

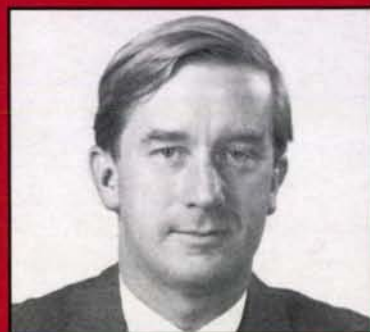
RIPON

forum

VOL. XXVII NO. 2

MAY 1991

NEW GOVERNORS AT THE HEAD OF THE CLASS



William F. Weld, MA

*G.O.P. GOVERNORS
SHOW (AND TELL)
HOW TO
INVIGORATE
EDUCATION*



John McKernan, ME



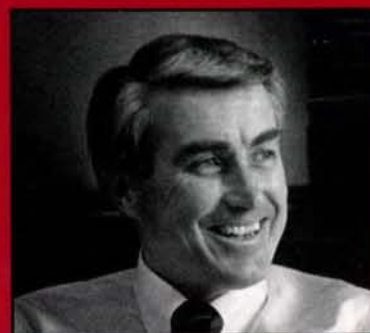
Pete Wilson, CA



George V. Voinovich, OH



Arne Carlson, MN



Jim Edgar, IL



John Engler, MI

EDITOR'S COLUMN

As mentioned in recent *Forums*, last November witnessed the election of several new moderate Republican governors. Their election prompted columnist David Broder to write that "the 'moderate' or 'progressive' wing of the GOP was strengthened immeasurably" by these new governors.

In this edition, we highlight their work on education, an issue President Bush is championing and which is central to many of America's domestic woes. We also present remarks by Massachusetts's new Republican governor, William F. Weld, who once served on the Ripon Society National Governing Board. We entitle his speech to the 1991 Jacob K. Javits Excellence in Public Service Award dinner "A Massachusetts Manifesto" because of its outline of Ripon-related themes. As Weld says, he seeks to "[carry] the progressive Republican banner into territory poorly served by other philosophies of governance."

Also in this issue, New York attorney Rita E. Hauser, a longtime Ripon supporter and a leading Mideast expert, discusses her views on the aftermath of the Persian Gulf War. Although the Mideast continues to be troubled by uncertainty, Hauser outlines the issues that must be reconciled for stability to occur.

Related to the Mideast, of course, is the problem of America's dependence on foreign oil. This spring, the Bush administration released a thin strategy to counter that dependence, so we have asked Senator James Jeffords and environmental mediator John Jenkins to discuss their ideas for a more developed energy strategy.

GOP progressives have also been disturbed by the Bush administration's civil rights policies. In "An Open Letter to President Bush," William T. Coleman, Jr. and Donald T. Bliss, Jr. ask President Bush to reconsider his opposition to new civil rights legislation. As they write, "In your heart, Mr. President, you have always been a strong advocate of civil rights.... We urge you to let the walls of Jericho come tumbling down and to seize the leadership in fashioning civil rights legislation."

—Bill McKenzie

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PROFILES AND PERSPECTIVES

A Conversation with Rita E. Hauser



Rita E. Hauser

Rita Hauser is a Harvard-educated international lawyer whose understanding of Mideast issues is without rival. In early May, she participated in a session in Washington on the Mideast with former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, and throughout the Persian Gulf crisis her counsel was sought by numerous international leaders. The U.S. chair of the International Center for Peace in the Middle East, Hauser has served as an intermediary between western officials and Arab leaders like the Palestine Liberation Organization's Yasser Arafat.

*That role may strike some as odd, given Hauser's longstanding strong support for Israel. But as this moderate Republican leader demonstrates in her interview with **Forum** editor Bill McKenzie, her even-handedness has a purpose: to secure stability for Israel and a resolution of the Palestinian homeland issue.*

Will such a compromise ever occur? Who knows? Yet Hauser says that in the aftermath of the Persian Gulf War, a three-to-six month "window of opportunity" exists. As she says, "James Baker has heard from every partner in the Persian Gulf coalition that the most important issue to be resolved is the Palestinian question." The caveat to Israel is that "regularizing the situation" will help it restore relations with many countries.

Ripon Forum: What are the essential elements for stability in the Middle East?

Hauser: From my perspective, the most important element for stability is the resolution of the Palestinian issue and its component parts. Most particular is the termination of Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Whether or not the broader question of Palestinians living in camps dispersed around the Middle East will be resolved satisfactorily is another issue.

The crucial, aching question is the continuation of an occupation that is clearly contrary to the desire of the people who are occupied, to normative standards of human rights and to the wishes of a very large number of Israelis. Fifty percent of the Israelis, if not more, would like to end this occupation in a way that is consonant with Israel's security. The occupation is a stain for the Jews of the world. It is contrary to our concept of human rights and justice, as well as to our history.

James Baker has heard from every partner in the Persian Gulf coalition that the most important issue to be resolved is the Palestinian question. I also read with great interest that, when each leader of the western nations in the Gulf War coalition addressed his Parliament after the cease-fire, he said the Palestinian problem is the front issue.

This doesn't mean that if you solve the Palestinian issue, you bring stability to an area of the world that has been tumultuous throughout the millenia. But resolving the Palestinian issue would go a long way toward solving a very grievous problem.

Ripon Forum: But how do you get there? As you know, Israel has stated very clearly that it is not going to engage in any land-for-peace swap, such as trading the West Bank or Gaza Strip for guarantees of peace from Arab nations.

Hauser: That is the position of the current government, and that must always be said. It is not Israel's position, but rather that of the Likud government, which is the most right wing govern-

James Baker has heard from every partner in the Persian Gulf coalition that the most important issue to be resolved is the Palestinian question.

ment in Israel's history.

Toward the end of the Gulf War [Prime Minister] Shamir brought into his governing coalition and Cabinet the *truly* extremist elements. Some want to "forcefully transfer," which is a fancy word for "expel," Palestinians from the West Bank.

Shamir did that largely for tactical reasons, to ward off pressure from the United States. He could then fall back on the old saw, look, if I do such and such, my government will fall.

The general approach of the Israelis is never put your cards on the table before the conference. Everything is negotiable, so I presume some of the resistance to swapping the West Bank for security guarantees will change in the give-and-take.

Ripon Forum: How much of the Israeli government's resistance to giving up the West Bank stems from a deep ideological conviction?

Hauser: I think the greatest element is ideological. The Israelis have long argued that they couldn't give up the land because of security reasons. But most of the military have been arguing for years that continuing occupation is a greater threat to Israel's security than is demilitarization.

It's not popular to say this, and I've said it openly before, there is no organization but the PLO. You may not like the PLO or Yasser Arafat. And he may have made the mistake of his life in embracing Saddam Hussein. But the PLO still remains the organization that represents the Palestinians.

Ripon Forum: What do you find to be the views of most Israelis?

Hauser: The big bulk of the Labor Party, as well as some minor parties on the left, has always been in favor of a territorial compromise. They support the interpretation the whole world, except the present Israeli government, gives to U.N. Resolution 242: some of the West Bank, if not all of it, should be returned to the native population and/or Jordan. The current Israeli line that 242 was satisfied by returning the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt does not wash. No one who participated in 242's drafting shares that interpretation.

The big problem is that there have been more and more settlements on the West Bank. East Jerusalem just continues to expand. That will be the thorniest issue of all: what do you do with a city so holy to three religions, particularly to Jews and Muslims?

Ripon Forum: Thomas Friedman of **The New York Times** recently wrote that two ingredients have been essential for progress in the Mideast and neither is in existence today. One element is that people in the Middle East must have suffered great pain and the other is that a visionary leader must appear. What is your reaction to Friedman's assessment?

Hauser: First, I would disagree with Tom. The Palestinians have suffered great pain. The Intifada is now going into its fourth year. The Palestinians should certainly be ready for a more realistic view. Jordan's King Hussein was also shocked to his roots that he had to support the Iraqi cause because of the general backing of the Palestinians for Saddam Hussein.

But let me say that I know and admire many Palestinians, particularly the West Bank leaders. They've made many, many mistakes and ruined their own chances on many occasions. But they were so disheartened recently by the breakoff of the dialogue with the U.S., which was quite sterile, and then there was the failure of Israel at the last moment to agree to the Cairo formula, which occurred after James Baker invested 18 months of active diplomacy.

After those two events, no one was talking about the Palestinian issue. Then appears this "messiah from the East" in the guise of Saddam Hussein. He's talking up their cause, and they grab on to him. I don't know any Palestinian, however, who didn't know that Saddam Hussein was a brutal, horrible dictator and a thug.

Yet Saddam served their purpose. And as much as George Bush said there was no linkage between Saddam's invasion of Kuwait and the Palestinian question, and I understood what he meant, Saddam could not be given a reward for raising the Palestinian issue, there certainly is a factual relationship between what was happening in the Gulf and the Palestinians. The Palestinians are interwoven into everything that happens in the Arab world. They were even the underpinning of Kuwait. Palestinians were the country's engineers, bankers, doctors and teachers. Yet many Palestinians were not even given the equivalent of a green card.

No Arab leader will make a move in the Arab context without invoking the

Palestinian issue. If you understand the nature of Islam, and what binds the Arab Islamic people together, it is that Israel, in their view, occupies ancient Arab lands. This is a grievance to the whole of the Muslim people and feeds on their sense of inferiority.

I think Jim Baker has come to understand this. I've been very impressed with his approach over the last weeks. Many of us told Baker and his aides that when they pushed for a limited approach last year to get West Bank elections, they were spinning a lot of wheels for not much.

Ripon Forum: The Cairo Plan was an attempt to identify Palestinians on the West Bank who could serve as negotiators with Israel.

It's just a feeling, but if there is real movement on the part of the Syrians and the rest of the Arab world, which is then transmitted through Baker, there might be an incentive for the Israelis to move toward some kind of autonomy for the West Bankers. It could be some sort of confederation with Jordan.

Hauser: Right, and it's the perennial problem: who speaks for the Palestinians and with whom will the Israelis be prepared to negotiate? It's not popular to say this, and I've said it openly before, there is no organization but the PLO. You may not like the PLO or Yasser Arafat. And he may have made the mistake of his life in embracing Saddam Hussein. But the PLO still remains the organization that represents the Palestinians. The Israelis have never found any other Palestinians, and I think Baker understands that. Even when he met recently with Faisal Husseini and a number of Palestinians from the West Bank, Faisal's group couldn't meet with him without approval from the PLO in Tunis.

Of course, Baker met with Faisal's group a second time, and so did his aide

Dennis Ross with various others in the group. What does this translate into? Every time Baker makes the rounds in the Mideast, he meets in Jerusalem with a group of Palestinian leaders. I'm sure

There's a new element I want to delineate, and that is the unprecedented flow of Soviet Jews into Israel.

No one could have envisioned this. Israel is organizationally and financially incapable of accommodating them.

that at the crucial time Baker will say to the Israeli government, here are your interlocutors. There are no others. You may not like the fact that they are PLO, but I respect this group and have talked with them. It is extremely clever; Baker just ignores it now when Faisal goes through his ritual of saying, we're here because Chairman Arafat has said we can meet with you. Faisal's group will become the accepted negotiators.

Ripon Forum: But how do you get from point A to point B? The Israeli government seems pretty steadfast against Faisal and his West Bank Palestinians.

Hauser: There's some talk that this group may be part of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. This softens the fears of some Israelis. And Faisal Hussein may take on a more independent stance, and sign things in the name of the Palestinians of the West Bank, not just as part of the PLO in Tunis.

As I said at the beginning, the first round is dealing with the end of the occupation. The question of the Palestinians in the Diaspora must be dealt with in a very different way.

Ripon Forum: Let's talk about the next two or three months. Secretary Baker speaks of "confidence-building" measures, and there's now much discussion about a regional peace conference. What are the mechanics that must take place for a breakthrough to occur? As a follow-up, are you optimistic?

Hauser: I'm always optimistic and I'm always thwarted [laughter]. But as a consequence of the Gulf War, there has been a marked shift in the posture of Syria. President Assad was already moving in this direction. Along with Cyrus Vance and Richard Murphy, I met with Assad two years ago and he said then that he was ready to meet with Israeli leaders. He said the same thing to President Carter and other high-level delegations.

Obviously Assad wants the Golan Heights returned. And I don't think this is an insuperable problem. The Golan can be demilitarized and monitored.

He also wants the Palestinian issue resolved. Now, Assad would like to be the dominant force in the Palestinian scene. He envisages the old Greater Syria, which encompassed Jordan, Palestine and Lebanon.

Assad is ruthless, but realistic. He understands that the West Bank Palestinians must speak for themselves in this affair. He hates Arafat, which parenthetically is another reason Arafat sided with Saddam Hussein.

Assad has made it clear that he would like to move forward. And Israel would like to have a peace treaty with Syria. If there is some movement in that direction, such as an indication that the Israelis are willing to make the necessary concessions to the Palestinians, then the Israelis will be rewarded for it.

It's just a feeling, but if there is real movement on the part of the Syrians and the rest of the Arab world, which is then transmitted through Baker, there might be an incentive for the Israelis to move toward some kind of autonomy for the West Bankers. It could be some sort of confederation with Jordan.

Ripon Forum: But from Israel's perspective, what makes it worthwhile to give up the Golan and some of the West Bank? How can you turn to your people and say, this is it?

Hauser: You wind up with a demilitarization. The Golan has had a U.N. peacekeeping force since 1974 and there hasn't been a single disturbance. Of course, it's difficult to get Assad to an agreement, but once he has made one he is true to his word.

There's a new element I want to delineate, and that is the unprecedented flow of Soviet Jews into Israel. No one

could have envisioned this. Israel is organizationally and financially incapable of accommodating them. There's just not enough money for housing, adjustment and jobs.

If the big, empty Negev Desert were properly developed with water and irrigation, Israel could settle more people. But it cannot afford to pay for the Soviet Jewry, even with American help, and continue to spend the money it's now using on putting down the Intifada and for people on the West Bank and Gaza.

This reality is sinking in among some hard-line Israelis. The United States can exercise real leverage because it's not a security leverage. Baker can say that if you want large-scale financial assistance from the United States, which only we can give, then you must make the necessary compromises about the Palestinians in the occupied territories.

The Israelis have a lot to gain from regularizing the situation. It will help them restore relations with countries like the Soviet Union and also help them financially.

Ripon Forum: Let's return to the PLO. I recently watched a report claiming that new voices were emerging within that organization. Other reports indicate that Yasser Arafat's stature may be declining and that the PLO has had its funding cut by such supporters as Saudi Arabia. So what happens to the PLO over the next few years?

Hauser: This is a very, very big question. In an article I recently wrote for **The New York Times**, I hinted at the fact that it may be time for Arafat to "move upstairs" and make room for some younger faces. That would particularly provide some liberty for West Bankers.

The PLO in Tunis has had its ranks decimated, either by the Israelis or Saddam Hussein. There is a realization that if there is a development in the near future, it will be in the West Bank with West Bankers. It won't be by outside Palestinians.

It's important to distinguish between

Palestinians on the West Bank and those who are scattered throughout the Arab world. In the context of a generalized peace, those Arab countries with Palestinian refugees would have to agree to incorporate a sizable number into their own citizenry. I would envisage a pledging conference, like we had with Vietnamese refugees, where the western world agrees to take a certain amount of refugees and spread them out. Many young Palestinians in camps would be thrilled to emigrate somewhere. The compromise Palestinian refugees would have to make is that they could not return to Israel. That is the historic compromise.

Ripon Forum: Is it likely that there could be a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation? Is King Hussein going to be interested in this again?

The gravest danger to the stability of the region would be the breakup of Iraq. Whether we like it or not, Saddam's contribution to history, through tyranny, force and power, was to weld together a modern Iraq.

Hauser: Under the right circumstances. He knows very well that the population of Jordan is increasingly becoming Palestinian. So if he wishes to pass on his dynasty, he must posture himself as a leader of Palestinians. The arrangement would be with a truly representative group from the West Bank. It would not be a tutelage, as in the past when he spoke for the Palestinians.

The Israelis have a lot to gain from this. Regularizing the situation will help them restore relations with countries like the Soviet Union and also help them financially.

Ripon Forum: How long will the "window of opportunity" be open, as Secretary Baker puts it?

Hauser: Three to six months. The Kurdish problem, of course, is preventing George Bush from realizing the full

Arab countries with Palestinian refugees would have to agree to incorporate a sizable number into their own citizenry. I would envisage a pledging conference, like we had with Vietnamese refugees.

fruits of the Gulf victory. Yet everyone is acutely aware of the danger of creating refugee camps on a semi-permanent basis. Twenty years later they will still be there. We've seen U.N. protectorates become permanent in Pakistan, Thailand and obviously with the Palestinians. Every one appreciates that the best solution is to negotiate the right to safe passage.

Ripon Forum: But to where?

Hauser: Back home.

Ripon Forum: If you're a Kurdish refugee, you don't want to go back to Iraq.

Hauser: I know. That's the grave difficulty. They may not have any choice in the end, provided there is some realistic assurance about their safe return. The U.N., the United States or somebody else is going to have to negotiate this problem with the Iraqi government. Unfortunately for Bush, that government is still Saddam Hussein.

Ripon Forum: What's your assessment of the Bush administration's handling of the war's end? Hard-liners say we should have gone to Baghdad to get Saddam.

Hauser: A lot of us were concerned with the end-game. It was not realistic to assume that we could get rid of the Baath Party apparatus unless we were prepared to go to Baghdad and occupy the country. That was out of the question, especially given Bush's promise that this would not be another Vietnam. The American people were also reluctant. And the president didn't have a legal mandate.

So he opted for a hopeful end-game, which didn't happen. It was not likely that the Iraqi people could rise up against Saddam since his government consisted of so many of his family and clan.

The gravest danger to the stability of the region would be the breakup of Iraq. Whether we like it or not, Saddam's contribution to history, through tyranny, force and power, was to weld together a modern Iraq. The Persian Gulf nations are very young and were born out of the breakup of the Ottoman Empire.

Ripon Forum: Where do you think Saddam will end up?

Hauser: My guess is, if he can hang on over the next few months, he will survive this affair. There isn't any organized opposition. None of the surrounding nations want a breakup of Iraq. The bigger question is, how is Iraq going to be reconstructed, and who is going to pay for it?

Ripon Forum: The crass political argument is let him do that himself. The longer it takes, the better off we are.

On another front, how do we control the import of weapons of mass destruction into Arab countries?

Hauser: Nuclear and chemical weapons are more easily controllable. Even the Soviets were never willing to supply nuclear elements to the Arab countries.

But regarding normal weapons, who are we to say? We're the first to sell them. It's a cynical business. In the last three years, 89 percent of the weapons sold into the Third World were sold by the five members of the U.N. Security Council. It's foolish for Bush to talk about a "New World Order" because the United States is not willing to do what is required.

Ripon Forum: Where does Iran fit into the Mideast picture?

Hauser: It clearly comes out a winner. Yet everyone says it's economy is deteriorating. Unless some turn around occurs, meaning outside investment, it is apt to go the way of Pakistan.

It would be healthy if United States developed better relations with Iran. ■

High Speed Rail: The Conte Plan

by Ray B. Chambers

The late Congressman Silvio Conte, who died this winter, was one of my personal heroes for many years. I can assure you that during my 30 years of professional experience in Washington, Sil's hero status is in a very select group. He was a man of large appetites, a spectacular if somewhat mismatched wardrobe, wide-ranging interests and a lust for life. He was also absolutely dedicated to promoting the interests of the United States. When he died, he may have been the last of his breed of elected American official. There are a lot of us who miss him.

To put it simply, if high speed rail is to arrive in the U.S., some sort of government subsidy will be necessary. The question is, how much and what?

My last substantive conversation with Sil was last July in Cooperstown, New York, where we attended the wedding of our friend and my client Walter Rich, president of the New York, Susquehanna and Western Railway. Sipping ice tea (which was unusual enough) on the screen porch of Walter's Federal style mansion he asked my opinion of a request from the Conference of Northeast Governors for Amtrak funding to build a high speed "dual-mode" locomotive prototype. "Dual-mode" means the engine can run on electric "third rail" or non-electric, regular track. I admitted to a vested interest since I represented a turbine engine manufacturer who would undoubtedly bid to supply the power for the prototype.

Ray B. Chambers is chairman of RBC Associates, a government-relations firm in Washington D.C. with a strong practice in transportation issues.

Sil's basic question, however, ran well beyond the issue of developing a 125 mph-plus locomotive prototype. He wondered whether there is truly a place for high speed rail in America beyond the Northeast Corridor and a few routes in and out of New York City. I shared his skepticism. Americans love their automobiles and when they can't drive, they fly. There was also the question of new program initiatives in an era of deficits. That summer, Sil was in the midst of the hard fought budget summit of 1990. A vast new funding program for high speed rail did not seem likely.

Yet what emerged from our conversation was a belief that there is indeed a need for high-speed rail here in the U.S. There also is a plan for getting there despite the budget crunch. I call it the Conte Solution.

Sil and I concluded the need for high speed rail is an integral element in a broader requirement for the reordering of America's transportation priorities. Gridlock has set throughout our urban areas. Highways are congested and airports work at over-capacity.

The national railway network is the nation's only underutilized transportation infrastructure, so a new transportation strategy should be implemented which will entice freight out of trucks and people out of automobiles and airports and onto the rail system. High speed rail should be a part of that program.

THE DEFICIT/SUBSIDY ISSUE

Will a subsidy be necessary or can these enterprises be privately financed? Sil and I agreed that the dream of high speed rail from all private sources is a fantasy, largely pushed by equipment manufacturers, financiers and consultants who sell hardware or make their money on transaction fees. This concept is also pushed by elected officials because of the obvious sex appeal in an era of tight budgets. However, we can forget a purely private high speed rail system.

There is nothing immoral about a sub-

sidy, if there is sufficient public interest. All modes of transportation receive public subsidy for infrastructure or operations. The U.S. Department of Transportation provided about \$27 billion in federal appropriation funds for highways in 1988. As a result, thousands of private passenger and freight carriers are subsidized to varying degrees. In fact, these subsidies to others have been crippling the rail mode. The rail freight carriers receive almost nothing while Amtrak gets about 2% of the appropriated funds.

Many subsidies are hidden within government trust funds. In 1988, \$41.6 billion was collected in user fees (gasoline tax, etc.) However, federal and state cost allocation studies demonstrate that heavy trucks, which compete against freight rail, pay about one-half the cost of the damage they cause the highway system. This multi-billion dollar annual truck subsidy has caused a huge diversion of freight to the highways. Freight railroad financial returns thus hover at the bottom of all industrial groups.

Amtrak operations also suffer. In 1990, Amtrak received a \$340 million subsidy in a \$2 billion operating budget. However, according to the U.S. Department of Transportation, in 1990 the government collected about \$3.9 billion in aviation user taxes and spent about \$7.1 billion on aviation programs — a subsidy for private sector operations. (The Amtrak subsidy, incidentally, has declined from 52% of operating costs in 1981 to 28% in 1990 and is on target for elimination by the year 2000.)

Except for the Northeast Corridor, passenger trains travel over 100 percent privately-financed freight roadbed. Further, the hard pressed freight carriers maintain these tracks to meet freight time-tables which are generally lower than passenger speed requirements. If a freight standard controls track speed, high speed rail is completely out of the question. There is not even a Federal Railroad Administration standard for

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EDITORIALS

Looking South to the Future

Foggy Bottom's diplomatic apparatus is understandably now focused on the Middle East. But it is nevertheless relevant to raise the issues of another important part of the globe, particularly since Latin and Central America present a unique opportunity for policy makers in North America. The emergence of new democratic governments and economic markets in Latin and Central America presents just too much of a breakthrough for political as well as commercial leaders to overlook.

The emergence of new democratic governments and economic markets in Latin and Central America presents just too much of a breakthrough for political as well as commercial leaders to overlook.

First a note: the Latin regional challenge is the sort of test American foreign policy leaders will face over the next decade. More than overcharged issues between the superpowers, U.S. diplomats will confront area concerns like the reshuffling of power in the Arab world, the Palestinian homeland problem, the tensions within South Africa, the underdevelopment of East Africa and the changes taking place south of our border.

LATIN AND CENTRAL AMERICAN CHANGES

Fortunately, in the latter case, many of the developments are positive. Since February 1990, nearly all of Latin and Central America's governments have been elected by the ballot box. This list includes the governments of Chile, Argentina, Nicaragua, Panama, and Brazil. Only recently, you may

recall, the idea of valid elections was not so well accepted.

Similarly, market reforms have begun to occur in former state-run economies, like those of Mexico and Chile. Changes include trade liberalization, industry privatization, currency reform and acceptance of foreign investment.

To be sure, serious problems remain in Latin and Central America. They are also directly related to U.S. headlines. Overwhelming Latin debt problems challenge the stability of our banking system, drug production feeds a still-large U.S. narcotic demand, and destruction of Amazon rain forests is linked to the depletion of the ozone layer.

In particular, many of Latin America's woes relate to economic development. Hence great importance was attached by Latin leaders to the Bush administration's "Enterprise for the Americas" unveiled last Fall. In sum, the plan focuses on providing debt relief and trade incentives to Latin nations.

President Bush first spoke of a "new partnership" with Latin nations in June 1989. But the "Enterprise for the Americas" is seen as an attempt by the U.S. to build upon the Brady Plan of 1988, which was formulated by Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady to get Latin nations out of the debt hole and onto a new economic plateau.

A significant agreement is also now being negotiated outside the "Enterprise for the Americas." In February, President Bush, Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney proposed a North America Free Trade Agreement.

The importance of this potential zone, which would involve Canada, the United States and Mexico, should not be minimized. NAFTA, as it is called, represents a market of 360 million people, and, as President Bush has stated, \$6 trillion in annual production.

The mechanics of the agreement will focus on eliminating obstacles to the free flow of goods and services and in-

The importance of a North American Free Trade Agreement should not be minimized. NAFTA represents a market of 360 million people.

vestment, providing protection of intellectual property rights and creating a dispute settlement mechanism. To expedite this proposal, President Bush has asked Congress for "fast track" consideration of his authority to negotiate NAFTA.

The "fast track" stipulation is significant because, if Congress agrees to it, members can only vote up or down on the treaty. The vote should occur before June 1 and Congress would be wise to pass it.

FAST TRACK CONCERNS

The fast track procedure is frustrating to organized labor, however, as well as to many within the environmental movement. Labor leaders, for example, fear that a free trade pact with nearby Mexico would lead to a loss of American jobs. After all, the cost of labor is cheaper below the border.

Environmentalists also contend that a free trade agreement would allow Mexico's polluting industries to maintain a cost-of-production advantage over the U.S.' cleaner, yet costlier industries. Their fear is that no incentive will be given to clean up Mexico's very real pollution problems.

There are answers to these concerns, however. First, about jobs, the U.S. now has a net trade surplus with Mexico. In 1989 the surplus was \$2.1 billion. As **The Economist** pointed out recently, the latest rule of thumb is that \$1 million worth of net exports equals 30 jobs. So total up the surplus, and you can see that at least 60,000 jobs have been created

by our trade with Mexico.

Consider what also could happen once Mexico's average tariff of roughly 10 percent is reduced to, say, three to four percent. And since Mexico needs more capital goods, which it primarily imports from the United States, it's likely that even more U.S. jobs would be created.

About the environment, President Salinas has sent some important signals recently, such as the shutting down of a giant refinery in Mexico City. Yet environmentalists are right: Mexico has pollution problems which should not be overlooked.

But perhaps the answer lies in what is now known in the trade debate as "parallelism." This concept entails pursuing further environmental restraints in separate negotiations. There the issues of toxic waste and air quality can be addressed seriously.

Of course, other thorny issues also lie

[M]ultilateralism must remain more important to the world's trading system than bilateralism. The historic GATT talks must remain the basis of the world's trading system. But undertaking NAFTA is not a mutually exclusive endeavor.

beneath the surface of the NAFTA debate. For example, will limited trade agreements create trading blocs, thus pitting North America versus the European Economic Community? Will NAFTA supersede the multilateral but troubled GATT talks? What effect will

NAFTA have on the many Latin and Central American nations not covered by it?

Our answer to these issues is that multilateralism must remain more important to the world's trading system than bilateralism. The historic GATT talks must remain the basis of the world's trading system.

But undertaking NAFTA is not a mutually exclusive endeavor. It is very likely that an agreement could be constructed within the confines of multilateral efforts. Significant concerns could be eliminated or at least reduced.

The NAFTA agreement could then place Latin issues on a new plane within American foreign policy thinking. Resolving the Three D's of Latin and Central America — debt, drugs and development — is essential to the entire hemisphere's stability. ■

ARE WE GOING TO HAVE AN ELECTION?

Fortunately, thankfully and all that, Campaign '92 has yet to materialize. It's almost miraculous that we stand less than nine months away from the Iowa caucuses, and only a handful of Democratic presidential candidates have surfaced.

What gives? For one thing, the success of Operation Desert Storm and thus the stature of the Bush administration. It's hard to mount a frontal assault against a White House approved by at least 75% of the public.

For another thing, political consumers, i.e., voters, may have been saturated by the last few presidential marathons. Our tired, weary minds just can't absorb much more of this stuff. Political longshots are thus wise not to tell their message too early.

Oh, yes, former Democratic Senator Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts has declared his presidential candidacy. And Governors Douglas Wilder of Virginia and Mario Cuomo of New York are likely to run for the Democratic nomination.

Tsongas is running as a "pro-business" liberal, much like the liberal Republican he was during his college and law school days. He should be

credited for striking a theme Democrats would do well to respect: they cannot be merely the party of government.

But George Bush is not Ronald Reagan, so the president can counter Tsongas from the center. The Massachusetts Democrat's emphasis on industrial policy also reeks too much of elites telling non-elites where the country must go.

Wilder's liability is that he has a limited record to run on; he's only been in office 18 months. What's mostly known about him is that he's recovering from a strong case of doctrinaire liberalism, he's southern and he's black. But didn't we learn during the 1970s that being a one-term governor from a mid-size state does not necessarily qualify you for president?

Then, of course, there's Mario Cuomo. The Hamlet of Albany will probably decide to run around, say, March. And then he'll expect every one to clear out.

From a Republican standpoint, Cuomo may be the best Democrat for Bush to oppose. GOP macho-types would have an easy shot at his thin-skin. As 1990 Conservative Party gubernatorial nominee Herbert London recently told **The New Republic**: "What you've got to do is crawl under his fingernails." ■

Now, we're not in favor of repeating Campaign '88, and we certainly editorialized about its ugliness. But Cuomo does have a history of losing his cool, and the voters would do well to know that. Some exposure to the rough-and-tumble of presidential politics, where endless schedules, fierce debates and instant decisionmaking reveal one's character, is not unwarranted.

What's most vulnerable about Mario Cuomo is that he's from the Old World while the majority of the American electorate is not. The New York governor could win a fair share of votes with his class-related rhetoric, but the voters of the New World — the West, the Pacific Northwest, the South and Southwest — are more interested in the language of enterprise, viability and openness. Cuomo's appeal, which implies more bureaucracy, entitlements and class warfare, is a generation too late.

But Republicans should not consider these Democrats "Three Blind Mice." Each person could be a tough foe, and their ranks will certainly swell. But as long as the Bush administration does not distance itself too far from the mainstream on issues of personal rights, or just ignore domestic issues, the 1992 presidential election is its to lose. ■

New Moderate GOP Governors On How To Invigorate Education

In April, President Bush launched "America 2000: An Education Strategy." The administration's plan is a comprehensive effort by incoming Education Secretary Lamar Alexander to put teeth into Candidate Bush's 1988 pledge to be the "education president." Among the administration's initiatives are a focus on nationwide, voluntary achievement tests and comparisons of scores by state and school district. The package also includes \$1 million a piece for 535 new experimental schools.

State and local governments, of course, bear the primary responsibility for educating America's young. So the Forum surveyed the seven moderate Republican governors elected last November for their ideas on education. Below is a sampling of their thinking.

John R. McKernan, Maine

The greatest variable in educational performance — more important than money, or buildings, or even teachers — is parental involvement. We can spend millions of dollars on a revolutionary curriculum, but it won't mean a thing if there isn't someone in the home willing to turn off the television.

In the 1990s, homework will also be for parents. To begin the process of educating our parents on how they can better prepare their children for the next century, we will initiate a program of parental involvement in the early education of their children known as "Parents as Teachers."

All of us, especially Maine businesses, have recognized that we have not only an obligation to help our schools but a vested interest in their performance. In this regard UNUM Insurance and L.L. Bean have been leaders in the business community, providing not only financial support but encouragement for

employees to be actively involved in the schools. I encourage other companies to follow their lead.

We intend to reduce the drop-out rate by expanding our "Jobs for Maine's Graduates" program and helping many of our at-risk youth with the critical school-to-work transition. And to be sure that the door to higher education is open to all students, regardless of their families' financial situation, I will once again propose a state guaranteed "Loan of Last Resort." This state guaranteed loan program will provide additional funds to students who have exhausted every other state and federal sources of financial aid and are still unable to meet the costs of their education. It will send the powerful message to the young people of our state that their future will be determined not by the size of their families' wallets but by their own abilities and academic accomplishments.

George V. Voinovich, Ohio

Our aim is to make an unprecedented commitment to one priority that I believe ranks above all others — the health and education of our children. The only way to do it is to pick one generation of children — draw a line in the sand — and say to all: "This is where it stops." We must also remember that every \$1 invested in early childhood education results in \$4.75 savings down the road in welfare, criminal justice costs and remedial education.

The vehicle through which I will act is the Governor's Education Management Council, or G.E.M. The foundation of G.E.M. will be the Business Roundtable, which has made, in conjunction with the National Governors' Association, a 10-year commitment to improve education. G.E.M. will focus on governance, such as the relationships

between the governor's office, the state board of education and the superintendent of public instruction. It will likewise focus on the relationships between local school boards and superintendents, as well as on the number of school districts.

I am also committed to increasing education's share of the state budget. In spite of our financial crisis, there will be no cuts in the first fiscal year in basic aid. In fiscal year '92 there will even be a five percent increase and a \$50 million equity fund.

Pete Wilson, California

I have proposed 10 initiatives to invest in human capital through child development and education. What I propose is to find answers that will span the 18 years of a growing child.

First, I am proposing a \$20 million "Healthy Start" program to add new funding to school districts to integrate county health and social services into the schools where our kids spend most of their working hours. Our children must come to the classroom healthy enough to concentrate and to learn.

In particular, we must stress preventive strategies, such as requiring school accountability and rigorous student assessment procedures. I have proposed funding the development of a new testing instrument to replace the California Assessment Program — a way for us to assess individual student performance and, yes, teacher performance, throughout their school careers.

I will propose legislation to permit approval of local general obligation bonds with a majority vote for school facilities as an interim measure, the placement on June 1992 ballot of a statewide school bond and aggressive implementation of our commitment to year-round schools.

John Engler, Michigan

For the children of Michigan to compete, we must revitalize our state's education system. The jobs of tomorrow demand it. And our commitment to provide real opportunity for every one of our children demands it as well. We must assure that our schools and teachers are committed to excellence at all levels. And we must guarantee that a fixed percentage of all state revenues will forever be dedicated to the education and training of our youth.

We must particularly restore the power of individuals and families to shape their lives. As a step in that direction, we will pursue here in Michigan the promising agenda of "choice" in education. The decision to select one school or another for a child is best made by the child's parents — not by government officials. Choice is fair, and I have recommended that a million dollars be distributed to intermediate school districts wishing to establish cross-district opportunities for their students.

These funds will be used to establish planning committees made up of parents, teachers, school administrators and members of the business community. Planning committees will be responsible for discerning how transportation will be provided to parents who want to send their kids to different school districts, set up school visits for parents and provide counseling for parents who desire it. The only constraint placed on the "Choice of School" program involves court orders requiring racial desegregation.

We are also pursuing an initiative to allow state universities to assume responsibilities of running a school district. This proposal is modeled after the role Boston University played in managing the Chelsea, Massachusetts school district.

Arne Carlson, Minnesota

I remember so well coming from a family who immigrated from Sweden and a mother who quickly recognized that the American dream could never be realized without a tremendous emphasis on education. She saw education as the leveling of a

democratic process. Education is the opportunity to participate and succeed.

My family gave me the opportunity to gain a tremendous education, which allowed me ultimately to be here today. I want us to give those same chances to all our children. I want us to have the wisdom to recognize the opportunities that we have today: to create a new government partnership that focuses on stewardship and service.

Although Minnesota is experiencing a \$1.8 billion shortfall, and our state budget is only \$15 billion, I have vowed not to cut educational funds. Rather, I will increase spending in that area.

For example, for fiscal year '91 we will provide \$750 million in new money for elementary and secondary education. This 5.3% increase will be improved upon in FY '92 by boosting the state's educational budget another 6.4 percent.

More important than increased funding, I have outlined some system reforms to enhance learning. One such reform, "Site-Based Management," deemphasizes "seat-time" and curriculum requirements. It allows teachers to utilize their allotted funds as they see fit to develop multi-disciplinary and integrative study programs.

Minnesota also recognizes the need for greater equity in funding between different school districts. There are some small suburban and inner-city schools that are unable to raise the money they need by simply increasing property taxes as some wealthier suburbs do. I am thus committed to assessing varying costs and redistributing state funds accordingly.

Jim Edgar, Illinois

Too many of our high school graduates do not possess the basic skills needed in the work place. One in four of our young people do not even graduate. And each year thousands of workers, those with high school diplomas as well as those without them, must receive remedial education or retraining to meet the demands of changing technology.

We must simply demand and provide quality education at every level and in every corner of Illinois. We must also attack the drugs, the gangs and the underlying social problems that breed

misery, despair and ultimately dependence on productive members of society.

We must meet priority needs without asking more from our taxpayers. I believe we must begin devoting more and more of our limited resources to heading off future crises even as we deal with those of the moment. We need to invest more in such things as early childhood education and in public health programs that are designed to prevent disease and chronic illness.

The state's education budget will be increased by \$50 million this year with over half of that going toward elementary and secondary education. The intent is to meet educational problems at the front end when kids are still young. The state of Illinois also needs to work more closely with their federal counterparts on programs like Head Start to better target needy children.

William F. Weld, Massachusetts

We have filed legislation reorganizing the education bureaucracy by eliminating the Board of Regents and the Board of Education. We are also placing higher education and K-12 under a new secretariat of education. This reorganization will elevate the status of education in state government and vest in the secretary of education the responsibility and authority needed to overhaul our educational system.

A major tenet of my belief in "entrepreneurial government" is forcing government to compete with the private sector. When consumers of government services are offered a choice between the public and private sectors, government becomes more efficient. For that reason, we are filing legislation to establish a pilot "Choose-a-School" voucher program.

Yet while choice may be viewed as an effective tool to achieve an "outcome-driven" system, it must not be overly relied on as the only effective strategy. For example, another approach might be a system that identifies a pool of high-risk, high-need kids, and then invites schools in both public and private sectors to serve those kids, with clearly identified outcomes specified in the contract. This is entrepreneurial economics in its purest form. ■

A Massachusetts Manifesto

by William F. Weld

William F. Weld received the Ripon Society's annual Jacob K. Javits Excellence in Public Service Award in New York City on April 30. The text of his address to the Society's 1991 Javits Award Dinner is reprinted below for its outline of progressive Republican themes and as a demonstration of the work of the nation's new moderate Republican governors.

I am deeply honored to receive the Jacob Javits Excellence in Public Service Award.

As a Harvard graduate and Cambridge resident, I'm happy to note that the Ripon Society was founded in Cambridge back in 1962.

And my ties both to the Ripon Society and to Jacob Javits go back to the start of my life in public service.

As many of you may know, I served on the National Governing Board of the Ripon Society back in the 1970s.

So receiving this recognition from an institution whose goals and values I've long embraced is a proud achievement for me.

The award also means so much, of course, for its connection to Senator Javits.

Jacob Javits gave me my first job in public service, as a foreign-policy intern in his Senate office back in 1967.

I was lucky enough to spend a good deal of time with him, as well as with Marian, Josh, and Joy, at their home in McLean, Virginia.

All of us can be inspired by the way Jacob Javits — an underdog, an outsider — always fought for the progressive values he held dear.

I'm also inspired by his start in politics. Jacob Javits's congressional career began in 1946, when he won election to an Upper West Side seat that

William F. Weld is the new Republican governor of Massachusetts and a former member of the Ripon Society National Governing Board.

hadn't been represented by a Republican in 24 years.

I, too, hold an office wrested from the overly familiar hands of Democrats. This January I became the first Republican in 20 years to take the

We are not square-toed conservatives out to dismantle government. We are enterprising Republicans committed to transforming the system for the 1990s, to re-invent the way government functions.

gubernatorial oath on Beacon Hill.

I accept this award with the vow to honor the Javits legacy, the Ripon legacy, of carrying the progressive Republican banner into territory poorly served by other philosophies of governance.

A NEW MASSACHUSETTS PHILOSOPHY

My victory came in a Commonwealth with a strong commitment to caring for its citizens, but also in a state that failed repeatedly to meet its fiscal responsibilities.

Since 1988, Massachusetts has had three major tax increases. Yet the previous administration left us with billion dollar deficits, rising unemployment and a demoralizing recession.

As in other states, an entrenched, bureaucratic government turned too many times to a solution that creates more problems than it solves. We saw too much taxation without cogitation.

And for too long, leaders mistakenly transferred dollars and decisions to a government structure where good intentions got lost in the tangle of bad administration.

Make no mistake. We share the good intentions of our predecessors. But

what's required is a return to pragmatic spending on programs that are driven by results, not bogged down by bureaucratic processes.

Remember, I come from a state totally dominated the past two decades by men named Kennedy and Dukakis.

My election was nothing short of a mandate for reform and revitalization, a reshaping of state government coupled with a rebirth of industry.

We are not square-toed conservatives out to dismantle government. We are enterprising Republicans committed to transforming the system for the 1990s, to reinvent the way government functions.

We aim to create an entrepreneurial government that serves as a catalyst for private investment while also setting an example of public stewardship.

This entrepreneurial system measures a program's effectiveness by focusing on results instead of line-item spending decisions. Zero-based budgeting instead of more zeroes added to last year's

We aim to create an entrepreneurial government that serves as a catalyst for private investment while also setting an example of public stewardship.

appropriation.

It demands a fair return on investment: programs that demonstrably enhance community health, clean harbors and streets, and properly educated children.

It creates a customer-driven government, creating options and efficiencies.

Following World War II we didn't build new universities for returning veterans, we implemented the G.I. Bill.

But in health care, we've used the old model, building a network of costly V.A. hospitals.

We're out to make government itself an engine of enterprise. As author David

[We have] the responsibility to usher the progressive legacy into a new century. The responsibility to make our party even more inclusive, so the Jacob Javitses of the 21st Century can become new Republican beacons.

Osborne has said, we don't want welfare-department caseworkers who haven't the skills to train and place people in jobs.

Instead, we keep policy decisions in public hands but empower other groups to perform the required services.

We emphasize prevention over cure.

While we are cutting back on some programs in Massachusetts, our administration is committed to increasing funding for:

- the WIC program;
- pre-natal and peri-natal care;
- family health programs;
- the prevention of teen pregnancy; and
- AIDS education and services.

In a similar vein, I commend Senator Hatfield for his efforts to increase funding for Alzheimer's research. A cure for a disease that debilitates millions of Americans would spare all of us from family suffering and costly care.

This entrepreneurial system gets government out of the way when it's not needed, abolishes regulations that serve no societal interest but hinder business.

In Massachusetts, we have a law on the books that requires landowners to obtain a state permit before they clean up hazardous wastes on their own property.

That's not needed. The state can and should check on the final results, but we don't need to make property-owners jump through so many hoops.

NEED FOR INCLUSIVE, INNOVATIVE GOVERNMENT

Massachusetts is a tradition-bound state, but one of its best traditions is that of innovation.

We invented the town meeting to keep government close to the governed. We built clipper-ships, superconductors, world-class universities, ground-breaking research hospitals.

We've always been masters of our destiny, not victims of fate.

We're not unique. This ethic has spread from Plymouth Rock to Point Barrow, Alaska.

Now, almost 500 years after Columbus' magnificent discovery, we Republicans are in a position to foster this ethic of individual achievement for all Americans.

As Lincoln said, "We hold the power and bear the responsibility." The responsibility to usher the progressive legacy into a new century.

The responsibility to make our party even more inclusive, so the Jacob Javitses of the 21st Century — born in an inner-city barrio or rural southern shack as Javits was born in an East Side tenement — can become the new Republican beacons.

The responsibility to confront our environmental burdens head on. Not just to control pollution, not just to clean up a Boston Harbor, but to leave this place better than we found it.

The responsibility to put the abortion debate behind us, to grant without question a woman's right to reproductive freedom without mandatory "advice" from the government.

We can't afford to be intolerant on this issue — not for political expediency — but because abortion is an individual choice.

A responsibility to carry the ball forward in civil rights. To recognize that minorities, including gays and lesbians, not only deserve equal access to all parts of our society, but absolutely must be represented in all parts of society.

That's what Jacob Javits believed in. He was the one, 100 years after the Civil War, who appointed the first black page in Congress. He was the one, in 1970, who appointed the first female page.

And finally, we Republicans have a responsibility to always bring creativity and innovation to governing. To keep

our states and our country moving forward, unfettered, breaking new ground.

Over the coming months you may hear news from Massachusetts of painful cuts, of some programs abolished, of hospitals closed or consolidated.

But do not lose sight of what we are doing there, of our long-term goal to make government run more effectively, more efficiently, more responsibly.

We do remember — and feel for — the homeless, the aged, the disabled, the abused. We will keep the safety net in place.

[We have] the responsibility to put the abortion debate behind us, to grant without question a woman's right to reproductive freedom without mandatory "advice" from the government.

We not only feel a moral obligation to do so, we want to do so.

But we also recognize that human-service programs are there for the truly needy, not as middle-class entitlements.

We are re-configuring government, creating a Commonwealth where the safety net remains, but where the means exist for those who need it to also return to society.

A place where a disabled person may live in a group home with dignity, and not be mired in a costly institution full of despair.

We are not dismantling a great society, we are fostering a Commonwealth full of great individuals, great energy, great creativity and great potential.

Once again, I hope the new traditions of Massachusetts can take root in the great state of New York and elsewhere — and that the creative and innovative approaches of the Ripon Society will set the tone for the policies of the 1990's and the new century.

Thank you. ■

An Open Letter To President Bush

by William T. Coleman, Jr. and
Donald T. Bliss, Jr.

Dear Mr. President:

Regrettably, even though a viable Democratic contender has not even emerged, the issue of race is becoming a central theme of the 1992 presidential election. Only your personal leadership can now preclude a racially divisive campaign in which the Republican Party and the nation ultimately will be the losers.

Two traditions are at war within the party. The first is the heritage of Lincoln — a party of and for all the people. Republicans historically have recognized that the great strength of a free society lies in maximizing individual potential, regardless of race, sex or ethnic origin. This tradition welcomes an interventionist government seeking to ensure that our nation's diversity remains a source of economic strength rather than a source of factionalism and internal strife.

But there is a second tradition vying for the party's soul. It was first openly acknowledged in the 1968 Nixon "Southern Strategy." It resurfaced in the Willie Horton ads of the 1988 campaign and most recently in the "racial quota" commercials of the 1990 North Carolina senatorial race. These not-so-subtle appeals to racial fears seek to gain a short-term political advantage. But they frame the national debate in terms that place Democrats on the side of civil rights and Republicans in opposition.

As the Democratic Party gropes chaotically toward a meaningful message to co-opt the middle of the political spectrum, it cannot merely mimic

William T. Coleman, Jr. is a senior partner of O'Melveny & Myers, chairman of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, former U.S. secretary of transportation in President Ford's administration, and a longtime supporter of the Ripon Society. Donald T. Bliss, Jr. is president of the Ripon Society.

Bush Republicans. Yet, speaking on "Meet the Press" on May 5 for the Democratic Leadership Council, Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton could cite only civil rights as a fundamental difference between the new Democrats and Bush Republicans. A revived Southern Strategy would hand-feed the Democrats' craving for a distinguishing issue.

Two traditions are at war within the GOP. The first is the heritage of Lincoln — a party of and for all the people. The second was openly acknowledged in the 1968 Nixon "Southern Strategy" and resurfaced in the Willie Horton ads of the 1988 campaign.

PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP

Mr. President, your address to Congress after the Gulf War set the right tone. You noted the great victory accomplished by "men and women of every race, all creeds and colors." Then you sought to honor these individuals "by setting the face of this nation against discrimination, bigotry and hate." Post-war events in Iraq have demonstrated in tragic proportions the consequences of cultural diversity without moral leadership. In stark contrast, the U.S. forces — one-third minorities and over 10 percent women — demonstrated the strength of cultural diversity when there is leadership directed toward a common moral purpose.

Presidential leadership is needed now if the Republican Party is to take the high ground on the issue of race. According to recent press reports, the White House staff has successfully sought to curtail talks between business

leaders and the civil rights community on compromise civil rights legislation. Such action appears blatantly inconsistent with your longstanding practice and commitment:

- to eschew ideological labeling in favor of open dialogue and pragmatic accommodation;
- to encourage business and other private sector groups to work together to solve problems without looking to the federal government for all the answers; and
- to maximize the strength of a diverse economy in a pluralistic society by encouraging open communication to achieve common goals.

What could be more important in advancing these principles than straight talk and compromise between civil rights leaders and business?

As you so aptly stated to the University of Michigan graduates on May 4, this open dialogue — foregoing labels and "political correctness" for candid debate — is "the most fundamental and deeply revered of all of our liberties." You said this is so because open communication:

- "[D]efines and cultivates the diversity upon which our national greatness rests. It tears off the ignorance, the blinders of ignorance and prejudice, and lets us move on to greater things."

Indeed, the open dialogue between civil rights leaders and business leaders had produced agreement to discard one irrelevant label — quotas. They were about to move on to greater things when your staff curtailed further conversations. At this point, your leadership is needed to resume the dialogue. Compromise was clearly within grasp last year, and now that business leaders have stated that the pending legislation would not force them to institute racial quotas, there is every incentive to complete the negotiation of a compromise.

NEED FOR CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

Civil rights legislation is urgently needed if we are to move toward the Republican idea of equal opportunity. It is perhaps comforting to wish that the realization of this idea can be accomplished through complete color blindness. But, as T.S. Eliot reminds us, "between the idea and the reality falls the shadow." As pragmatic Republicans, we must recognize the harsh realities that fall within the shadow:

- The unemployment rate for blacks nationally is 2.5 times higher than that for whites;
- Women earn, on average, only 70 percent of what their male counterparts earn in the same job categories;
- In 1979 black males earned 76 percent of their white counterparts' earnings; in 1990 the percentage had dropped to 72;

- In 1986 Hispanic women earned 82 percent of their white counterparts' earnings; in 1990 the percentage had dropped to 78;
- In terms of life expectancy and infant mortality, the gap between whites and minority groups is increasing; and
- Twenty percent fewer blacks received doctorate degrees in 1989 than had received such degrees a decade earlier.

Much work remains to be done. Progressive Republicans are uniquely positioned to move us forward because we do not seek to pit one group against another. Rather, we recognize that true equal opportunity is absolutely essential to our nation's economic strength and growth in an increasingly competitive international environment and to our credibility as a world leader.

On one thing we can all agree — H.R. 1, the Civil Rights Act of 1991, will not solve all the problems of discrimination we face as a nation entering the next century, when the majority of our work

force will consist of women and minorities. But this is no reason to oppose it. Rather, it is a reason to come together in support of it — to reach agreement on the few, mainly technical issues that divide us. By eliminating the red herring of quotas from the campaign ahead, we can concentrate on what really must be done to address the growing gap between the idea and the reality of equal opportunity for all Americans. There is much to debate here — plenty of room for the parties to demonstrate their differences in pursuing this common goal.

In your heart, Mr. President, you have always been a strong advocate of civil rights — personally and professionally. We urge you to let the walls of Jericho come tumbling down and to seize the leadership in fashioning civil rights legislation that can be enacted into law this year, thereby moving the campaign debate to a higher plateau. ■

—William T. Coleman, Jr.
Donald T. Bliss, Jr.

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better than Class 6 track with a maximum speed of 90 mph. All higher speeds are covered by waivers.

So, to put it simply, if high speed rail is to arrive in the U.S., some sort of government subsidy will be necessary. The question is, how much and what?

WALK BEFORE WE RUN

These pro-high speed thoughts are hardly new. During the last decade, millions of dollars have been expended by such exotic groups as the California-Nevada Super Speed Ground Transportation Commission, the Ohio Interstate High Speed Rail Compact, the Texas High Speed Rail Authority and the Florida High Speed Rail Commission. Companies like MAGLEV USA and Bullet Train have pushed their product. More than 20 government agencies and private consortiums have studied and recommended super-high speed train service in 15 corridors throughout America.

DOT should develop a high speed rail policy. Amtrak must play the central implementing role. As the largest and best passenger operator and marketer they have much to offer.

The "bullet train" concept in California was the first to crash, if you will. In Florida there was great public embarrassment when the highly touted French-TGV withdrew from the competition. The Florida State Commission awarded the franchise to the ABB Swedish X2000 electric train consortium. That franchise teeters on collapse. In 12 years of hard work and studies nothing has happened; no project is even off the drawing board.

What is wrong? French and German supertrains today can reach 300 miles per hour. The French TGV routinely operates in 185 mph passenger service. Yet, in America, despite the glamor of proven super speed trains, there is serious debate whether high speed rail

should be confined to Japan, Europe and Disneyland. In my view super-speed is doomed to fail in America — for the short term. The reason is simple: Cost!

The cost of building and maintaining the super-rights-of-way totally dedicated to one high speed passenger service is out of sight. It will run into billions on any project and beyond the capacity or will of any private consortium or public body. If this assumption is correct for the bullet train, or TGV, it is doubly true for Magnetic Levitation, which is not in revenue service anywhere in the world.

So the Conte answer is to lower our sights from 150 to 250 mph trains and target 125 to 150 mph trains between close city pairs. To get there, we must follow Amtrak's lead.

Overall, Graham Claytor, the chairman and president of Amtrak, has done a spectacular job in building a clean, efficient and reliable intercity passenger service. He has, in fact, achieved "low end" high speed between New York and Washington, where the trains run at speeds of up to 125 mph. Similarly New York State and Amtrak run turbotrains across the Empire Corridor from Buffalo to Albany and New York City. These routes enjoy high passenger acceptance.

Sil and I concluded that our national goal should be to inject these 125-150 mph trains between city pairs of 500 miles or less. Of course responsive communities and private groups willing to share in funding risks will be required. This program should be the "interim phase." The goal of reaching 200 mph would come in a later phase if the interim works.

THE HIGH SPEED RAIL INTERIM PLAN

While the basic concept outlined in this article came out of my conversation with Sil, this specific plan is mine and reflects some recent developments.

General-Upgrade of Passenger Infrastructure — The gas tax should be increased as has been proposed by House Public Works Chairman Robert Roe (D-N.J.). One cent should be dedicated to capital projects and to upgrade the basic rail infrastructure over which passenger trains operate. I should note here, however, that the Commerce

Committees have Amtrak jurisdiction.

Amtrak should be responsible for funding track maintenance at a level which represents the speed difference between legitimate freight requirements and higher speed passenger requirements, including for interim high speed rail corridors. Amtrak routes could be reevaluated against high density freight corridors.

In the East a number of "city pair" corridors can quickly be upgraded and put into service as a part of the interim high speed program.

The exploding freight intermodal double stack business, the new hot trains, with high value cargo, the growing just-in-time delivery and passenger requirements have a lot in common. Would this result in a subsidy to freight rights-of-way? Perhaps. But trucks are already heavily subsidized. The Conte objective was to move *people and freight* from overcrowded highways and airports to underutilized railroads.

Develop the Dual-Mode Locomotive — The 125+ prototype has been funded and Amtrak should move quickly to build the locomotive. With "dual-mode," trains can operate over inexpensive "limited performance" electrified lines in the center city and at high speeds on a variety of fuels in the country. The ready availability of a state of the art engines may drive the rest of the program.

Establish Demonstration High Speed Corridors — Congressman Sherwood Boehlert (R-NY) and Senator Paul Simon (D-IL) are drafting legislation to establish demonstration high speed rail corridors and provide highway trust funds for at-grade crossing elimination and sophisticated crossing protection where crossing elimination is not practical. This proposal addresses the expensive threshold issue of the incompatibility of high-speed rail systems with rail/highway at-grade crossings. This legislation is the cornerstone on which the interim program can be built.

In the East a number of "city pair" cor-

ridors can quickly be upgraded and put into service as a part of the interim high speed program. A first priority should be to eliminate grade crossings on the Empire Corridor between Buffalo, Utica, Albany and New York City, introduce the new generation of dual-mode turbo powered trains that run regular 125 mile per hour service. With the new service through New York's Penn Station, some of these trains could serve Long Island.

With infrastructure improvements, Washington to New York should be upgraded to 150 mph service and New York to Boston at 125 mph electrified service. A variety of high speed operations into New York City, Philadelphia and Boston (once electrified) could be introduced using the "dual-mode" power.

In about two years, I expect Amtrak will roll out a new prototype fuel efficient dual-mode turbo locomotive capable of speeds between 125 and 150 mph. I hope they will name it the "Silvio O. Conte."

Obviously, if a demonstration corridor funding program is put on the table, there will be keen competition from other corridors around the country. The interim program should build an incentive for bringing state and private money to the project. In my view, California, which recently passed the gas tax partially devoted to inter-city rail, is a prime candidate. The Florida project might be revived with a turbo engine/ABB tilt car 125 mph service if federal demonstration grade separation money is available to attract state and private funds.

There are numerous possibilities around Chicago, not the least of which is a Chicago-Milwaukee corridor with 125-150 mph trains serving the Milwaukee airport as well as the two cities. A Chicago-St Louis or Chicago - Detroit corridor, as well as a Philadelphia, Harrisburg and Pittsburgh connection also holds real potential. Likewise, a Portland-Seattle-Vancouver corridor

is under study. And Texas is on the brink of awarding a franchise for Dallas-Houston-San Antonio-Austin-Dallas. Funding is to be private and they are looking at 200 mph-plus technologies. I suspect within two years the interim option will be looking good to Texas.

Electrification Funding — The high speed interim program should concentrate on electrification within center cities. Congressman Larry Coughlin (R-PA), ranking Republican on the House Transportation Appropriations Subcommittee, has introduced a bill to provide flexible funding from the highway trust fund for public rail projects in urban areas. The Coughlin proposal should be incorporated in the Highway Act, and city rail electrification for interim high speed trains made a priority.

There are many policy issues to be resolved if we are to establish an interim high speed rail program. In Congress there is jurisdictional divisions between the Commerce, Public Works, Appropriations and tax writing committees. The leaders of these committees should put together a bi-partisan cross-committee plan so we are not destroyed by questions of turf before we begin.

Who should take the lead? DOT should develop a high speed rail policy. Fortunately, Secretary Sam Skinner and Rail Administrator Gil Carmichael are aggressively doing just that. Amtrak must play the central implementing role. As the largest and best passenger operator and marketer they have much to offer. I believe they will be the operator of choice on new high speed rail lines.

The cost of the interim high speed program, which must largely come out of a transportation trust fund, will be substantial. The major cost will be grade separation and track repair. The second element will be city-electrification. This could be made possible by the Coughlin proposal. The acquisition of 125-150 mph train sets will be modest — probably in the range of \$7 to \$12 million a set. There are various funding possibilities for equipment including public/private and all private options.

However great the cost, it should be balanced against the public cost of not undertaking an interim high speed rail program. Savings from reduced air congestion at Logan or National or LAX or O'Hare could run in the billions. In

If a demonstration corridor funding program is put on the table, there will be keen competition from other corridors around the country. The interim program should build an incentive for bringing state and private money to the project.

some European countries landing rights are denied between city pairs where there is good rail service! That would certainly tend to increase ridership.

THE CONTE INITIATIVE

As I finished my discussion with Silvio Conte that hot July afternoon in Cooperstown, New York I realized that together we had just outlined a major new policy initiative within a practical framework. It eased my serious doubts of whether high speed rail had a future and changed my whole approach to the high speed question. I think the same was true for Conte. Satisfied, Sil then switched to a bourbon and to a Tip O'Neill/JFK story that was a fascinating historic tidbit for a political junkie like me.

In one of his last legislative acts this past Fall, Conte included a \$14 million line item in the transportation appropriations bill to develop prototype 125 mph dual powered locomotives. In about two years, I expect Amtrak will roll out a new prototype fuel efficient dual-mode turbo locomotive capable of speeds between 125 and 150 mph. I hope they will name it the "Silvio O. Conte." I am virtually certain it will represent the true beginning of high speed trains coming to America. ■

What's Ahead in the Ripon Forum

- GOP Insiders on Campaign '92
- E.J. Dionne on Modern Republicanism
- Bill Tate on Christopher Lasch and Progress

Another Energy Policy Stalemate

by John Jenkins

This is not an essay on what the national energy strategy ought to be. You'll read plenty of proposals like that as the debate over new energy policy heats up in the coming months. And Energy Secretary James Watkins and Deputy Secretary Henson Moore can tell you they have already reviewed literally hundreds of solid, internally consistent and mutually exclusive energy plans over the last two years.

This is not my cut at what an optimal energy policy should look like because I no longer believe the central problem is "what" our energy strategy ought to be. The deeper problem, if we are to make any real progress, is "how" to develop a strategy responsive to the wide range of interests and perspectives touched by energy decisions; that is, a strategy likely to have a half-life of more than eleven months.

FOUR CONCERNS

Since the late 1960s, energy policy has become a chronic stalemate for America. At least four very different sets of fundamental concerns are now in play when we discuss "energy strategy": national security, environmental quality, economic competitiveness and consumer well-being. All of those constituencies have erected vast, highly effective adversarial machines to lobby, litigate and advocate. At best only a sporadic dialogue has occurred among senior leaders from these different constituencies aimed at identifying common ground on which to base a U.S. energy strategy, one which might

John Jenkins, a former environmental organizer, took a three year sabbatical from his energy development interests to serve as president of AEAC and as manager of its consensus-building effort. He has now returned to the private sector, where he is president of Glyn-song Holding Company in Denver, Colorado.

come surprisingly close to everyone's highest aspirations.

As a result, the positions of these different interests have hardened. No mechanism exists for the principles from these rival constituencies to come together to try to creatively invent new

I no longer believe the central problem is "what" our energy strategy ought to be. The deeper problem, if we are to make any real progress, is "how" to develop a strategy responsive to the wide range of interests and perspectives touched by energy decisions.

packages which could create joint gain for all. We've become powerfully adept at single issue guerrilla warfare over ANWR, or clean air regulation, or specific energy siting questions or new environmental and preservation initiatives. We've been terrible at working to identify common ground.

That would not be a particularly serious problem if you happened to be from one of the big four interest groups, and if you thought you could prevail with your approach over the long haul. But while nearly all the various constituencies from the environmental, business, consumer and security camps believe they can craft a terrific national energy strategy, their responses all differ sharply; and not one of them is politically powerful enough to impose its will for long, unilaterally. As a result, no interest is well served, most of all not the national interest.

So where is the current debate leading? Attempts in Washington to reconcile differences that are now approaching 30 years old are probably doomed to failure. A rethinking of possibilities is

only going to take place if longtime adversaries invest in a direct effort to invent mutually beneficial tradeoffs across multiple issues. Innovative, sustainable tradeoffs will not be generated on the eve of committee markups. Absent a serious investment of senior time in joint fact-finding, communication of underlying interests and an attempt to invent new packages of policy, large potential joint gains, for the parties and for the country will be squandered.

A MODEL FOR CONSENSUS

A modest consensus-building approach to energy policy making was tried recently. In 1987 an improbable coalition of environmentalists, energy producers, consumers and national security specialists came together to form the American Energy Assurance Council (AEAC). These frequent adversaries tried to invent a framework designed to help explore the potential for genuinely new consensus, not to re-debate long established positions.

This process identified a number of ground rules that must be observed, just to get talks started. First, participants had to communicate their underlying interests, not their policy positions. This tended to educate the parties (who turned out to be surprisingly ill-informed of one another's underlying strategic needs), leading to surprising creativity in packages that met everyone's interests. Second, the playing field had to be level, if all the necessary players were to be coaxed to the table. It is not a simple matter to bring major corporations into a new, uncertain process with grass roots environmental groups, state governors, independent oil and gas producers and a host of other constituencies. Third, parties had to agree to focus on prioritizing their interests. Only in that way could they begin to identify inventive packages of trades that could generate joint gain.

continued on page 23

An Alternative Fuels Plan

by Senator James Jeffords

In the Vermont mountain town where I live, a single pump at the general store is the only source of gas. In a snowy winter high in the Green Mountains, the miles can be long indeed.

At the worst point of the energy crisis in the seventies, the store's proprietors, wanting to share the limited gas supply, set a daily limit of two dollars worth per person. To their credit, not even a U.S. congressman, in a state where congressmen are scarcer than senators, could get a penny more.

There was a lesson in those times that America should have learned. Thinking back, it seems unbelievable that we didn't learn, but now, almost two decades later this country isn't any closer to energy independence.

The United States of America has the resources and technology to achieve its energy independence. The question is, does this nation really want energy independence? Despite the rhetoric, many in Congress and the Bush administration don't really want energy independence. I know because I've asked them. They say rather privately that it's unachievable so there's no sense trying.

That is an unacceptable attitude. If we don't move now to achieve energy independence, a process that even by most optimistic estimates will take decades, we will eventually be seriously energy short. We have no choice: we will be energy independent or we will be energy poor.

The gas lines and skyrocketing gas prices of the seventies first made America realize its vulnerability to OPEC. Those prices and gas lines produced the beginnings of a tremendous national effort in conservation and alternative fuel development. But ultimately we went back to our short sighted, wasteful ways, wallowing in the folly of cheap oil for another decade.

James Jeffords is a GOP senator from Vermont and a member of the Ripon Society Congressional Advisory Board.

That era came to an end when President Bush, upon his inauguration, dispatched Energy Secretary James Watkins to develop a "National Energy Strategy." His mission only became more urgent with Desert Storm, an event that must serve to end our years of energy complacency. Again we know the tenuous nature of oil.

So what do we do? We need a plan that will free us from the whims of OPEC and the volatility of the Mideast and ensure that the billions of dollars necessary to achieve complete energy independence are committed to the task. Neither the administration nor the Senate Energy Committee has produced a program that will bring us energy independence. Doing so requires bold initiatives in developing transportation fuels, which are greatly dependent on oil, accounting for two-thirds of total oil consumption.

Recently, I and 15 other senators developed a proposal called RAFA, the Replacement and Alternative Fuels Act. It creates a distinct market, independent of oil prices, for replacement and alternative fuels. By replacement fuels I mean those that can be mixed with gasoline for use in conventional engines. Alternative fuels are those non-petroleum fuels that require vehicular modifications.

Under the plan, refiners of motor fuel would be required to replace an increasing percentage of oil-derived gasoline with non-petroleum fuels. The goals are 10% and 30% by 1998 and 2010, respectively. Candidate fuels include ethanol, as Brazil has been doing for decades; methanol, which is currently being used in reformulating gasoline; and synthetic fuels from coal, as used by Germany during World War II and by South Africa today.

Manufacturers may also purchase "market credits" from refiners that have exceeded the target, or from an entrepreneur who has sold alternative fuels, and apply these credits toward the goal. In concert with fuel production, car manufacturers would be given partial relief from federal minimum miles

per gallon standards for vehicles using alternative fuels.

While these alternative fuels have an initial cost *slightly* higher than gasoline, the *small* cost increase will be spread over the total volume of fuel. Department of Energy estimates indicate a price increase of a few pennies per gal-

Recently, I and 15 other senators developed a proposal called RAFA, the Replacement and Alternative Fuels Act. It creates a distinct market, independent of oil prices, for replacement and alternative fuels.

lon, with the long-term effect of a downward pressure on oil prices.

Even if we attain the 30% goal by the year 2010, we would still be more dependent on foreign oil than we are today. Another two decades would be required to achieve energy independence.

So the need is urgent, but the job doable. There is no limit to the genius of America. In January, I toured a model plant in Ohio that converts coal into natural gas and methanol. In Alabama, I viewed a coal liquefaction plant producing quality liquid fuels ranging from gasoline to fuel oil. At the University of Vermont I watched a demonstration of a process that seems to challenge the basic laws of physics. In Colorado, I learned of a breakthrough in converting cellulose into ethanol.

Time will tell whether these processes are viable. They are at least evidence that American genius is not at rest, that we have the intellect and the means in this country to do most anything we set our minds to achieve. The future of an energy dependent American is severely limited. The future of an energy independent America knows no bounds. ■

The Reports Of GATT's Death Are Exaggerated

by Judith H. Bello and Alan F. Holmer

For four long years, the Reagan and Bush administrations struggled to strengthen the international trading system by improving and expanding the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the patriarch international trade agreement.

A major stake of most developed countries in the Uruguay Round is to achieve adequate protection of intellectual property rights. This engine pulls along other potentially desirable cars, including market access and trade in services.

First, these Republican administrations spearheaded the launch of the talks in 1986 at ministerial meetings in Punta del Este, Uruguay (namesake of the "Uruguay Round" of multilateral trade negotiations). They insisted on a broad agenda, covering not only traditional trade in products, but also trade in services, investment and intellectual property rights.

Second, they compelled trading partners to focus in detail on the Round by calling for a midterm review in Montreal in 1988. Little hard negotiating was concluded, but the desired des-

Judith H. Bello and Alan F. Holmer served respectively as general counsel and deputy United States trade representative in the second Reagan administration. They are currently partners in the Washington, D.C. office of Sidley & Austin.

tinations were mapped out and the timetables for arrival agreed. Estimated time of arrival: December 1990.

Third, President Bush helped to elevate the priority and accelerate the negotiations in most of the 15 negotiating groups. While the legal texts that were drawn up were riddled with bracketed language signaling disagreements, the issues were identified and often narrowed. While some negotiations were clearly behind schedule (principally services), others proceeded with great promise and comforting detail.

AGRICULTURE IMPASSE

However, at the ministerial meeting in Brussels intended to conclude the negotiations, talks broke down over the impasse in agriculture. As U.S. Trade Representative Carla A. Hills and then-Secretary of Agriculture Clayton Yeutter had proclaimed in capitals around the globe, agriculture was the key to the entire Round.

Fundamentally, a major stake of most developed countries in the Round is to achieve adequate protection of intellectual property rights. This engine pulls along other potentially desirable cars, including notably market access and trade in services. The stake of most developing countries, on the other hand, is to increase access to developed country markets, especially for agricultural and textile products; and to reduce the jeopardy to market access posed by aggressive national antidumping, countervailing duty and safeguards laws.

The impasse in agriculture, therefore, stalled progress in not only agricultural talks, but virtually every other group as well. At the eleventh hour, a new compromise agricultural text drafted by a Swedish minister briefly provided a glimmer of hope for a breakthrough. However, rejection or severe qualification of that text by the European Communities, Japan and Korea crushed those hopes. Latin American govern-

ments pulled their negotiators out of other talks; the ministerial was adjourned *sine die*.

The United States agreed to resume the talks, if and when GATT officials advised that changed circumstances made progress appear likely. The change in circumstances sought was principally European willingness to reduce their trade-distorting export subsidies, as well as to reduce internal price supports and increase market access. While the European Community was considered the principal stumbling block to a satisfactory agricultural package, Japan and Korea were reminded of their opportunities to lead these negotiations by offering to put on the negotiating table their farm import barriers, particularly regarding rice.

There was little Christmas optimism in most capitals in late December regarding the prospects for reviving the moribund trade talks. The EC appeared to many distracted by its internal, higher priorities: integration of the Germanys, completion of the EC 1992 single market initiative, the economic development of former Eastern Bloc neighbors and closer relations with the EFTA countries.

Germany appeared to have forgotten the recent importance of U.S. support for reintegration of the Germanys. With perestroika and the fall of the Berlin Wall, Europe appeared to feel a reduced need for its old ally, the United States, in the new age of Europhoria.

Now, however, Europhoria has somewhat sobered. Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze has resigned in protest, the Baltics have been subjected to Soviet military activities and Gorbachev seems to have been moved to the right.

Meanwhile, hostilities broke out in the Persian Gulf. The old allies — with strong political mandate from the United Nations, and pledges of substantial financial support from Japan and others — found themselves cooperating

on strategy for the air war and dug into Saudi Arabia for a ground war. While American troops vastly outnumbered the British, French, Canadians and others in the Gulf, France and Britain were reminded anew of America's preparedness to fight for freedom and to oppose tyranny.

HOPES FOR PROGRESS

On the geopolitical stage, then, events since the breakdown of Uruguay Round negotiations in Brussels last December offer some promise for a more compromising attitude on agriculture by the European Communities.

Effective trade policy and negotiations depend upon a partnership between the executive branch and Congress. The "fast track" provides for such a partnership in trade negotiations.

Indeed, the EC is considering ways to reform its common agricultural policy internally, which could spillover benefits for agriculture negotiations in the Round. It also finally agreed in late February to negotiate on all major aspects of agricultural reform, including export subsidies and market access as well as internal supports.

Anticipating American resentment of unequal sharing of the burdens of the Gulf War, Japan, too, may be expected to be prepared to be somewhat more flexible and conciliatory. In this context, it is reasonable to anticipate, at long last, progress in the GATT agricultural negotiations.

However, such progress was too late to allow President Bush to announce by March 1 his intention to enter into Uruguay Round trade agreements. That date was the deadline for such an announcement under U.S. domestic legislation known as the "fast track."

The U.S. Constitution authorizes the president to conduct our foreign affairs, and the Congress to regulate foreign commerce. Trade agreements inevitably involve both. Therefore, effective

trade policy and negotiations depend upon an executive-congressional partnership.

The fast track provides for such a partnership in trade negotiations. Through a law, Congress expressly authorizes the president to enter into trade negotiations with specified but broad objectives. More importantly, it agrees to consider any bill he submits to implement trade agreements resulting from those negotiations under fast track procedures.

Unlike normal legislation, the president's bill is not subject to unraveling amendments, and is considered on an expedited timetable, not subject to delays. Once presented with such an implementing bill, the Congress must vote on a take-it-or-leave-it basis.

The president's fast track authority was available for a bill to implement Uruguay Round agreements, provided he notified the Congress by March 1, 1991 of his intention to enter into agreements. Since he could not do so, the president instead requested a two-year extension of the fast track, as authorized by law. That extension will be granted automatically, unless either the House of Representatives or Senate disapproves his request by passing an extension disapproval resolution by May 31, 1991.

The Round, therefore, can be resuscitated in the future if neither House of the Congress disapproves the president's request. Disapproval is a significant risk, since some interest groups strongly oppose the Round and/or the North American free trade talks. Organized labor, for example, is dead set opposed to an FTA with Mexico; likewise the textile industry is no friend of the Round.

Despite such substantial opposition and a vigorous, perhaps even bitter debate in both houses, ultimately the Congress is unlikely to disapprove of the president's request. The stakes are too high, the possibilities for national economic gain too significant, and the exacerbation of trade tensions in the event of failure too real for Congress to be likely to shoulder the responsibility for killing these negotiations.

The GATT talks are imperiled, then, but not dead. The more quickly the EC and others agree to make substantial agricultural reforms, the better are the chances of the Round's ultimate suc-

The GATT talks are imperiled, then, but not dead. The more quickly the EC and others agree to make substantial agricultural reforms, the better are the chances of the Round's ultimate success.

cess. These chances are further improved if meaningful market access is obtained, especially in critical areas; and a strong text is achieved on the protection of intellectual property.

The longer agreements are delayed, however, the greater the opportunity for opponents of the Round to kill it. Therefore, the administration is expected to do everything possible to preserve momentum, turn up the heat, and try to wind up negotiations later this year. ■

RIPON POLICY CALENDAR

International Trade Series:

May 14 — Joshua Bolten, General Counsel, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative.

May 21 — Dennis Kloske, former Undersecretary of Export Administration, Department of Commerce.

May 28 — Ambassador Julius L. Katz, Deputy U.S. Trade Representative.

June 4 — Congressman Jim Kolbe.

Transportation/Energy Series:

June 11 — W. Henson Moore*, Deputy Secretary of Energy.

June 20 — Congressman William Clinger.

June 25 — Galen Reser, Assistant Secretary, Department of Transportation.

July 2 — Thomas Larson, Administrator, Federal Highway Administration.

*=Invited Speaker

The AEAC process was essentially a test bed for what might be possible if we made a national commitment to try to unwind the long stalemate over environmental, energy production, national security and consumer positions on energy policy; to try to rethink our possibilities. In some respects, it shared all the difficulties, mistrust and risk of an international peace process. The findings were intriguing.

Voices from the oil and gas, coal, and nuclear communities argued that the cost of much current environmental regulation is "unnecessarily" high. The question then became: "unnecessary" in whose eyes? Environmentalists were loathe to risk handing industry a significant concession, with uncertain results, absent specific environmental gains. Yet when the parties began to envision a discussion of least cost regulatory strategies *in conjunction with* formulas for allocating some of the savings to previously unrelated environmental initiatives, leaving a portion with industry, and plowing the rest back to the treasury, an attractive new possibility began to emerge. Swapping stiffer penalties on environmental violations for streamlined site permitting also became a possibility in this packaging framework.

By putting more than one issue on the table at a time, it was possible to consider new linkages. For instance, environmentalists suggested more dollars for clean coal research, in exchange for significant energy efficiency R&D increases. All the parties thought they could find short term Department of Energy projects they'd be willing to cut, in favor of a strategy favoring long term investment in both cleaner coal and more energy efficiency research. That kind of mutual gain is not possible in a dialogue restricted to up or down votes, one line item at a time.

There were many other possibilities. It was surprising how often these parties (who never come together seriously to put multiple issues on the table) could identify possible trades across typically unrelated issues, trades that generated multi-billion dollar (or value, in the case of intangible benefits) joint gains. If only three or four of these creative initiatives could be hammered out, some felt there was enough glue to forge a consensus-based energy strategy.

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

However, all the parties emphasized that the AEAC process had only been a test. If we are to convert that test-bed potential into real strategy, we're going to have to create an environment where effective "peace" talks can be held, and where the process of consensus building can be attempted without unacceptable risk. That's a tall order, considering the remarkable apparatus each of these constituencies has erected to advance its adversarial strategies.

The only way we can cause these mutually suspicious constituencies to come together and look for new common ground is if such an exercise is convened by the White House, or through bipartisan congressional leadership. It would not be a trivial undertaking. We would have to realistically commit to several years, at the very least, of serious negotiation to hope to break the current stalemate and to invent a new set of policy packages. It takes time for the constituencies to learn to communicate with one another more effectively (short-circuiting the apples and oranges syndrome that haunts this dialogue), to educate each other about the respective strategic interests in play, and to engage in a wide-ranging effort to invent new policy *combinations* that meet the needs of their traditional adversaries.

But one thing's for sure. Elected representatives in Washington will not be able to generate the packages themselves. Unless the constituencies are pulled to the table directly, there will be little opportunity to find new common ground.

Certainly, having no comprehensive national energy strategy is better than having a bad one. But if there is a possible national energy strategy, founded on common ground with joint gain for all of the historical adversaries, and we lack the political will and the ingenuity to craft it, then we are in sorrier shape than most of us like to admit. To squander such a possibility would be clear evidence that we have lost what de Tocqueville called the core of America's political genius, our capacity to come together in voluntary association to solve common problems. ■

IN MEMORIAM, H. JOHN HEINZ III.

On the April morning John Heinz died in an air crash, Washington's political establishment was pouring out of the National Cathedral after paying respects to the late Lee Atwater, the GOP chairman whose battle with brain cancer ended on March 29 at his young age of 40. And sadly, just two days later, another GOP leader, former Texas senator John Tower, also died in an air crash.

Such moments remind us of the transitory nature of political life and that politics must be engaged in more than gamesmanship. An ultimate aim should be in sight.

For Senator Heinz, whose Ripon involvement went back two decades, the goal became protecting America's elderly. Of late, he especially labored to ensure that the Social Security trust fund not be manipulated by budgeteers and that Medicare benefits not be trimmed for the elderly.

The Pennsylvania senator was an active member of our Congressional Advisory Board, and we had just invited him to address one of our trade breakfast meetings. His presence will be missed on a larger level than Ripon, however, as the third-term senator was developing into an important, independent voice.

The day John Heinz died, for instance, he was on his way to host a news conference on expanding Medicaid to cover the rehabilitation of drug addicted, pregnant women. Not only will many within Washington miss his leadership, but so, too, will those around the nation who benefited from his ultimate aim.

CHAIRMAN'S CORNER

Notes On Congress

by Bill Clinger

As the chairman of the Ripon Society, one of my duties has been to write this column for each issue and share my thoughts with members of the Society and other interested Republicans. However, after two interesting and engaging years, I'm stepping down from my post and

I am often asked why we don't have a national energy policy, especially since every American with an IQ over 45 recognizes the need for one. The reason is that trying to come up with a national energy policy would involve 37 different subcommittees of the House and Senate.

making room for a new chairman, Congressman Sherwood Boehlert of New York. Sherry Boehlert is a highly intelligent and energetic Republican who is very much in the Ripon mold.

I'd like to welcome Congressman Boehlert as the new chairman of Ripon and hope that you will enjoy his column which will begin to appear in the July issue — I know I look forward to them.

However, I'd like to take this final "Chairman's Corner" column to discuss something Sherry and I have in common: the U.S. Congress.

As a member of Congress and also as a member of Ripon, I'd like to take a few moments to point out some faults in our system and, in the true Ripon tradition,

Bill Clinger, a member of Congress from Pennsylvania, is retiring as chairman of the Ripon Society after two years of service.

point out some ways to fix them.

CONGRESS AS AN INSTITUTION

Over the past decade or so, public esteem for the Congress as an institution has greatly gone down and this concerns me. After all, if people lose faith in their instruments of government, that signals a decline in voter participation. When fewer people participate, that allows special and narrowly focused interest groups to rule.

As a society, we need to pose a couple of fundamental questions about Congress and its role. First, why does the level of contempt and distrust of Congress keep rising and, second, how can credibility be restored to the institution? I believe that we members of Congress have to bear a significant portion of blame for the deteriorating reputation of the institution and not just because of the highly publicized scandals and flagrant ethics abuses that have made the headlines. Despite the publicity, the bad apples in Congress are really a very small percentage of the body, probably no higher than the percentage of crooks in society at large. Most members are, in fact, hard working, intelligent and trying to do what they think is in the best interest of the country.

But it is also true that most of us ran against Congress in order to get there and for that we are, at least in part, responsible for Congress's bad image. The typical campaign by someone trying to get elected for the first time is to hammer away at how rotten, corrupt, inefficient and ineffective Congress is in general; and how especially rotten, corrupt, inefficient and ineffective the incumbent congressman is in particular.

Why do we do it? That's simple, because it works. Despite the media-deploring negative campaigns and the fact that individuals say they hate mudslinging, those of us who fancy ourselves professional politicians know that it's easier to get someone to vote against your opponent than it is to get

There's one other group besides Congress itself and the special interests that needs to be faulted for congressional paralysis: it's the American people themselves.

him to vote for you.

So, when newly elected congressmen and women get to Capitol Hill, it should not be surprising that they are not universally admired and loved.

But the bad images of Congress do not solely lie in negative campaigns or the publicized misdeeds of a few members. It also arises out of the perception that Congress just doesn't seem to get anything done — that we seem to be incapable of addressing the serious problems of our times like ballooning deficits, environmental degradation, unemployment, the credit crunch and many other issues.

WATERGATE REFORMS

Much of the blame for this perception can be traced back to some well-meaning members of Congress who succeeded in getting some institutional reforms adopted back in 1974. There was a consensus at that time that too much power was concentrated in too few hands. The 12 or so chairman of the major committees had almost dictatorial powers over matters under their jurisdiction. They, and they alone, decided which pieces of legislation would live and which would die.

For younger members of our Democratic caucus — the "Watergate babies" and others — this situation was increasingly unacceptable. So, changes were made which were intended to make the institution more democratic and enable more members, or at least members of the majority to participate more substantively in the process.

Paradoxically, however, they've had the effect of making the institution less responsive to the needs of the country.

Before these changes, the setting of priorities and of the congressional agenda were in the hands of a dozen or so committee chairman and leadership figures, the old bulls of the Congress. Now there are more than 70 who must be consulted. What happened was that the powers of the chairmen were severely curtailed and redistributed to the subcommittee chairmen. At last count, there are 132 subcommittees in the House. Subsequently, power has been diffused dramatically and so has jurisdiction.

The first place to start is by reworking the committee system. We don't need to return to the days of imperial committee chairmen, we just need to streamline the present system.

For example, I am often asked why we don't have a national energy policy, especially since every American with an IQ over 45 recognizes the need for one. The reason is that trying to come up with a national energy policy would involve 37 different subcommittees of the House and Senate each of which would have its own agenda. The chances of getting all 37 to agree within the time-frame of a two-year Congress is about as likely as Nancy Reagan inviting Kitty Kelly to lunch or that if invited, Kelly would go without a food taster.

Another factor that has contributed to the ineffectiveness of Congress is the very deliberate effort over the past decade to weaken the two major political parties by changing the way campaigns are financed and the way the parties function.

Not too many years ago, a member of Congress owed his election to his party. It was his party which recruited him, trained him, financed him, staffed the phone banks, prepared the mailing and got out the vote. In return, the party expected at least modest support of party principles and of the party position on specific legislation.

Nowadays, a member owes very little to the party for his or her election. The advent of television has made it possible for a candidate to take his message directly to the people without waiting for promotions from the party. The fact congress placed severe limits on the amount that a party may invest in individual campaigns in effect made the party just another political action committee.

Candidates today raise their money from a variety of sources, put together their own campaign team and do all the things the parties used to do for them. They run against the institution of Congress and ask to be sent there to clean it up.

The result of all this is a weaker legislation or no legislation at all. The party whips can no longer assume or command support or opposition to a measure purely because of party labels. This means that every significant piece of legislation requires a new coalition to be built and this involves accepting amendments to get this bloc of votes together, often watering down the original bill. And it means that legislation tends to be driven more by special interests whose sophisticated lobbyists roam the halls of Congress

WE THE PEOPLE

Finally, there's one other group besides Congress itself and the special interests that need to be faulted for congressional paralysis: it's the American people themselves.

Our founders fashioned a set of check and balances to insure that no one branch of government could dominate the other two. It has worked pretty well, but in recent years the American people have added another check: they've been electing Republican presidents and Democratic Congresses. This split government has proven to be an impasse and has led us down the road to paralysis and stalemate.

With all of the problems that contribute to an ineffective Congress, it's a wonder that we are able to write any laws at all. Clearly, we must do something to improve our legislation process and insure a more effective Congress.

The first place to start is by reworking the committee system. We don't need to return to the days of imperial committee chairmen, we just need to streamline the present system. Reducing the number of

We also need to restore some power to the two major political parties. By allowing the GOP and Democratic national committees to increase the amount of funding they give candidates, it would force members to pay more attention to party position.

subcommittees would be a good start, as would straightening out the mess we presently have over jurisdiction.

We also need to restore some power to the two major political parties. By allowing the Republican and Democratic national committees to increase the amount of funding they give candidates, it would force members to pay a bit more attention to party position. It could also have the salutary effect of allowing members and candidates to run less negative and more issue-oriented campaigns. I don't think we need political parties to completely control the system, but having a strong central party that could focus the needs and positions of our candidates would help move the legislative process along.

I hope that I haven't been too depressing during my final **Ripon Forum** column, for that was not my intent. Actually, I am very optimistic about our future both as a people and as a government. If we want total efficiency, we could have had a dictatorship, a thought that has never sat well with the American people. Our democracy clanks and wheezes and has to be patched up from time to time. After all, it is a human institution. Perhaps one of the strongest points of our system of government is that it allows input by people like you and I on how to improve it — and by groups like the Ripon Society. Through its history, Ripon has recognized the faults in our system and offered solid ideas on how to fix them. Well, in a couple of weeks I will no longer be chairman of Ripon, but I will look forward to continuing my work with everyone in the Ripon Society to try to fix our problems like those that exist in Congress. ■

An Historical Reminder: The Republican Party and Woman

by Fred Schwengel

It is ironic that when the first woman elected to Congress, Republican Jeanette Rankin, took her seat in the House of Representatives in 1916, the constitutional amendment granting women the vote had not yet been ratified. It was not until 1920 that women were permitted to enter the voting booths across the United States, in large part due to the efforts of the Republican Party.

In fact, Republicans have been pioneers and guiding lights behind women's rights, going way back into the 19th Century. In 1836, for instance, before Emancipation, Abraham Lincoln wrote a letter declaring, "I go for admitting all whites to the right of suffrage who pay taxes or bear arms, by no means excluding females."

As the issues of emancipation and Negro suffrage came to the forefront during the Civil War, women stood with the Republicans in favor of freedom and voting rights for African-Americans following the Civil War. Yet they hoped for more — they hoped for the right to vote themselves.

It was the Republicans who came forward, though slowly, to support their cause. Women voting was a radical change in the status quo. The first referendum for woman suffrage was submitted by the Republican legislature of 1867 in Kansas. Unfortunately it failed, but the issue was now emerging as one of national importance. In 1890, Wyoming became the first state to allow women to vote, with the Republicans at the head of the campaign.

In 1872, the Republican platform included a plank which mentioned women, though it did not promise action on suffrage. As it read: "The Republican

Party is mindful of its obligation to the loyal women of American for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom; their admission to wider fields of usefulness is received with satisfaction; and the honest demands of any class citizens for equal rights should be treated with respectful consideration."

*Republicans, to
paraphrase Truman's
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Then in 1876, after listening to suffragist Sarah Jane Spencer's pleas for including women suffrage in their platform, the Republicans at their National Convention included women in their 12th plank: "The Republican Party recognizes with its approval the substantial advances recently made toward establishment of equal rights for women by the many important amendments effected by Republican legislatures in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers, and widows, and the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities, and other public trusts. The honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights, privileges, and immunities should be treated with respectful consideration."

By 1912, the pledge was even stronger. The Republican plank for women suffrage read: "The Republican Party reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people, and for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country favor the extension of the suffrage to women, but recognize the right of each State to settle this question for itself." Finally, Republicans had put women's

suffrage on the national agenda, but when would women get the vote?

In the 65th Congress, Jeanette Rankin, along with five members of the House and five senators, presented the suffrage resolution and the House established a suffrage committee by a majority of Republican votes. In fact, in four votes in the Senate and two of three votes on the House of Representatives, Republicans outvoted other parties in favor of the suffrage amendment. When the amendment finally passed, the Republicans could take a large portion of the credit. Constitutional Amendment XIX, ratified August 18, 1920 reads: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by and State on account of sex. Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

In the years since 1920, Republican women have made significant contributions in every aspect of American life. In politics, Edith Nourse Rogers served 35 years in the House and was the first Republican woman to chair a major committee — Veteran's Affairs.

Margaret Chase Smith, a Republican from Maine, was the first woman to serve in both the House and Senate. Among the other Republican women who have served with distinction in Congress are Nancy L. Kassebaum, Paula Hawkins, Clare Booth Luce, Catherine D. May, Millicent Fenwick, Olympia Snowe, Claudine Schneider, Marjorie Holt and Margaret Heckler.

But like all Americans, Republicans need to be reminded of their history. It was a Democrat — Harry Truman — who told me over 50 years ago: "Young man, you gotta know your history if you want to be a good citizen." Republicans, to paraphrase Truman's advice, need to know their history if they want to be good Republicans. In 1992, as in 1887, the Republican Party must recognize that women are a vital part of our country's past, present and future. ■

Fred Schwengel is chairman of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society and a former Republican member of Congress from Iowa.

709 SECOND STREET



Governor William F. Weld addresses annual Ripon Society Jacob K. Javits Award Dinner.

MODERATES IN THE NEWS

Massachusetts Governor William F. Weld received the Ripon Society's 1991 Jacob K. Javits Excellence in Public Service Award in New York on April 30. Weld, a former Ripon National Governing Board member, is Massachusetts's first Republican governor in 20 years. Noted also for his resignation over Edwin Meese's handling of the Reagan Justice Department, Weld was cited for his combination of social responsibility, fiscal conservatism and ethics-in-government.

The Javits Award Dinner is held annually at the Tower Suite in the Time-Life Building, and this year's dinner drew 125 people. Among the attendees was 1990 Javits Excellence in Public Service Award recipient Rudolph Giuliani, Massachusetts GOP Chair Leon Lombardi and former Foreign Service Officer Moorhead Kennedy, whose role as leader of the U.S. hostages in Iran was recaptured in his book, "The Ayatollah in the Cathedral."

As in previous years, Marian Javits and her son Joshua participated in presenting Governor Weld with the award named in the late senator's honor. Ed Barlow of Whitney Communications was this year's dinner chairman, and Ripon President Don Bliss served as master of ceremonies.

In describing the event, **The Boston Globe** noted that Weld accepted the award "with the vow to honor the Javits legacy, the Ripon legacy of carrying the progressive Republican banner into territory poorly served by other

philosophies of governance." For a full text of Governor Weld's address, see pages 12 and 13.

Longstanding Ripon supporter William T. Coleman, Jr. received a Hubert H. Humphrey Civil Rights Award from the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights on May 7. Coleman, who served Gerald Ford as transportation secretary and assisted the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund in its school desegregation suits during the 1950s, is a leading force in Washington and the nation for civil rights.

During debate over last year's civil rights legislation, Coleman was especially a key player. He actively negotiated with the Bush administration and Capitol Hill for passage of the civil rights bill. President Bush ultimately vetoed that legislation, so Coleman continues to attempt to broker an agreement among civil rights leaders, Congress and the Bush administration (see pages 14 and 15, "An Open Letter to President Bush").

RIPON ACTIVITIES

On March 18, Secretary Coleman also participated in a Washington, D.C. Ripon Society session on the 1991 civil rights legislation. Along with Judith Lichtman of the Women's Legal Defense Fund, Ralph Neas of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and Elaine Jones of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Coleman spoke of the proponents' strategy in securing passage of a new civil rights act.

On May 2, the D.C. chapter also hosted a meeting on gun control. The session was held the same day Chapter Chairman Peter Smith, a former Vermont representative, published an op-ed piece in **The Washington Post** on behalf of the "Brady Bill." Noted for its seven-day waiting period for handgun purchases, the legislation is named after former Reagan administration press secretary James Brady, who was severely wounded in the 1981 assassination attempt on Ronald Reagan. In addition to Smith, Sarah Brady, chairperson of Handgun Control, Inc., Representative

James Sensenbrenner, (R-WI) and the Justice Department's Paul McNulty addressed the May chapter meeting.

The New York Ripon Society recently served as a cohost of a Metropolitan Republican Club session on "The Persian Gulf War and The Post War Peace." Speakers included Paul Jabber, a Bankers Trust vice president for the Middle East, James Klurfeld, foreign affairs op-ed editor of **New York Newsday**, and Benjamin Works, a military consultant to CBS Radio and research director of the Strategic Issues Foundation. Participants discussed their dealings with the Iraqi leadership, the media's handling of the war and possible challenges to Saddam Hussein.

In a separate note, New York Ripon member and national treasurer Stephen Rolandi received an Excellence in Public Service Award from the New York chapter of the American Society for Public Administration. Rolandi is deputy chief financial officer in the New York City Department of City Planning.

The annual meeting of the Ripon Society was held in Washington, D.C. on Saturday, May 11. On Friday, May 10, retiring Chairman William Clinger was honored at a reception. The Pennsylvania congressman was presented with an award for his two years of service as Ripon chair. During his tenure, Ripon's financial picture continued to improve and the Society's regular issue seminars grew in number. Clinger's leadership has been much appreciated, and he will continue to serve as chair of the Ripon Educational Fund.

The Society's annual meeting focused on the election of new officers, upcoming events, future articles for the **Ripon Forum** and the Society's Fall 1991 events. **Washington Post** reporter E.J. Dionne served as luncheon speaker and presented his analysis of modern Republicanism. Dionne is the author of the new book, "Why Americans Hate Politics."

Newly-elected officers include: Representative Sherwood Boehlert, chairman; Donald T. Bliss, Jr., president; Peter Smith, Masu Dyer and John Vorperian vice presidents; Stephen Messinger, secretary; and Stephen Rolandi, treasurer. ■

WASHINGTON NOTES AND QUOTES

BEGETTING TALENT

Now, this is an interesting observation. **TIME** columnist Hugh Sidey recently pointed out that, as past presidents go, Gerald Ford may have had more to do with the success of Operation Desert Storm than either Jimmy Carter, "the progenitor of the Tomahawk cruise missile," or Ronald Reagan, the "merchant prince of the huge weapons inventory that crushed the evil foe."

How so? According to Sidey: "Of the eight men in George Bush's war council, four were brought in directly or shoved along in their journey by Ford."

The four include President Bush himself. Sidey says that "Ford first spotted George Bush in 1966" and "hurried down to campaign for him." House Minority Leader Ford also "helped put Bush on the powerful Ways and Means Committee."

Other prominent Desert Storm leaders who benefited from their association with Gerald Ford are: National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, who also served Ford as NSA; Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, chief of staff at the Ford White House; and Secretary of State James Baker, the number two man at the Ford Commerce Department who later became Gerald Ford's 1976 national campaign manager.

THINK YOU'VE GOT PROBLEMS

Not only has Virginia's Democratic Senator Charles Robb recently been the focus of major media exposes about his personal life, but in March the Senate Democratic Steering Committee stripped Robb of his seat on the Senate Budget Committee. Budget Chairman James Sasser (D-TN) denies it is a move against Robb, and says that the action is merely an effort to reduce the size of the Budget panel. Yet Robb, who is not contesting the change, says the removal is a result of his bent towards fiscal restraint. According to **The Washington Post**, the Virginia senator told Sasser: "if we come to this again

next year, I will not be able to vote for a [budget] resolution that does not require meaningful deficit reduction....I knew from then that the chairman felt it would be easier to work without me."

The move is bad news for Robb, of course, but even worse for a party whose understanding of the central role of fiscal accountability is often in doubt. Have these people really lost their way?

WE TOLD YOU NOT TO TRUST THIS GUY

As long ago as January 1983, the **Ripon Forum** reported on the dubious activities of Korean evangelist Sun Myung Moon. In fact, we were among the first to tell you of the connection between Moon, his numerous organizations and the American far-right.

But now we read in **National Review**, the bible of the conservative movement, that Moon is no longer on sacred ground with the right. Long abided because of his fierce anti-communism, Moon has evidently alienated some right-wingers.

How so? By embracing Mikhail Gorbachev, that's how. According to the April 15 edition of **National Review**: "[Moon's] shift became painfully apparent to a number of anti-communist participants in the 11th World Media Conference, which the Moon apparatus staged last April in Moscow. Much to the chagrin of the American conservatives present, the conference became the setting for a meeting between Moon and Mikhail Gorbachev — including a serenade for Raisa by Moon's Little Angels dance group."

More than dancing for Gorbachev, it was Moon's general blasting of the West that seems to have finally gotten the conservatives' attention. In his **National Review** piece on the Korean evangelist who once went to jail for tax evasion, Sol Sanders quotes from a Moon interview with the Soviet weekly, **Abroad**: "Nations such as the United States and many other countries in the

western world have often abused freedom....Their traditional value systems are being eroded."

If that's not bad enough, consider this Moon zinger from the **Moscow News**: "The Soviet Union will be at the center of God's providence in the next century. Fortunately, the Soviet Union has avoided some of the evils of western society..."

Who's this guy kidding? Kinda makes you feel sorry for Mikhail Gorbachev, doesn't it?

GOP MUSINGS

It's very likely that hiring and promotion quotas will be used by Republican strategists as a dominant theme in the 1992 elections. Says Republican National Committee Chairman Clayton Yeutter: "I think that [quotas] is a defining issue between the two parties." Other Republicans, of course, view the issue differently (see "An Open Letter to President Bush," pages 14 and 15).

But during a March retreat by House Republicans, conservative apologist George Gilder (we must admit that an incarnation ago he edited the **Forum**) went even a step further. Speaking of welfare, Gilder weirdly said: "Single parent families produce crime, drugs, violence disease and Democrats."

Fortunately, saner voices spoke up. Iowa Republican Fred Grandy, a Ripon Congressional Advisory Board member, described the message as "Torn right from the right-wing playbook....I kind of worry when there's this Shiite cast to this meeting." Grandy's fellow Ripon CAB member Connie Morella told reporters she was "shocked and appalled." "That's not the party of Lincoln and not the Republican Party of the people here," said the Maryland representative. ■

INTERESTED IN DOMESTIC POLICY? AMERICA'S CITIES? THE FUTURE?

On Monday, June 24 the Ripon Educational Fund and the Howard University political science faculty will sponsor a day long urban affairs conference on the Howard campus in Washington, D.C. Sessions on community-based services, housing policy, the 1991 civil rights agenda, welfare reform and the Bush administration's "New Paradigm" will be held at Howard University's Blackburn Center. Speakers and topics will include:

9:30 a.m. — 11:00 a.m. Community Based Services and Neighborhood Economic Development

Martin Gerry	Department of Health and Human Services
Peter Smith	Educational Consultant, Vice President, The Ripon Society
Scott Reznick	President, Commonwealth Development Associates
Paul Bardack	Department of Housing and Urban Development

11:00 a.m. — 12:15 p.m. Innovations in Housing Policy

Bill Green	Member of Congress, Former HUD Regional Director
Steven Glaude	Department of Housing and Urban Development
Joseph McCormick	Associate Professor of Political Science, Howard University
*Barry Zigas	Director, National Low Income Housing Coalition

12:30 p.m. — 1:45 p.m. The 1991 Civil Rights Agenda

(Luncheon Address)

Ralph Neas	Executive Director, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
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1:45 p.m. — 3:00 p.m. Welfare Strategies for the 1990s

*Louis Sullivan	Secretary, Health and Human Services
*Isabel Sawhill	Director, Changing Domestic Priorities
Mickey Kaus	Senior Editor, The New Republic

3:00 p.m. — 4:30 p.m. Does The United States Need "A New Paradigm?"

James Pinkerton	Deputy Assistant to President Bush for Policy Planning
Ron Walters	Chairman, Howard University Political Science Department

*= Invited Speaker

Attendance for these sessions is free and open to all. Luncheon reservations are limited, however, so to secure a spot please call or write: The Ripon Educational Fund, 709 Second Street N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002 (202) 543-5466.