese.

The president's advisors seem locked into rather narrow channels, and one wonders whether they have your campaign—or the future propects of the Republican Party—high on their menus. There may be some problems of intuition and pragmatism. In the Meese case, it seems not to have occurred to them that the difficulty is not the president's loyalty to an old friend; surely a large share of the public finds that commendable; it is rather the president's mistake in appointing him to the top law enforcement office in the land, and his loyalty to Meese *as Attorney General*. It must be obvious that the president could bring his old friend back to the White House, as one of his most trusted three or four advisors, for these waning months, with no consequence of disloyalty and disgrace, and defuse the rockets which are just starting to explode for you and for every other Republican running this summer.

So, I have sincere doubts that it is wise for you to take on the entire Reagan record, including all the president's mistakes and—what may be more significant—all those he may make this year, in a fatigued White House which has already lost a considerable portion of its talent and much of its spirit and spark.

If you make this choice, then I urge you to make a much closer study of Mike Dukakis' campaigning and delegating style than your staff has made hitherto. It was disturbing to me, to say the least, to find that there had been no contacts with any of the three Republicans (including me) who have run against him for statewide office. He is a pugnacious advocate who sets rhetorical traps, and it seems to me your campaign may have already fallen in to several of these. He charges, for example, that you "sat by," while the administration "traded arms for hostages with the ayatollah." This has been rebutted by references to our efforts to work something out with "the Iranian moderates."

Let me assure you that the vast preponderance of the American public doubt that there are any moderates in Iran. The president's argument has never made headway, and you will do no better with it. The less damaging part of the charge arises from the trade; the more damaging part

arises from the allegation that it strengthened the ayatollah, who is by now almost universally perceived as a hate-soaked and bloodstained old tyrant.

So I would think a better rebuttal begins with a clear, ringing denunciation of the ayatollah, and a declaration to the effect that "the last thing I intended or ever would want, was that any of the weapons we sent to Iran would fall into the hands of the ayatollah." Never mind the unmarketable moderates.

Your next step has to be based on your judgment of the strategic conundrum I set forth earlier; if you are inclined to wear the mantle of Reaganism complete and entire, then you can say something of this sort. "I like and respect the president, and have stood by him through all these months, and I'm not about to walk away from him now; I've kept in confidence what we said to each other, and because of my feeling about the country, I'm not going to change that either, even if it costs me the election. But I can tell you, and will tell you, what I might consider doing if similar or comparable situations arose during a Bush presidency." That would free you to respond to Dukakis with a full statement that is free of the unhappy overtone of evasiveness which is now clouding your comments on this issue. And it might well win the hearts of a lot of American voters.

If you select the other strategy, and set forth a separate and distinct Bush Agenda, then of course you would be free to do what the president ought to have done: to face the Duke and say, "look here, if you had day-to-day responsibility for the safety and freedom of Americans living or traveling overseas; and if some of them—totally unconnected with politics or the military—are captured by madmen and imprisoned and tortured; and if you heard constant pleas from their wives and parents and sisters and children and friends—you'd try some things, even some pretty extreme things, too. That's what we did. We were damned if we were going just to sit there and let Americans suffer. Well, we did try some things, and the one we're arguing about worked badly. We goofed. But I am not sorry we tried."

Had the president made such a statement, the whole so-called "scandal" would have been set to rest in about 48 hours, except among the zealots and the extremists on the left, and their credibility would have quickly waned. He failed to do so, and it will be harder for you now, but far from impossible. I have heard you refer somewhat obliquely to your concerns for William Buckley the CIA station chief in Beirut. Although from all accounts his treatment was most vicious and outrageous, his is not the case best suited to regain the hearts of the American public; try them out on the predicament of Terry Anderson or Terry Waite or Father Jenko.

"The main miracle about Dukakis is that the mediocrity of his performance has gone unexamined."

This same kind of approach can be adapted to the Nicaraguan problem. The White House unaccountably failed to communicate to the American people its justified doubts about the legality and constitutionality of the Boland Amendment, and instead of voicing those doubts in court and in the media, decided to ignore the Congress and operate as one might, perhaps, in less ethical towers on Wall Street. There is no reason why you have to adopt this disaster as your own. A large segment of the American public does not like or trust substantial congressional intrusion into the day-to-days of foreign policy making. They would have responded positively, and might now, to a clear statement of just how far Congress—or its selected leadership—can practically play a role in volcanic events on short notice in tempestuous countries; how far you would want to go to cooperate, as a former member of Congress; and when you would go directly into the courts to try the legality of a legislative intrusion into the area of executive responsibility.

The public is equipped with a full ration of common sense. In a highly comparable area, the War Powers Act, the president has left them uneasy, and exposed himself, and you, to attack by simply ignoring the legislation. Yet most folks, when they know its provisions and content, are startled and surprised by what a shaky piece of statutory drafting it is. Why not say—"some kind of congressional action in Cold-War or quasi-war circumstances is justified and I would welcome it; but that dreadful piece of nonsense, which requires troop withdrawals after a precise time period if Congress gets talkative and fails to act should be given the speedy and merciful burial it deserves."

At the present time, Dukakis is doing a rather successful job of bashing you and the president on the trade legislation, which seems to be widely supported. The president's objection, which you are identified with, lies in the indecisive language requiring plant managers to give advance notice to their employees if a factory is to be closed; you have taken on the uphill task of defending a rather closely-held principle of entrepreneurial capitalism.

Why not simply say that plant-closing regulations affecting domestic businesses have no relevance whatsoever in a bill designed to alter the regulation of foreign trade? In fact, such totally non-relevant language would—until recent deterioration—have been successfully removed from comparable legislation in Massachusetts on a "point of order." Why let Congress get away with this ancient horseplay? Why not tell the Duke to have his friend, Senator Kennedy, file a separate and distinct plant closing bill, so it can be debated on its own merits, and not be handed to the president as a bit of legislative blackmail? This is the sort of response which would bring support from a large segment of the population.

Personally, I hope there is—before long—a shift to a Bush Agenda, focused on areas which supplement—rather than contradict—the Reagan Revolution. Some critical components would include: a restoration of mobility, flexibility and surprise in our defense establishment; a national crash program to improve curriculum and teaching quality and literacy; a wise, non-socialist plan to distribute medical care as far as possible; a housing system which welcomes ownership and discourages the genuine evil of speculation; an insurance system which gets back to responsibility and consequence; and genuine attention to the heartbreaking problems of homeless and jobless Americans, both of whom abound in Massachusetts despite the rhetoric of your opponent. The main miracle so far is, that the mediocrity of his performance has gone unexamined. ■

Sincerely,

John W. Sears

WHEN THE SAINTS GO MARCHING IN—TO MICHIGAN

BY TIM POPE AND BRIAN BARNIER

"The Christians have won!" declared the Reverend Pat Robertson. His exuberance followed the Michigan deadline for filing precinct delegates in 1986 which was the beginning of the visible Robertson for President movement in Michigan and a battle for control of the Michigan GOP.

The ferocity of Michigan's presidential selection process intrigued political watchers. The *New York Times* referred to Michigan as the "Beirut of Republican politics." The *San Francisco Chronicle* jabbed at the process as "fanatical skirmishing." And, Rich Bond, Vice President Bush's deputy campaign manager remarked glibly, "Good Morning, Vietnam" at a press conference the day after local caucuses.

Was the Michigan GOP's experience with the Robertson for President campaign an oddity or a foreshadowing of future battles to be waged across Michigan and the nation?

The drama in Michigan began with the desire to leap-frog Iowa and New Hampshire for the lead in the presidential selection process. The motives seemed clear. It was reasonable to suggest that a large industrial state with nine million people should be heard at least as loudly as a sparsely populated farming state and a small New England state. From the perspective of the party leadership, being first would also mean national media attention and big names to bring dollars into state and local party coffers—both benefits which would win accolades from the rank-and-file. There was also real concern that Democrats would crossover to vote in the open Republican primary, since the Democrats had moved to a caucus system in 1984.

"The new caucus system set the stage for a small, but dedicated group of extremists to gain control."

With this rationale, the party moved from the primary to a new, highly complicated caucus system. This last point is significant. Few people really knew the details of what the party was moving to. At the time of the move, there was seemingly little reason to be concerned—at least the "devils" to that point were all well known. What many didn't realize was that the new "devil" would not be so easy to find, much less to know.

Briefly, the new system worked like this: candidates for precinct delegate (the building block of the system) would file by May 1986. In August 1986, more than nine thousand precinct delegates would be selected from those who filed, during the state's primary election. These delegates would then gather in county and district conventions in January 1988 to elect 1085 delegates to the state convention. Later in January, at the state convention, the 77 delegates to the Republican National Convention in New Orleans would finally be chosen.

The result of the new selection process was that the popular vote in the presidential selection process was gone. This new caucus system had instead set the stage for a small, but dedicated group of extremists to gain control. Quietly, the Pat Robertson campaign began in earnest.

Their first step was to recruit precinct delegate candidates under the auspicies of the *Freedom Council*. Using fundamentalist churches as a base, they were able to out-recruit both George Bush and Jack Kemp. This effort proceeded successfully with very little media attention. The more mainstream party members were not aware of the size of the Robertson movement until the May filing deadline, and then some leaders did not readily accept what the numbers seemed to tell. These unknown new activists innocously identified themselves as "just people in the party with no set agenda."

Inside the *Freedom Council* apparatus, the Robertson organization was characterized by dedication, energy, openness between leadership and fieldworkers, and a clear goal-orientation embodied in the person of Pat Robertson—all in a way that baffled the "country club" mentality of some Republican leaders. However, the organization lacked seasoned leadership. This resulted in an alliance with the New Right backers of Congressman Jack Kemp.

The Kemp supporters were all seasoned political veterans either from years of being the "outsiders" during the administration of William G. Milliken, the progressive, mainstream former governor who retired in 1982 after twelve years at the helm in Michigan, or by being carefully schooled in the conservative programs that have flourished during the Reagan years. Together this Robertson-Kemp axis took control of the State Committee in January 1988. This new "conser-

Tim Pope is the secretary of the Michigan Republican Mainstream Committee and Brian Barnier is a member of the Mainstream State Committee.

vative coalition'' flexed its muscles and quickly began rewriting the party rules in their favor.

With the August 1986 vote tallied, it became clear in the 1986 Fall state-ticket nominating convention that there was a new, drastically different Michigan Republican Party. No longer was this the party of Governor Milliken. The mainstream element of the Michigan Party, which had revived George Bush's presidential ambitions in 1980 by beating Ronald Reagan late in the primary season, was no longer a viable force.

Many of the new Republican leaders were far more conservative. They were solid adherents to the New Right orthodoxy as elucidated in Richard Vigurie's book *The New Right: We're Ready to Lead.* This is what made the Robertson movement so interesting. In the post-Milliken era, the new establishment was first dominated by conservatives at least as far right as President Reagan. Yet by 1986, these same people were labeled by the Robertson movement as liberal and unacceptable for party leadership—the purge had begun.

The rules placed Bush and the remaining moderates on the defensive right up to the county convention, until the State Appeals Court declared that the new rules were in violation of state law. This gave the Bush campaign new life. Pat Robertson then charged that the state courts should be investigated for corruption.

The local caucuses showed the strength and determination of the Robertson backed conservative coalition. Two district conventions should be noted as examples. First, in the traditionally moderate 18th district, the caucus dragged on ten hours, until 5:15 in the morning when the janitor of the local high school, where the caucus was being held, began to turn off the lights and ask people to leave. The convention ended just hours before students arrived for their 7:15 a.m. civics lessons. The controversy was over the extent to which new state party rules (backed by Robertson) governed the convention process in light of state election law.

In the Wayne County portion of the 16th District, the story was different. There the leader of the ''conservative coalition'' would not allow the news media in the convention unless they paid a $500 fee, an unprecedented stipulation. In addition, many of the Bush supporters, including the vice president's son, Marvin, were literally left out in the January cold.

The battle continued to the state convention later in January, where Michigan was to shine in the national spotlight for their vision in nominating the first delegates to the National Convention. Instead of shining, the convention was split as the Robertson supporters bolted from the official convention to a ''rump'' convention in the basement, claiming that they should be recognized as the official convention.

''The fundamentalist movement has appeared to target House races as the next step in their march to control the Michigan GOP.''

The process ended with a divided party sending two delegations to the New Orleans convention. The ironic outcome is that Michigan will be the last delegation seated and not the first.

Polls which were conducted at the time of the state convention by *The Detroit News* showed George Bush preferred by 54% of respondents to Pat Robertson's 8%, suggesting the likely outcome if a primary election were held. This demonstrated the power of a few committed individuals to overrule the clear preference of the people and decisively to skew the results. Rather than directing our resources to selling the Republican Party's vision of the future and the leadership ability of our candidates, the energy and dollars were wasted trading votes in smoke-filled rooms. The ray of hope for the future is that legislation has passed the State Senate and is expected to pass the State House to restore a presidential primary system. This primary, unlike the old system, will call for a closed process requiring voters to declare a party preference 30 days before the primary election.

The questions being asked in Michigan now are: How strong is the Robertson movement? And will the fundamentalist followers continue in the political process? Clearly, some of the participants have stepped back to the sidelines owing to their distaste of politics. But many have become supercharged because of their taste of political victory and the reaction to the fear of political persecution. Currently, the fundamentalist movement is marching on three related battle fronts. First, in 1988 Michigan voters will face an initiative referendum to discontinue the spending of Medicaid dollars for abortions. The Right to Life movement was one benefactor of the increase in foot soldiers from the new movement.

Second, many of the Detroit suburbs are facing a resurgence in the number of fundamentalist candidates running for school boards. Their demands include no certification for Christian teachers, review of textbooks and movies in public classrooms, and, in one case, Halloween celebrations being called into question.

Third, the Republican members of the Michigan House of Representatives are bracing themselves for the potential threats of primaries across the board. This is unfortunate as, at the same time, House Republican Leader Paul Hillegonds, a Ripon Society member, is leading a revival of his progressive caucus, and is finally creating a positive view of the Republican Party not seen in Michigan since Governor Milliken.

''Was the Michigan GOP's experience an oddity or a foreshadowing of future battles?''

Nonetheless, the fundamentalist movement has appeared to target the House races as their next step in their march to control the Michigan Republican Party. In fact, a member is quoted as saying: ''The state Republican Party of Michigan will indelibly bear the mark of Pat Robertson for many years. We have a chance the next time they file precinct delegates to control all the counties. For our people, that means they will have control over county boards of supervisors, mayors, city council members, school board members. They will have control over the issues they care about.'' And the ''saints'' continue to march in. ■

IN DEFENSE OF THE IVORY TOWER

BY ALFRED W. TATE

Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987.

A diatribe, according to *The American Heritage Dictionary,* is "a bitter and abusive criticism or denunciation." The English word comes from a Latin term meaning "learned discourse" and both have a Greek cognate meaning "to completely rub away or wear out." In *The Closing of the American Mind* Professor Allan Bloom of the University of Chicago has written a model of the genre. Simultaneously scholarly and vituperative, the book will exhaust the reader who attempts to wade through it from cover to cover.

This is too bad. While much of what Professor Bloom has to say is both true and important, his argument needs to be taken as a whole and with a large grain of salt.

Bloom begins by reiterating Tocqueville's warning that the greatest danger a democracy faces is the potential enslavement of its citizens to public opinion. This is, Tocqueville found, a danger inherent in the premises of individual freedom and equality on which democracy is based. In a democracy reason must rule, and the liberation democracy brings is from those traditional authorities—established church, aristocracy, family—which impede the exercise of reason in governance.

The rub, Bloom points out, lies in the fact that these "authorities" not only constrict and confine, they also enrich and, in fact, enable thought and action. They embody the traditions which bring the past into the present. In the process they create the present. Indeed, it is the "presentness" of living traditions that makes the exercise of reason possible by providing the context in which choice is meaningful. By embodying the background, as it were, against which competing alternatives emerge and take on definition, these often maligned cultural artifacts are what we continuously launch ourselves from as we act into the future.

"From People Magazine *to the myriad of polls that constantly measure every facet of our personal and public lives, it is clear we are fast becoming the nation of sheep Bloom says we are."*

These traditional authorities protect us against the influence of the transitory and ephemeral by pointing out what the race has found to be of lasting worth. Without this protection, the individual in a democracy has only the popular sentiment of the moment to rely on in making choices in their personal lives and in exercising their equal voice in the governance of their community.

Thus democracy's dilemma is that the freedom and equality of all, on which it insists, has the potential to undermine the independence of mind it must promote. As Bloom puts it:

> If all opinions are equal, then the majority of opinions, on the psychological analogy of politics, should hold sway. . . . This is the really dangerous form of the tyranny of the majority, not the kind that actively persecutes minorities but the kind that breaks the inner will to resist because there is no qualified sense of nonconforming principles and no sense of superior right.

As so-called life-style options proliferate and political problems become more complex, the prospect is for a society in which even those who would oppose the will of the majority are creatures of caprice. Their only basis for dissent is heedless and essentially random reaction to whatever is currently in vogue.

Bloom believes the university is so critical to our system of governance because it is the one institution capable of averting this danger. The freedom of mind on which the health of democracy depends, he writes,

> requires not only, or not even especially, the absence of legal constraints but the presence of alternative thoughts. The most successful tyranny is not the one that uses force to assure uniformity but the one that removes the awareness of other possibilities.

For Bloom, it is to keep alive this "awareness of other possibilities" that the university exists.

The university can play this indispensable role in a democracy, Bloom argues, only as long as it remains what it is so often ridiculed for being—an "ivory tower." As such, it is able to perform three critical functions for a society in which the people rule. First, by preserving the achievements of the past, it precludes our absolutizing the present by viewing history as series of inferior stages in its development. Second,

Alfred W. Tate is a member of the Forum's *editorial board whose incomplete dissertation has stood in the way of his finding a place in the "ivory tower."*

by being open to currently "unpopular" ways of thinking, the university challenges the temptation to chase after whoever and whatever is in momentary fashion and to which democracies are peculiarily vulnerable. Finally, by providing a time and place where knowledge is sought for its own sake, the university offers an antidote to the democratic propensity to make practicality the only measure of worth.

Bloom says even the best of our universities have never peformed these three vital democracy-girding functions that well. Now he concludes they have almost quit trying.

The blame for this Bloom attributes to the rise of historicism with its assumption that everything—including most especially human nature—is the product of history. The relativism which is the result of this way of thinking has opened a Pandora's box of woes. Perhaps the worst is the conviction that all measures of worth are culturally determined. With this has come the attendant belief that different ways of life can only be judged by their own, internal standards, and thus one is ultimately as good as any other. Here Bloom says humans are defined as "value-creating," but choosing between the values they create is finally merely a matter of taste.

Against this development Bloom appeals to the belief of the ancient Greeks that absolute truth—again most especially regarding human nature—is knowable, at least proximately. Here value is not relative, but measured in terms of the degree to which the particular and real shares in or reflects the universal and ideal. According to this way of thinking, Bloom says, humans are defined as "good-seeking," and judgments between differing ways of life are possible on the basis of the degree to which they realize the good.

Bloom believes the already widespread and growing acceptance by higher education in America of the understanding of humans as "value-creating" rather than "good-seeking" will increasingly prevent its functioning as it must if our democracy is to remain healthy. If this trend continues, he is convinced, the relativism attendant to this understanding will preclude the university from offering genuinely life-enhancing alternatives to the more and more shallow and swiftly changing fads which are coming to characterize our culture.

This is great stuff. Bloom is right on target. From *People Magazine* to the myriad of polls that constantly measure every facet of our personal and public lives, it is clear we are fast becoming precisely the nation of sheep he says we are. Further, thanks to him we now have a better idea of why the political leaders we are graced with talk incessantly of values, but cannot articulate a convincing vision of the "good life" for us in other than the crassest material terms.

"As rich, insightful and even occasionally amusing as the book is, its argument is too simple by half. The interaction between past and present is more complex than Bloom's account would indicate."

Further, anyone who has tried to help a young person graduating from high school with a desire for an old-fashioned "liberal education" select a college will recognize the ring of truth in Bloom's analysis of the state of higher education. The curricula of many American schools are now so ill-defined that it is difficult to narrow the field even through the negative device of eliminating those which clearly do not offer the sort of program desired.

But as rich, insightful and even occasionally amusing as the book is, its argument is too simple by half. The interaction between past and present is more complex than even Bloom's account would indicate. Certainly to lose touch with the resources of our past, and particularly with the Socratic tradition, would be immensely impoverishing. But what is needed is to bring that tradition and other elements of the mainstream of Western thought into dialogue with the non-Western traditions and the heretofore unattended to strands of Western culture now finding their voice and challenging that mainstream. What is not needed is the mean-spirited ranting to which Bloom's critique of contemporary culture frequently descends.

More importantly, while the ramifications of historicism are every bit as troubling as Bloom believes, it cannot be dismissed and the old verities returned to simply by wishing it were so. Historicism is an intellectually legitimate response to what humans have learned from their experience in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The challenge we face is to live with the acute discomfort and sense of loss this experience has brought and to work toward an "awareness of other possibilities," rather than succumb to the despair of nihilism or the mindlessness of fanaticism which this loss tempts us to believe are now our only options.

It is wrong to fault an author for the audience his or her work finds, and Professor Bloom has expressed surprise at the popularity—and even notoriety—his book has achieved. But the dense and convoluted nature of his argument, the fact that its form is almost a caricature of arcane academia and its tone so polemical, make it easy to misuse.

These flaws detract greatly from the contribution the book could have made to the debate over the reform of higher education in this country. It is intellectually dishonest to describe the present in terms of the problems it presents and then prescribe the past as the remedy, however accurate that description may be and however nostalgic we may be. Of all they are prone to, this is the sin conservatives find perhaps most tempting and Bloom comes perilously close to committing it.

Demagogues have had a field day casting bricks snatched out of context from *The Closing of the American Mind* at targets of opportunity in higher education. A careful reading of the book will reveal that these are cheap shots. The institution he so clearly loves would have been far better served had Bloom tempered his rhetoric and faced more squarely the full dimensions of the crisis our culture, and the university as both a reflection and repository of that culture, faces. ■

What's Ahead in the *Ripon Forum:*

A New Economic Agenda

GEORGE BUSH AND IRAN-GATE: *The Last Word*

BY JIM LEACH

As Americans continue to sort out the issues and candidates of 1988, the question emerges whether a scandal of political judgment has not become a scandal of press perspective.

The scandal of judgment is obvious. The Reagan administration attempted to trade arms for hostages and thence use certain proceeds to further a dubiously legal war in Central America. Trying to out-Kissinger Kissinger, inexperienced geostrategists within the National Security Council surmised that by making overtures to Iranian moderates a basis could be developed for bettering relations with a post-Khomeini Iran.

In this tale of immaturity, deceit and TOW-missile alms, the role of the vice president has never been considered central. Given his assured nomination, however, the press has suddenly chosen to make George Bush's role the centerpiece of yesteryear's concern.

Last spring Washington was abuzz with conjecture that Iran-gate was not only a political embarrassment, but could possibly lead to presidential resignation or impeachment. As a Capitol Hill observer of the process, my sense was that the liberal press was dead right in describing the chasm of judgment and disorderly procedures of White House staff, but dangerously wrong in suggesting remedies that misfit the circumstances.

The public understood better than Capital-Beltway pundits that what was at issue was more than a man and his policies, but the presidency itself. The average citizen wanted humpty-dumpty put back together by reining in the king's horses, changing the king's men, but not displacing the king. Main Street America couldn't countenance the institution of the presidency being shaken to its roots a second time in one generation.

"Should [Bush] be run out of town for a policy he neither authored nor played a principal role in?"

Mindful that Reagan's teflon didn't scratch, the press in recent weeks appears to have developed a conflict-of-interest desire to dress Bush in velcro. If George Bush does not become the fall guy for a failed Reagan policy, a story long in development and elucidation will have produced an inadequate and inconclusive result.

Two questions of journalistic ethics jump out: How fair is this to George Bush, and how important is the criticism leveled against him to the office he seeks?

At issue is the man and the office—a character appraisal of the first and a vulnerability assessment of the second.

While the public wants the presidency built up, the Fourth Estate has a self-interest in bolstering presidential vulnerability to press concerns. Its "checks and balances" power is best evidenced in vindication, i.e., "victims."

The problem is that the target in this case is a real human being, a very decent man who by all accounts has done a very decent job. The problem is made more complex by the nature of the vice presidency.

From the day he assumed the office, it appears George Bush determined to be candid in private with the president, forceful in carrying out delineated tasks, but not overly contentious in policy group settings. He understood policy turmoil would develop if he attempted to stir his hand too deeply in Ronald Reagan's stew. As "president-in-waiting," he knew that a too assertive vice president would do more harm than good if hints developed of policy division or unsupportiveness.

Hence, the personal dilemma for George Bush: given his character, it's not at all inconceivable that he would be more embarrassed at allowing advice to be made public that made him look good at the president's expense than advice which might link him to a failed policy.

Hence, the dilemma for the nation: foreign policy errors of this magnitude demand tough-minded reassessment, but self-criticism should not be so destructive as to cripple the institution of the presidency.

It is in the context of defending the presidency that George Bush reminds us that privileged discussions with a president take on import. If private discussions become matters of public review, presidential counselors will be induced to be circumspect rather than candid in the advice they give.

Difficult policies often involve close decisions with nuances as well as basic thrust debated. If internal executive conflicts become the norms of public discourse, consistency of presidential purpose is jeopardized and confidence in the presidency is undercut.

It has thus been Bush's policy since assuming office not to "leak" views or go "public" about policy differences when cheap personal gain might be achieved.

Like the captain of a ship, the presi-

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

dent must assume the first mate will loyally carry out policy and not attempt to torpedo presidential directives or undermine confidence in presidential leadership. If a president thought his vice president cared more for the gain that might be achieved from public revelations of dissent than the loyalty implied in support of administration policy, he would hardly be likely to seek out vice-presidential advice or allocate responsibility to a vice president who under the Constitution has few specified duties except the right to preside over the Senate.

In this framework George Bush's comments on the Iran issue should be reviewed. They can be capsulized as follows: 1) He supported the president; 2) He acknowledged a mistake was made; 3) while he shared the president's concern for the hostages, particularly in the context of the bestial torture of Mr. Buckley, and while he supported the principle of attempting to make demarches to Iranian moderates to pave the way for more responsible relations between our countries, he reluctantly placed on the record one reservation he held about the approach being pursued—namely the concern that we might become the pawns of the strategic or financial agenda of a few individuals within a foreign state—Israel—who were recommending arms transactions as a key to influence building.

In the big picture, what more should appropriately be said?

It is, of course, fair for Bush's rivals to suggest that he must share accountability for a foreign policy mistake of this administration. Likewise, the same logic would indicate it fair for him to suggest that he be allowed to share accountability for other aspects of the Reagan administration foreign policy—where the successes far outweigh the failures. What, after all, is more important: the failure of a risky demarche aimed initially at broadening contacts with Iranian moderates, or the successful negotiation of the INF accord.

If it is realistic for opponents to ask how George Bush would fare against a Democrat this fall on the Iran issue, it is far more telling to ask, how other Republican candidates would have fared if asked by a Democratic aspirant why they couldn't unequivocally support the INF accord.

Fairness in perspective demands that three issues be addressed: a) When is enough, enough? How many more ounces of flesh can be carved out of a public servant's hide after acknowledgement of shared responsibility for a mistaken policy? b) Is our system better served by a vice president faithful to administration policy or one established in the eyes of the world as a dissenter from it? c) Is the policy mistake involved in the Iran-hostage issue not of modest significance compared to policy successes like INF?

As Ronald Reagan's copilot, George Bush has faced up to the Iran mess more fully than the press has acknowledged. It is an understandable liability for him. But the question remains whether the press can now face up to the fairness issue. Should this decent man be run out of town for a policy he neither authored nor played a principal role in? Should the only candidate in the Republican tent actively campaigning on arms control and peace themes be coercively abandoned by those in the party championing greater national chauvinism?

Just as Walter Mondale asked Gary Hart in 1984: "Where's the beef?" George Bush should be entitled to ask his other serious opponent—the press: "Where's the perspective?"

Is it fair to hold George Bush accountable for Ed Meese? For Noriega? For America's growing addiction to drugs?

In his kiss-and-tell book of White House intrigue, Don Regan has suggested that the Emperor has no clothes and that the Empress dons witches' garb. As biased as the former chief-of-staff's remembrances appear to be, the public has been titillated by his insider's surveys of astrological gossip. If opinion polls are a guide, the mood of the electorate has moved in the direction of change. This mood-in-the-making reflects neither a partisan nor issue orientation. The country doesn't want a rebellion. Just change.

In this context, the vice president has limited prospects of election unless his campaign does an about-face. It is time for the president to let go and for Bush to be Bush. With the nomination in hand, candidate Bush must make it clear he is the standard-bearer, not someone else's lieutenant. As the standard-bearer, he must give an uplifting vision, not just of consolidation, but of change: of new leadership as well as new approaches; of professionalism; of tolerance to diversity of opinion, but intolerance to sleaze; of hands-on control of the ship of state; of family values reflected in life as well as rhetoric.

This—the real George Bush—can be elected president. The candidate the media has been prone to portray cannot. ■

Continued from page 13

Nancy Johnson. Under Johnson's plan, families with incomes up to 200 percent of the federal poverty level would be provided child care certificates that could be spent at licensed day care centers, or registered family day care homes. Funds for the plan would come from reducing or eliminating the Dependent Care Tax Credit for higher income families. (Taxpayers with adjusted gross income above $28,000 now can claim a credit on 20 percent of dependent care expenses up to $2,400 for one child; $4,800 for two or more.)

Johnson estimates that by reducing the credit for families who earn between $60,000 and $70,000, and eliminating it altogether for those who earn over $70,000, $300 million could be redirected in the first year alone to low income families who do not now benefit from child care assistance.

Certainly one bill does not reduce poverty and the racial tensions that often accompany it. But it is an example of what George Bush, who is a member of the upper class, could do as president.

The question, of course, is would he? Nicholas Lemann writes in the March issue of Texas Monthly that: "The hallmark of Bush's class is an obsession with a certain kind of behavior: modest, conscientious, loyal, and honest." The challenge George Bush must face is whether the "hallmarks" of his class will prevent him from breaking from the Reagan mold and dealing directly with the issues that could make him a successful president. ■

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ANNUAL DINNER

Summer in Washington, now that the baseball team is gone, means the Ripon Society Annual Dinner . . . and tourists. The 1988 Annual Dinner theme is "A Salute to Humor in American Politics."

Ripon began a tradition of hosting Annual Dinners in 1981 and in 1985 the Society gave George Bush its "Republican of the Year" award. Since then, we have honored GOP Women and the Senate Republican Leadership with our award. (Waddya want, another "Golden Fleece?")

This year, we are honoring Representative Lynn Martin (R-IL) and Senator Alan Simpson (R-WY), two people who are renowned and respected in Washington for their legislative abilities and liked for their senses of humor.

Martin and Simpson will be the principal speakers at the dinner which will be hosted by Dinner Chairs Representative Bill Frenzel (R-MN) and USAir Vice President Patricia Goldman.

Washington has a well-deserved reputation not only for producing the legislation for the nation, but also for producing some of the nation's best known jokes—of course, many of them are not re-elected. As the grave setting of the government of the most powerful and influential nation on Earth, Washington is constantly in need of relief from tension. We at the Ripon Society have taken it upon ourselves to provide the public service of making Washington laugh for an evening.

"A Salute to Humor in American Politics" will be held at the L'Enfant Plaza Hotel in Washington, D.C. on June 21. A reception will begin at 6:00 p.m. and dinner will begin at 7:30 p.m. Tickets to the event are $500. If you have any questions, please contact Lisa Cochran or Bea Hernady at 250 10th Street, S.E., Washington, D.C., 20003, (202) 547-6808.

ISSUES '88—

In conjunction with our Annual Dinner, the Ripon Society hosts an annual Congressional Briefing series. This year's briefing series, Issues '88, will be held on the day of the dinner, June 21, on Capitol Hill. The specific location will be announced soon. There will be panels to discuss the Middle East, the '88 campaign, the trade deficit, regulation of financial institutions, and tax reform.

Attendance is free, and everybody is invited to attend any or all sessions. For additional information about Issues '88, please contact Barry Edwards at the Ripon Society, 6 Library Court, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003, (202) 546-1292.

A NEWER WORLD, and not a minute too soon!!—

Our editors sacrificed several evenings and a weekend recently to finish proof reading *A Newer World: The Progressive Republican Vision of America*, the Ripon Society's first book in 15 years. We originally planned to release the book in March, but various forces have conspired to delay publication. We should, however, have *A Newer World* by early August. To order your copy, send $14.95 to the Ripon Society, 6 Library Court, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

CONVENTION '88—

The 1988 Republican National Convention is being held in New Orleans, Louisiana this year, August 15-18. In addition to nominating George Bush, there will be much activity surrounding the GOP platform and organizing various Republican activities for the next several years.

The Ripon Society will have a high-profile presence at the Convention. We plan to distribute the *Forum* and other issue-oriented material, sign up members, and talk-up progressive issues.

TAC (Ripon Goes to London)

The Ripon Educational Fund is assembling the American delegation to the Sixth Annual Transatlantic Conference to be held in London and Cambridge, England. This year's Conference will be chaired by Congressman Tom Petri and attendees will include members of the Ripon Society, the British Bow Group, a Canadian delegation, and a Norwegian delegation. A French delegation has also been invited.

Former Senator John Tower and British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe will deliver keynote addresses and the conference theme will be a Transatlantic look at the future. Panels will focus on the issues and relationships within NATO, economic regulation and means to encourage individual initiative and enterprise, and Third World trade and debt issues.

Queries about the Transatlantic Conference should be addressed to Philip Shelly at the Ripon Society, 6 Library Court, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202) 546-1292.

ANNUAL MEETING

The Ripon Society's annual meeting was held in Des Moines, Iowa on April 23. Society members were hosted by the Iowa Ripon chapter, which put together a luncheon and afternoon panel discussion on the Iowa caucuses.

Ripon Society president Mark Uncapher delivered the luncheon address on progressive Republican values. Among those values, Uncapher said, are a preference for free market economics; an em phasis on fairness for the individual on social, procedural and rights issues; and an internationalist perspective on foreign policy. Excerpts from his address will be included in the next issue of the *Ripon Forum*.

Participants in the Iowa caucus panel included Des Moines attorney Bennett Webster, *Des Moines Register* columnist David Yepsen, Drake University professor Hugh Winebrenner, Iowa GOP Co-Chair David Oman, Dallas County, Iowa Republican Chairman Ralph Brown, and Bob Dole's 1988 Iowa caucus coordinator Tom Sinehorst. Two local television affiliates covered the afternoon's proceedings.

CHAPTER NOTES

The same week the Iowa chapter hosted the Society's 1988 annual meeting, the Hawaii Ripon chapter put together a public television program. The subject was the direction of the Hawaii GOP, which has been challenged by Religious Right activists.

New officers for the Hawaii chapter are: Paul Hooper, president; Elwin Spray, first vice president; Wendy Miyashiro, second vice president; Masu Dyer, treasurer; and Faye Rawles-Schok, secretary. Dyer reports that Hawaii Ripon member Maria Hustace, a Molokai rancher, is also challenging incumbent Senator Spark Matsunaga. ■

WASHINGTON NOTES AND QUOTES

Revolving Door: There's a steady business for cab drivers at the White House these days, as one official after another hits the exit. We revive a proposal that appeared in these pages for rules to require presidential appointees to serve out the president's entire term (Hugh Elliot, RF August 1986). We need to stop the "brain drain," and the self-serving, unaccountable crusades that cripple any second-term administration.

* * *

Rising Stars Dept.: The dramatic resignations of William Weld and Arnold Burns at the Justice Department (followed by the firing of Terry Eastland, Department spokesman), remind one of the 1974 "Saturday Night Massacre," when Ripon stalwart and then-Attorney General Elliot Richardson quit to protest the shady tactics of his boss, Richard Nixon.

As with Richardson, Weld's move has won him praise in the state of Massachusetts, where Weld was appointed in 1981 at the age of 35 to a five-year stint as U.S. attorney. Weld ran unsuccessfully in 1978 for Massachusetts attorney general; his dramatic departure from Meese's Justice Department has fueled speculation that he will make another statewide run—for either the U.S. Senate or the governorship—in 1990.

In case you weren't aware, no Republican has won statewide office in Massachusetts since 1974. Richardson was defeated in a Senate try in 1984. The state party badly needs a champion, and the Harvard-educated corruption-buster could be it.

* * *

Machismo Pays Off: White House pollster Richard Wirthlin says his surveys show the "gender gap," the GOP's relative unpopularity with women, has widened to more than 20 points.

* * *

Teach Them Young 'Uns: For the fourth year, young interns on Capitol Hill will hear the progressive Republican message through a series of lectures featuring members of Congress and GOP activists. Organized by the Republican Mainstream Committee, lectures will focus on the environment, family and economic policies, national defense and foreign affairs, and the outlook for November.

* * *

Platform Update: The Republican Mainstream Committee has also embarked on efforts to contribute to the '88 GOP platform process. Committee Director Ken Ruberg says that unlike 1984, platform leaders this year have provided a more constructive, open process. Says Ruberg, "We seek a platform that is pragmatic in content, tolerant in tone, and reflective of the diversity of opinion in the Republican Party. There is a lot of cause for optimism."

* * *

Calling the National Enquirer: Democratic Party Chairman Paul Kirk, Jr., by the way, has made it clear that his party's platform should avoid the appearance of listing the demands of every liberal interest group. He favors a short, non-specific statement of principles which could be widely distributed, say, at grocery check-outs. Hmmm.

That goal may run into trouble with the Reverend Jesse Jackson's campaign, which seeks specific pledges to slash military spending in favor of 70-100% increases in spending on housing, jobs, universal health care, etc.

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Broadcast News: According to the Center for Media and Public Affairs, a non-partisan, non-profit research organization, TV news provided a combined total of more than eleven hours of election '88 coverage in 1987. Interesting findings: there were more stories on Gary Hart's troubles than stories on all other Democratic candidates combined, or the Republicans, for that matter. For every story on policy issues, there were nearly two depicting the campaign in "horse race" terms, and three on campaign controversies. And Democrats got about twice the total media attention of Republicans during 1987.

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Ripon at the Races: Keep an eye on these hot Senate races involving moderate and progressive Republicans (next issue we'll feature House and gubernatorial races):

In Ohio, Cleveland Mayor George **Voinovich** vs. incumbent Democratic Senator Howard **Metzenbaum;** in New Jersey, retired Army General Pete **Dawkins** vs. incumbent Democratic Senator Frank **Lautenberg;** Lieutenant Governor **Susan Engeleiter** in Wisconsin, facing a GOP primary vs. a Nixon-Mitchell crony, and the winner of a hotly contested Democratic primary; Congressman Jim **Jeffords** of Vermont vs. attorney Bill **Gray;** former Senator Slade **Gorton** of Washington vs. the Democratic winner of an open primary in which Republicans may vote (and often do); incumbent progressive Republicans John **Chafee** of Rhode Island versus Lieutenant Governor Richard **Licht;** David **Durenberger** of Minnesota vs. State Attorney General Hubert "Skip" **Humphrey** III; and Lowell **Weicker** of Connecticut vs. State Attorney General Joseph **Lieberman.** Incumbent, Ripon-friendly Senators **Danforth, Heinz** and **Lugar** will have easier races.