

# The RIPON FORUM

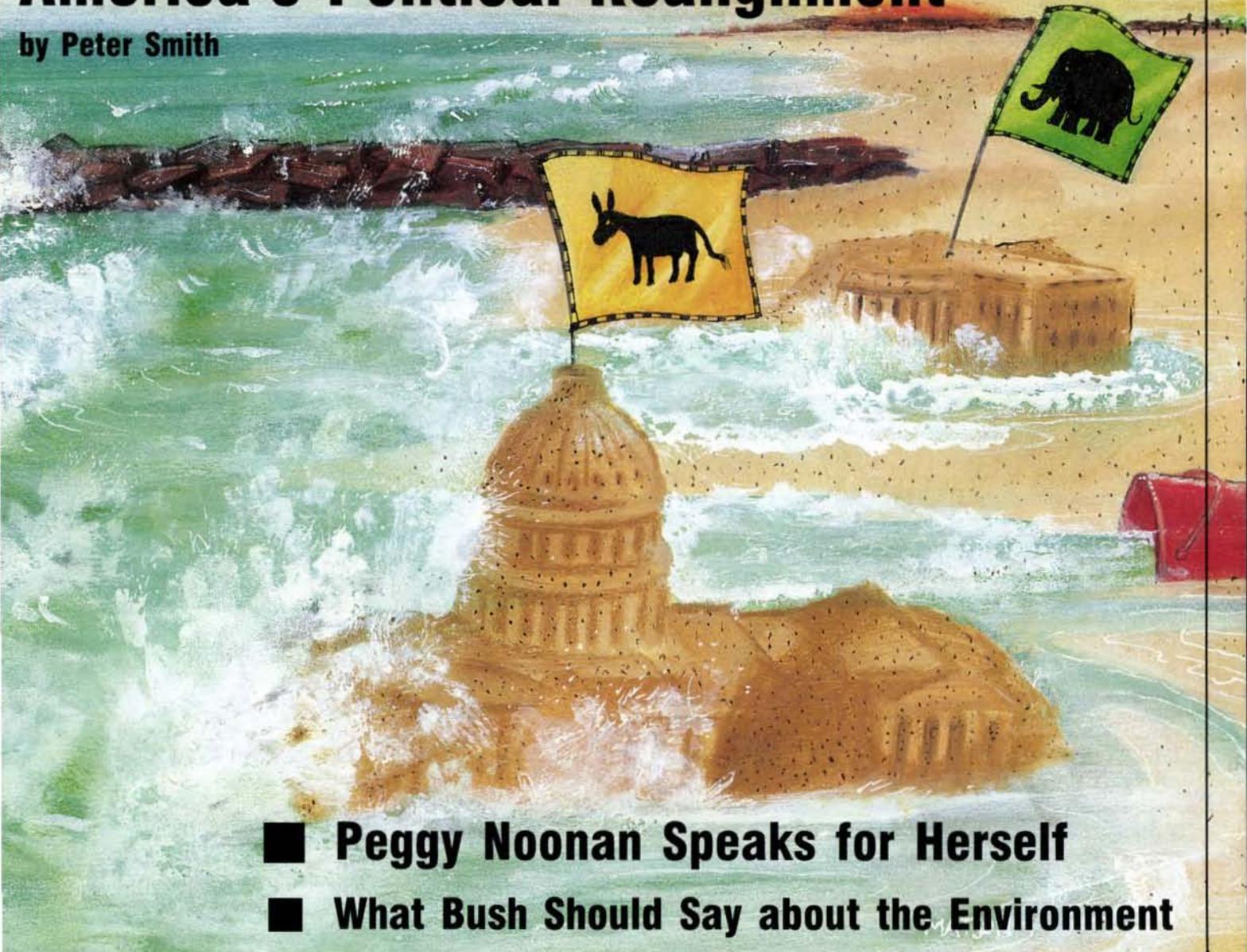
Vol. XXVIII, No. 3

September/October 1992

## Changing Tides

### America's Political Realignment

by Peter Smith



- **Peggy Noonan Speaks for Herself**
- **What Bush Should Say about the Environment**

## *We Need Innovation in Leadership*

I visited Gettysburg last weekend. As I wandered amongst the memorials and across the fields where so many died fighting for principle, the failing leadership suffocating American politics and government today was thrown in my face by their example.

Today, principles aren't to die for. They aren't even to lose an election for. They are reduced to glib phrases such as "family values" or "balance the budget" and used to manipulate and massage voters' emotions for the purpose of winning.

Leaders in both parties, have forgotten that after you win, you have to govern. And governing takes leadership. Leaders in both parties, it seems, are more interested in control than leadership, in winning than standing for what they know to be right.

America doesn't need more political massage; we need triage -- surgery to save a floundering economy -- and invention and risk taking innovation to save our faltering social institutions.

Ross Perot's withdrawal casts an ominous shadow over the American political landscape. If it weren't so serious, we could laugh at the spectacle. His is a tragic-comic character on the stage of American political theater.

He knew what had to be done to balance the budget and to break the deadlock in Washington. He knew that he would have to raise taxes, cut programs, and limit the increases in Social Security and Medicare to get the job done. But he decided he couldn't run and win on it. So he quit.

And that, in a nut shell, is America's plight. Candidates don't dare to tell the truth and, as elected officials, they perpetuate the lie. Recently, Senator John Danforth stood on the floor of the Senate and accused the government of "lying to the American people" about the deficit and the economy. He is right. And we need leaders who are willing to fight, and risk losing, for the principle.

Harry Truman and Abraham Lincoln must be rolling over in their graves. Truman lost some big battles as President. But he made a difference in the course of our national and world affairs because he dared to lead and he was willing to risk losing reelection to stand for the policies he believed in.

“  
Senator John Danforth stood on the floor of the Senate and accused the government of “lying to the American people” about the deficit and the economy. He is right. And we need leaders who are willing to fight, and risk losing, for the principle.  
”

We know what Lincoln would do. Lincoln risked everything, ultimately his life, for the principle of the Union. What we forget in our tributes to him for what he preserved was what he risked in the effort: his political career; his personal popularity; his life.

He knew, and Republicans back then knew, what was worth fighting for was worth losing. They ran on it, fought for it, suffered for their beliefs, and saved the country. Their place in history wasn't gained by public relations ploys, but by risk and courage and pain and suffering. The Perot message is that he, like all the other leaders today, wanted the reputation without the risk.

That's what the political realignment is all about. People want parties to stand for, fight for, and believe in real and important things. From the Ripon point of view, those must include civil rights, women's issues, balancing the budget, human resource and domestic policy, education, campaign finance reform, and the environment.

For the foreseeable future, we will be addressing these and other issues; describing the world the way it should and can be instead of apologizing for or explaining it the way it is.

The hard right conservatives have had their day. Now it's our turn to provide the vision and the leadership which our party and the country so desperately need.

*The Editors* ■

**TABLE  
OF  
CONTENTS**

PROFILES AND PERSPECTIVES

**Peggy Noonan** ..... 4  
*The Ripon Forum talks to the woman who gives presidents golden tongues*

WATCH ON THE ENVIRONMENT

**If Only Bush Would ...** 8  
*Curt Edwards suggests what President Bush should say in his next speech on the environment*

A SECOND OPINION

**Reform** ..... 11  
*Congressman Bill Thomas suggests how to change campaign financing without public cost*

COVER STORY

**Shifting Tides** ..... 12  
*Former congressman Peter Smith examines the shifting tides of political party realignment in wake of the presidential race*

BOOK REVIEWS

**New Freedom**..... 18

*Garry Wills' 'Lincoln at Gettysburg'*

**Bashing Murphy** . 19

*Jeffrey Bell's 'Populism and Elitism'*

CIVIL RIGHTS

**GOP & History**.. 22

*Fred Kellogg analyzes why blacks should have equal representation at GOP convention*

LISTENING IN

**Speaking on Abortion** 24

*Should GOP be neutral on abortion?*

GOP & WOMEN

**The Run for Office** .... 28

*Women candidates run on more than one issue*

DEPARTMENTS

**Editorial** ..... 2

*When will politicians realize that political truth sells better than smoke and mirrors?*

**The Lighter Side** ..... 17

**Bush's War Horses** ..... 30

**Washington Notes & Quotes** ... 31

*Parting Glances of Perot; Convention of Mules; Politically Correct Politicking; One Last Shot at Pat Robertson*

**The RIPON  
FORUM**

EDITOR

David A. Fuscus

ASSOCIATE EDITOR

Mimi Carter

PRODUCTION DIRECTOR

Michael Cheek

CONTRIBUTING EDITOR

William Ozonoff

EDITORIAL BOARD

Peter Smith

Steven A. Messinger

Jean Hayes

Alfred W. Tate

Steven Klinsky

Allison Rajala

ORIGINAL COVER ART

R.J. Matson

INTERIOR ART

Jackson Charles DeWitt

THE RIPON FORUM (ISSN 0035-5526) is published bi-monthly in 1992 by The Ripon Society. Contents are copyrighted 1992 by the Ripon Society, Inc., 709 Second Street, N.E., Suite 100, Washington, D.C. 20002.

In the Ripon Forum, the publishers hope to provide a forum for fresh ideas, and a spirit of creative criticism and innovation in public policy. Manuscripts and photographs are solicited, but do not represent the views of the Forum unless so stated.

Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to Ripon Forum, 709 Second St., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002

Subscription rates: \$18 per year, \$9 for students, servicemen, Peace Corps, Vista and other volunteers and \$30 for institutions. Overseas, please add \$8. Please allow five weeks for address change.

The Ripon Society Inc., Peter Smith, president, is a research and policy organization whose members are business, academic, and professional men and women. It is headquartered in Washington, D.C., with National Associate members throughout the United States. Ripon is supported by chapter dues, individual contributions, and revenues from its publications.

## Political Lifesaver/Writer

*Peggy Noonan is best known as a top speechwriter to Ronald Reagan and George Bush. She has penned such well known addresses as Reagan's remarks after the Challenger disaster and Bush's 1988 acceptance speech for the Republican presidential nomination. Before coming to the Reagan White House, she was a producer and writer at CBS News in New York.*

*Peggy Noonan is also a skilled observer whose insights into the often muddled world of national politics can make even the most jaded reader take notice. She spoke with David A. Fuscus of the Ripon Forum from her New York City apartment on the presidential race and what George Bush must do to win.*

**Ripon Forum:** *As everyone is aware, the president is having some problems now. Many people in the Republican Party are somewhat frustrated that the president seems unable to communicate his message. Do you think that's an accurate statement?*

**Ms. Noonan:** Well, I think you are accurately capturing the frustration of people, but I do believe that the president's problem is the manner in which he communicates his program itself. I think what matters for him very much now is action, not so much what he says, but what he does each day.

**Ripon Forum:** *Are you saying he is effectively communicating except there's nothing to communicate?*

**Ms. Noonan:** I don't think it's fair to go that far. That's just too dramatic. But there is a tendency in White Houses to assume when a president's point of view is not getting across that it is a communications problem, and it may be deeper than that. What in fact he is trying to communicate may itself be somewhat muddled.

**Ripon Forum:** *In the past, President Bush has been quite successful in communicating his intentions to the American public. Do you feel that what has to be*



done now is a complete policy overhaul and is there time for that?

**Ms. Noonan:** Well, you know, it's funny. People love to say, broadcasters love to say, "Well, three months is a lifetime in politics." But there's something funny: three months is also just three months, so time is getting short. I think the president will win if over the next three months the actions he takes each day are good, sound reasoned actions which can be explained to people. This is not a year in which what you say counts so much as what you do.

**Ripon Forum:** Do you think that's different than past presidential elections? Do you think we're seeing a realignment of the presidential election process?

**Ms. Noonan:** I think every four years you get an election, and each election has its own special character, its own specific atmospherics. We love to compare one election with another election, as in 1992, "Well, now let's draw parallels between '92 and '80." And you can always draw some parallels, but the fact is each four years, each election, is an original thing that never happened before. It's all always new. That's one of the frustrating, horrible and truly delightful things about national politics.

**Ripon Forum:** Over the past few months, Bill Clinton has risen from depths of a terrible public image and turned himself into a viable presidential candidate. How much of this is because of his proposals and how much does it have to do with image management?

**Ms. Noonan:** It is communications, the manner about which you communicate is always important, but it is rarely the central thing. Reagan was an eloquent man, but he was not a successful president because he was an eloquent man. He was a successful president because he did the right things, he was guided by the right philosophies. He had a philosophical framework. He had ideology. He had serious political views. And the fact that he could articulate them well was all the better, but he would have been successful without having articulated them as well as he did.

**Ripon Forum:** Do you think George Bush would be more successful at this point if he had a firmer ideology like Ronald Reagan and was less of a political pragmatist?

**Ms. Noonan:** He would be more successful if it were clearer to people that he was guided by principle and seriously thought-out philosophical positions.

**Ripon Forum:** To get back to Bill Clinton and Al Gore, they seem to have a great deal of

appeal to many in America, even a certain segment of the Republican Party. Do you think that we're going to see some defections from Republican moderates this year?

**Ms. Noonan:** Probably. There are a number of people who simply desire change. This is understandable. One party has controlled the presidency for 12 years. And with the exception of the interruption of four years of Mr. Carter, the Republicans have controlled the presidency since 1968. The Republicans have, in effect, in our generation, owned the presidency. Well, I'm not going to give you any cyclical theory like that of Mr. Schlesinger, but people who have eaten vanilla for three weeks



straight are apt to sit up at one point and say, "I certainly would like some chocolate." Photo by David Valdez

The desire for change is forceful, and understandably so. I think Clinton and Gore, at the moment, have a great appeal to those who would simply like a change of scenery at the top and to those who feel that things have fallen apart a bit in the past few years and maybe we ought to let

---

**NOONAN** continued on next page

# "If You Want a Fight, Here's a Fight"

these other young fellows give it a shot.

**Ripon Forum:** *On the other hand, to use your metaphor, the American people have been eating chocolate in the Congress since 1954. President Bush has been trying to focus attention on the Democratic Congress for some time now and it does seem to be working. Do you think he will be successful in focusing the electorate's desire for*

Frankly, I think the president should have gone to war with Congress over some specific and serious things three years ago. He should have given a year to try to work it out with them, but when he realized this is a Democratic Congress devoted to thwarting good programs, he should have gone to war. There should have been less of, 'My good friend, Danny Rostenkowski,' and more of, 'If you want a fight, here's a fight.'

*change on the Congress?*

**Ms. Noonan:** Frankly, I think the president should have gone to war with Congress over some specific and serious things three years ago. He should have given a year to try to work it out with them, but when he realized this is a Democratic Congress devoted to thwarting good programs, he should have gone to war. There should have been less of, "My good friend, Danny Rostenkowski," and more of, "If you want a fight, here's a fight."

**Ripon Forum:** *Certainly last year would have been a very good opportunity.*

**Ms. Noonan:** What makes me anxious is that we're getting a little late in the day for this war. I fear that the Republicans have misunderstood a very new but very clear phenomenon this year, and that is that the electorate became politically engaged very early on. They were politically engaged last winter. They were certainly deeply engaged by last spring. This is something new in the rhythms of the presidential year. For the president and those around him to think that the election year this year begins the day after Labor Day, I think that is a mistake, it has been a mistake. The election began right around the State of the Union.

**Ripon Forum:** *The press often reports that President Bush considers elections cyclical events, with repeating high and low points. Do you think that the Republicans pay too much attention to the idea that this is just a normal election cycle? Throughout this conversation you've been talking about political change and how this particular cycle is unique. Not many established people in the Republican Party are talking like that. To what degree are they going to have to start thinking anew to win this election?*

**Ms. Noonan:** It's a different kind of year. Big books are going to be written about this year. One of the things that's different is that people got engaged, politically engaged, early. I think the party has been a little bit late in catching on to the special realities of 1992.

**Ripon Forum:** *Do you think Ross Perot is the reason for this early political engagement?*

**Ms. Noonan:** No, but Ross Perot was a manifestation of early engagement. People started to look at the fellows up in New Hampshire, the Democrats in New Hampshire; they judged Mr. Bush and Mr. Buchanan; and a lot of them still didn't have someone they wanted to fix on as their guy. Mr. Perot sensed this. Mr. Perot probably also felt it himself. Mr. Perot put himself into the race, and then for his own perhaps exotic reasons got out and changed the calculus once again.

**Ripon Forum:** *Do you think the Republicans or the Democrats benefit from Perot's withdrawal, or are those voters simply up for grabs?*

**Ms. Noonan:** You know, I never think in terms of "C" is out, therefore who gains more, "B" or "A"? I think it's more interesting to think in terms of what did "C" mean and what did those who supported him want, and how should we address



Photo by  
Ken Schumacher

their concerns and talk to them about it?

**Ripon Forum:** In your book, *What I Saw At The Revolution*, you talk about the frustrations of writing in a political environment with so much input from so many different people. How effective are speeches in general when they have to go through so many people? Is it difficult to come out with a good product?

**Ms. Noonan:** Oh, sure. You know how it is for a writer. Writers are always frustrated because in so many ways it is a losing game. Scott Fitzgerald once wrote to Gerald Murphy, "Life is a cheat and the conditions are those of defeat." I frequently think of those words when I think about speechwriting. A speechwriter is one part of a large machine, but a speechwriter is unlike everybody else in that machine.

A speechwriter is a writer, and a writer who is good knows how the speech ought to be. But the speechwriter is only a speechwriter and not a chief of staff, and not a head of domestic policy, and not a major NSC official. And those folks, for reasons that are sometimes serious, quite serious, sometimes less so, change speeches in ways that always make speechwriters who are good cry. If you're good, you cry; if you aren't, you don't. So the better you are, the more frustrated you would be.

So all of the speechwriters who are deeply, deeply frustrated, it's probably because they're very, very talented.

**Ripon Forum:** You referred to yourself as a "Reaganite" in the past. Is that a fair characterization?

**Ms. Noonan:** Ronald Reagan really brought me into Republican politics. I believed in what he believed in, and so I wanted to join his cause. And so I have come from that part of the party, the Reagan party. And so I would be happy to be characterized as that.

**Ripon Forum:** As a "Reaganite," do you see the very conservative wing of the Republican Party as being dissatisfied with George Bush?

**Ms. Noonan:** Yes.

**Ripon Forum:** And how is that going to affect the election this year?

**Ms. Noonan:** I don't know. I simply don't know. I suppose it will break down this way: Your basic Republican, who votes for the Republican whether he likes the fellow or not; your Bush Republicans who like the president very much; your practical Republicans who kind of figure, "I wish there were someone who was a, real clear conservative in this race, but as there isn't, I will pick the rightward, most viable candidate, and that is Mr. Bush." Those folks will all go to the president, and I would suspect that's a large segment of the conservative vote. But there will also be some who are so frustrated that they want to punish the president for not having led in the way they expected, and they may go for Mr. Clinton and they may stay home. And then they may vote for the Libertarian. It's hard to call.

**Ripon Forum:** Ronald Reagan is now speaking at the convention, which certainly doesn't surprise anyone. Do you think there's any role for him to play in this election other than serving as an elder statesman and mentor to George Bush?

**Ms. Noonan:** Oh, yes. Ronald Reagan is a great man and the American people know in their hearts he is a great man. And he is generous too, at his age, when he doesn't have to, to show up with such vigor and commitment at this convention to help his party.

And I think he deserves everyone's thanks, real strong thanks, for that. If he is of the mood to go out on the stump in 1992, I would say to the president's advisors: "You get that man a stump." ■

# What We Want to Hear

Curt Edwards discusses what he would like to hear President Bush say in his next speech.

By Curt Edwards

In 1988, then Vice President George Bush pledged to be "an environmental president." When he expressed support for environmental reforms and pointed out the failure of Michael Dukakis to do anything to clean up Boston Harbor, Bush succeeded in neutralizing the Democrats' advantage on the issue, and in claiming the mantle of Republican conservation leadership begun by Teddy Roosevelt and continued by Richard Nixon.

To a great extent, President Bush has kept the environmental promises he made in 1988. But as we struggled with recession, critics claim he has reversed course, seeking to weaken environmental regulations that hinder economic growth. Key aides have been vocal skeptics of environmentalists' goals, including budget director Richard Darman, former chief of staff John Sununu, domestic policy adviser Roger Porter, Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan, and Vice President Dan Quayle.

To his credit, the president has heeded the advice of William Reilly, Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, and Michael Deland, chairman of the White House Council on Environmental Quality. He has met frequently with environmental advocates and pro-active business leaders, and has said in recent "Ask George Bush" sessions that he will not concede the issue to the Democrats.

Has the president flip-flopped on the environment issue or is he misunderstood or poorly served by ideological conservative staffers? This is the speech many Republicans wish George Bush would give on the environment.

❖ ❖ ❖  
Thank you all for being here. I've just come from a fishing trip with old friends and I've had a wonderful time getting to the great outdoors.

This is a simple thing and yet it speaks to a deeper issue. Today, we appreciate nature more than we fight it. Every one of us -- young or old, rich or poor, Republican or Democrat -- feels the need for a healthy, natural environment and the question in this campaign is this: what can we do, working together as a nation, to secure that for our country?

As president, I've proven my commitment to the environment by expanding protected areas, sponsoring new programs and legislation to cut pollution, launching nearly two dozen initiatives to protect the world environment, and supporting our law enforcement agencies as they set new

records for prosecuting environmental crimes. As long as I am President of the United States, I will continue to work for more effective environmental policies, not only because it's the right thing to do, but also because we can use environmental policy to help our economy.

I have always believed that sound policies provide for long-term growth and environmental quality, and that is exactly the message I took to the U.N. Earth Summit in Rio. While Al Gore went to Rio to fill the media's need for a sensational headline, we were working patiently -- and successfully, in the case of the global warming treaty -- to get solutions that make sense from an environmental *and* economic point of view.

Let me explain what I mean. Some said the global warming treaty should have included a commitment by all countries to cap carbon dioxide emissions at the 1990 level. But that approach was inadequate and unworkable in several respects. First, there are other gases and practices such as forest burning that contribute to global warming. And second, a uniform target for CO<sub>2</sub> emissions imposed on all nations would have had inequitable effects on the diversity of nations asked to sign the treaty.

At U.S. insistence, the treaty requires signatories to develop action plans by the end of 1992 with detailed policy commitments addressing all of the contributing factors to climate change. This approach is better for the environment, because it is comprehensive, and better for the U.S. and world economy, because it allows nations the flexibility to make plans that are consistent with needed economic growth.

Incidentally, the U.S. and the Netherlands are the only nations that have already come forward with a plan to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Ours will reduce emissions from projected levels in the year 2000 by 7 to 11 percent.

My administration has sponsored other initiatives that are sound on both their environmental and economic merits:

- market incentives to reduce acid rain and toxic air pollutants;
- taxes on substances that deplete the ozone layer;
- negotiated rulemakings and problem-solving alliances between government, business, and environmental groups;
- increased funding for "green" technolo-

gies; and

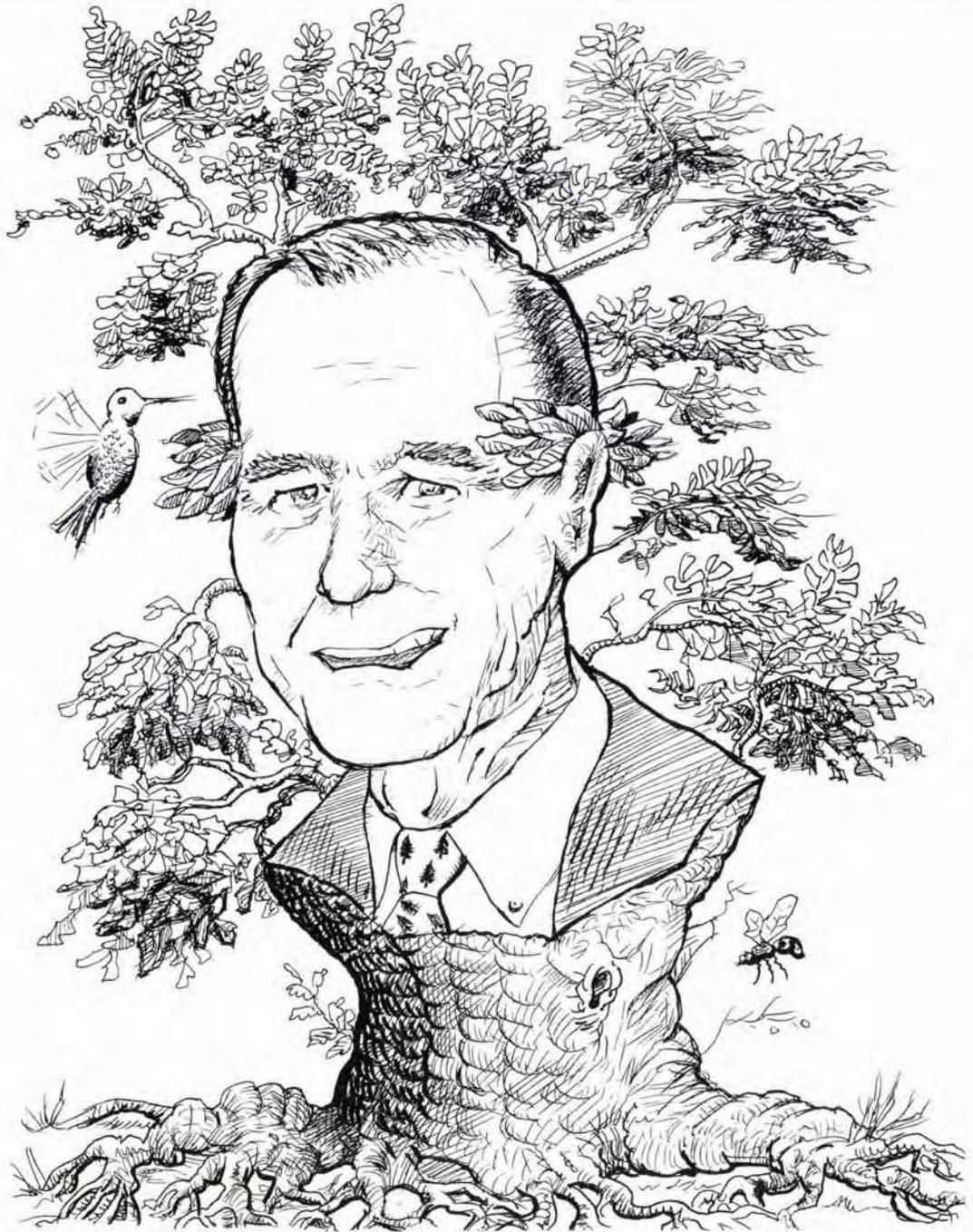
▪ partnerships with developing countries to boost trade and investment in environmentally-preferable ways.

The thread in common with these and other policies is a concerted attempt to merge economic and environmental goals.

According to Gov. Clinton, the Democrats finally get it. After years of throwing money at our problems and saying that Congress knows best how to cut pollution, they are beginning to talk about trimming the bureaucracy, creating incentives, and working *with* the private sector. Gov. Clinton is even claiming some of my policies as his own.

Unlike Bill Clinton, Republicans know that in the short run, there *can* be trade-offs between jobs and the environment. A president has an obligation to protect jobs too. And while the Democrats say "trust us -- we'll strike the right balance when we get to Washington" -- nine times out of ten, what they're talking about is more bureaucracy, more inefficient mandates, and more obstacles to growth.

I also have to wonder how effective the Democrats would be given their track record. According to the nonpartisan Institute of Southern Studies, Arkansas ranks dead last in environmental policy after 14 years under Gov. Clinton. The League of Conservation Voters says he ignored contamination of rivers and drinking water in Northwest Arkansas until it reached crisis levels, and he has yet to impose any penalties on the polluters who caused the problem.



We can't ignore these questions just because Gov. Clinton has chosen Sen. Gore as his running mate. Sen. Gore wrote a best-selling book on the environment, but on almost every third page he's predicting the end of the world. His voting record is to the left of Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, D-Maine, whose proposed solution to acid rain was to force the lobbyists' preferred technology on industry, ease the pain with a federal subsidy, and pay for the scheme with a nationwide tax on electricity bills. Gore's

**ENVIRONMENT** *continued on next page*

## Republicans Understand Economics, Environment

**ENVIRONMENT** *from previous page*

voting record is even to the left of Rep. Barbara Boxer, D-Calif., whose plan to raise auto fuel economy standards (Clinton and Gore support it) would add more than \$1,000 to the price of a new car and actually limit our ability to meet clean air standards, according to the National Academy of Sciences.

Liberal Democrats like these abandoned Jimmy Carter when he tried to pull his Party to the center, and it could well happen again. They just can't

“ Unlike Bill Clinton, Republicans know that in the short run, there *can* be trade-offs between jobs and the environment. A president has an obligation to protect jobs too. And while the Democrats say, 'trust us -- we'll strike the right balance when we get to Washington,' nine times out of 10, what they're talking about is more bureaucracy, more inefficient mandates, and more obstacles to growth. ”

seem to accept the fact that capitalism is a friend of the environment. As I have pointed out so many times, America spent \$800 billion in the 1980s to meet the world's toughest environmental standards, with results you can see and feel and measure. This progress occurred as we created millions of jobs in the 1980s--disproving the old myth that a growing econ-

omy and better environment are at odds.

Our nation's quest for environmental quality is paying off and we don't need scare tactics to persuade us to do more. Republicans want both economic growth and a cleaner environment and we offer a new generation of ideas that will accomplish both. In addition to the policies and programs begun in my first term, here is my environmental agenda for the 1990s:

- I will press the U.S. government and the international community to follow through on commitments made at the Earth Summit in Rio. This includes my proposal to double worldwide forestry assistance and begin negotiations on a glo-

bal forestry treaty. It also includes our obligation to update global climate policies in the light of new information as it emerges. The "Agenda 21" that I endorsed in Rio will require vigorous efforts to find new technologies and new cooperative ventures to help poor countries meet their economic development needs in an environmentally-sound manner.

- At home, we need to amend the Clean Water Act to establish better controls on "nonpoint" sources of pollution, create market mechanisms to cut pollution, ensure regulations are tailored to the degree of risk posed, and make wetlands protection an explicit goal of the Act.

- We need to address the shortcomings of the Endangered Species Act by creating stronger mechanisms for broadly-based planning and conflict prevention long before species and habitat reach the precipice. A ten-year inventory of our nation's biodiversity could identify areas in need of greatest protection.

- At the current rate of progress, the Superfund program for cleanup of toxic waste sites will cost as much as the savings and loan bailout and take thirty years to complete. Our administration has improved the Superfund program but further reforms are needed to streamline regulatory bottlenecks and ensure the program is minimizing environmental risks at the least possible cost.

- We need to engage the problem-solving creativity of the private sector and nonprofit groups in a more systematic, continuous way. My Commission on Environmental Quality, composed of diverse nongovernment representatives, has launched innovative projects that will produce significant environmental benefits without new government action. If re-elected, I will expand the Commission and challenge it to launch a new round of initiatives in such areas as waste reduction and recycling, transportation and energy efficiency, international sustainable development, land management, and public awareness.

Let's not forget it was Republicans who created the national forests, Republicans who established the EPA, and Republicans (in 1970 and 1989) who outlined a Clean Air Act with teeth and innovation when the Democrats couldn't get it through Congress by themselves.

Indeed, Republicans have been key leaders of the movement for environmental conservation as long it has existed. When I am re-elected to a second term, it will be Republicans in the White House and in the Congress who continue to lead the way to a robust environment and economy in the 1990s. ■

# Reform at No Public Cost

A  
SECOND  
OPINION

I am delighted to respond to Norm Ornstein's article on campaign finance reform in your July issue. I agree with Mr. Ornstein's analysis that Washington special interests coupled with a system that protects incumbents is a problem, but I disagree that taxpayer financing of campaigns is a solution. I believe, instead, that the solution lies in strengthening our political parties as well as requiring that a majority of candidates' contributions come from within his or her own district. This is what will restore real competition to American congressional politics.

Ornstein argues correctly that our current system promotes an obsession with money and that too much of this money comes from special interests. He is right. These special interests groups' primary purpose is to protect incumbents rather than support challengers.

The result is a system in which PACs and Washington lobbyists are empowered and the role of ordinary citizens is marginalized. This is why there is so much voter apathy. The average citizen is fully aware of how weak his or her role is in the process.

Norm Ornstein correctly points out that the problem is not too much money in politics, but rather the lack of the right kind of money in politics. Candidates should receive a majority of their contributions from voters within their own districts. Because this does not happen, there are not nearly enough well funded, grassroots-based challenger candidates in the American political process. If there were, we would have passed a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution long ago. We would have passed an economic growth package with a capital gains tax cut and measures to restore local initiative and choice to our public school system. Most of these reform initiatives command real support on main street, but are blocked by special interests who control the Democratic Congress in Washington which believes itself invulnerable to challenge.

There are too many incumbents whose accumulated funds from PACs and \$400,000 mass mail privilege guarantees them re-election in all but the most outrageous circumstances. In just the last election cycle, the amount of money spent on incumbent mailings using the frank alone was three times more than the amount spent by all challengers combined.

Norm Ornstein is also right that the best

money in the system is local money from the "rank and file voters"...money raised from citizens who actually live in the same area as the candidate for office. Ornstein defines this as money from within a candidate's state. I believe that contributions from the individuals whose votes will determine who represents them in Washington is the best support of all.

In light of this, I believe the single most important reform we could enact would be a requirement that a majority of a candidate's campaign dollars come from individual residents from his home district. Such a requirement would refocus the attention of candidates away from Washington special interest fundraisers, and back to the voters and small contributors of the district.

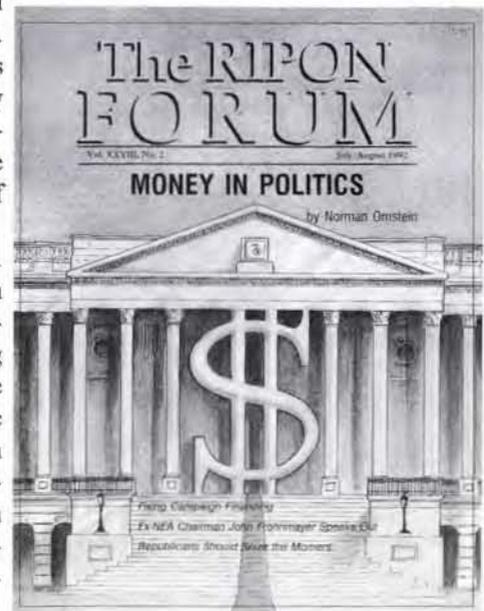
The benefits are numerous. It would reward challengers such as local government and community leaders with a strong grassroots base, and reduce the influence of candidates whose major assets are connections with lobbyists and PACs in Washington. It would transform PACs from centralized check collecting agencies to decentralized voter education services.

It would make the participation of ordinary local citizens in the fundraising process an essential part of any victory program, and go a long way towards restoring the faith of the individual citizen in his or her power to influence an election. In short, it would transform the nature of American politics.

The American people know it. They endorse the idea by an overwhelming 5-to-1 margin. And in reaction of such public opinion, House Republicans have made the concept the cornerstone of their campaign finance reform legislative package.

But perhaps there still needs to be additional sources of campaign funds to balance the advantages of incumbents and ensure that challengers can raise the funds necessary for a competitive campaign. Ornstein proposes that public tax dol-

by  
Congressman  
Bill Thomas



*In The Ripon Forum's July/August edition, Norman Ornstein's article on campaign finance reform was the cover story.*

*Bill Thomas is a Republican congressman from California and one of the House's top leaders on campaign finance reform.*

See **OPINION** on page 25

# Changing Tides



***America's  
Political  
Realignment***



FOR THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, Americans have watched in awe as governments around the globe have gone through the writhing contortions of profound change. Whether it was the drama of the second Russian revolution and the liberation of Eastern Europe, the slow destruction of apartheid in South Africa or the democratization of Latin America, there is a rumbling around the world as people everywhere reevaluate their governments.

For the most part, these extraordinary events have been described in traditional and simplistic terms. We are asked to believe that it is simply the ultimate triumph of democracy, finally playing out. Or, coincidentally, that free market economics have finally won the day as the bankruptcy of centralized systems brings them to their knees. While both of these explanations have weight, this is no mere political or economic hiccup. It is the most significant political realignment since the revolutionary period of the 18th century and it is gaining momentum in the last decade of this century.

And it is taking place in America too.

*Peter Smith is  
Dean of the  
School of  
Education at  
George  
Washington  
University. He  
served as  
Vermont's  
congressman from  
1988 to 1990.*

Two dangerous conceits lie behind these simplistic democratic and economic explanations. First, they assume that the forces driving political realignment can be controlled by existing institutions and described by conventional political definitions. Second, they assume that the convulsions Americans have observed around the world will only affect other societies. Like poverty on the other side of the tracks, political realignment is treated as if it were somebody *else's* business; as if it were something that only happens in faraway places and third world countries.

When referring to domestic events like the starburst and subsequent flameout of the Perot campaign, Americans talk in more personal terms. People think Congress is controlled by big money and that elected and appointed officials live lives that are out of touch with the "mainstream." "The president doesn't seem to care about me," people say. "Why can't anybody do anything about the deficit?...or the ozone layer?... or health care costs?... or the quality of education?"

In historical terms, political leaders and parties would traditionally be the source of solutions to our problems. But, sadly, most politicians today seem to think they can hold their breaths until this time of discomfort passes; just like the little girl whistling past the graveyard. They whisper the truth to each other and then, with brave smiles, continue their posturing for the outside world, perpetuating mythologies which are not true and do not serve the people. Better to keep the hard truths from people than risk your political future. Both Senators Warren Rudman, R-NH, and John Danforth, R-MO, have recently broken this unwritten rule in speeches on the Senate floor where they used the word "lie" to describe the unwillingness of the Congress to tell the truth about the federal deficit, taxes, and spending.

Political parties aren't bringing forth answers to our problems either. One of the cancers eating at our body politic are party leaders who see all issues as political issues. They evaluate them in tactical, not human terms. Democrats would rather not have a health care bill than let the Bush presidency get the credit for solving the problem. It's an issue to *win* with, not just about helping people. And some Republicans would rather let the country slide further towards the precipice of bankruptcy than agree to a spending plan that includes increased taxes. And almost all politicians refuse to even discuss capping entitlements.

And on it goes.

The gridlock from which our government suffers does not stem from the lack of solutions; it is the triumph of political tactics over principled political will; it is politicians refusing to discuss problems in honest and painful terms and it is the electorate choosing not to hear the fire which roars through the woods.

But political realignment is coming and there have already been some preliminary upheavals. Former Speaker of the House, Jim Wright and Rep. Tony Coelho, the former number three Democrat in the House, were driven from office for abusing

“

The hard fact is that, although many leaders are still trying to divert the public's attention, the tiger of realignment has come to the table in America too.

And it's about to eat our lunch.

”

their privilege and power. The S&L scandal, fueled by governmental regulatory complicity and congressional fraud, developed into the most significant threat to our financial system since the great depression. And the double standards exposed by the House bank scandal are, even today, tearing further at the public's confidence in the governing institutions of our country.

Campaign finance reform, health care, deficit reduction and gender issues all have one thing in common: the people who want less manipulation, less jockeying for power and more leadership.

**REALIGNMENT** *continued on next page*



## ***America's Political Realignment***

# Political Gridlock Tires Voters

### **REALIGNMENT** *from previous page*

Increasingly people see government leaders as more interested in their own stability, control, and grasp on power than they are in identifying and doing the public good. Government is characterized by the misuse of money and privilege; the deficit, PAC money, pork barrel politics, and lobbying.

Political realignment -- American style -- is coming. We've got to make it our business to ensure that it improves our government. The hard fact is that, although many leaders are still trying to divert the public's attention, the tiger of realignment has come to the table in America too. And it's about to eat our lunch.

Political realignment is not simply about reforming government or creating new coalitions to keep existing parties in power. Instead, it is about people and changes in society which are severely pressuring tired conventions and traditional institutions.

### **THE CHANGING FACE OF AMERICA**

Our country is well into a significant demographic shift, one that could serve as the catalyst for the most profound cultural shift in American history. Today, multiculturalism is a reality in our society as Hispanic, Asian, Latin American and other ethnic groups seek the American dream in

American communities, schools, workplaces and in our political system. Projections show that by the year 2000, the overall labor force will have increased in ethnic diversity until three of every five new workers will be non-Anglo; fifty percent will be either Hispanic or African American.

The individual and collective views of these ethnic groups are changing the nation, enriching the culture and bringing new life, customs and concerns to daily life. How the dominant culture responds to this wave of ethnic Americans, what kind of "room" we make for them, will be a critical factor in our changing political structure.

And these new political constituencies are becoming involved in the political structure. Take the Cuban American population in southern Florida for example. They are a relatively new ethnic group who in the past thirty years have become economically successful and politically active.

Any election in Florida, be it presidential or otherwise, has to take the concerns of these Americans into account -- the political system has had to change to accept and accommodate them. To a certain extent, the changing demographic face of America demands that the traditional political structures that have held power for so long, change to accommodate a changing electorate.

### **THE INFORMATION REVOLUTION**

Besides the changing ethnic face of the American population, the social structures of society are being shaped and changed by profound forces. These forces are the result of the technological revolution that since World War II has changed virtually every aspect of American life. Indeed, the beginnings of this technological explosion can easily be traced to the 18th century and one could safely say that it has been shaping our society since the American Revolution. Unlike many nations throughout world history, the United States has never been stagnant, we have never been free of dramatic change, working to reshape the contours of America.

From the political upheaval of the late 18th century to the industrial revolution and territorial expansion of the 19th to our rise to world power in this century, change has always been with us.

The elements of societal change are working to change our social structures, even now.

Even though America has changed a great deal, one aspect of our culture that has remained constant is the grasp that institutions have had on information... that is until now.

For example, in the past, medical institutions have been the holders of the knowledge that heals. If one got sick, the doctor was called, opened his black bag and he either fixed the problem or determined that renewed health "was not meant to be".

Because of the vast amounts of information our disposal today, the role of physicians has changed. We now know how important life style is to health, so we routinely take actions to ensure good health or take care of small problems ourselves. By not smoking, eating correctly and exercising, individuals can have a positive impact on their own health. Instead of serving as the semi-magical healer of old, doctors today are advisors, educators and coaches as well as the magicians who make us well.

What has made this change possible? Information.

It is individuals who have the knowledge to decide to visit a physician, at which point they have the information necessary to ask questions, draw conclusions or decide to get a second opinion. They understand enough about the art of healing so they have the opportunity to control the

process.

The same changes that have occurred in the medical profession apply to other institutions as well. The role of lawyers, teachers, churches, unions and government has changed dramatically because information is so abundant that individuals are no longer held hostage to these institutions. They are now the repositories of basic, crucial information.

This revolution in information is a force for change in society and it is one of the primary catalysts of the growing American political realignment.

### THE EXPECTATIONS REVOLUTION

The direct result of increasing the amount of information available to individuals is that their expectations increase. As each individual knows more, they gain more power. For example, those voters who choose to participate in the political process, know more about candidates and issues than at any other point in our history. Why else

---

**REALIGNMENT** *continued on next page*





## ***America's Political Realignment***

### **Informed Voters Want More**

#### **REALIGNMENT** *from previous page*

could Ross Perot create a political sensation by bypassing traditional information sources such as newspapers and the network news. He could do it because he realized that people get information from television shows like Larry King Live, Crossfire and other cable programs.

He realized that voters have sophisticated information devices like VCRs, home computers that tap into electronic bulletin boards and answering machines where volunteers could leave messages for absent friends.

Increased information leads to increased expectations. It's a simple formula and it means that as we know more, we expect increasingly complex actions and reactions to events. To a large extent, it is this increased level of expectation that has brought about the present climate of dissatisfaction with American government.

The American people know more about our problems, and even if they are unwilling to listen to hard solutions, they at least are willing to demand action. When the Congress and the president battle consistently and tie the government in gridlock, people notice and virtually demand change.

Government has yet to figure that the political climate is changing and because of this ignorance, they have yet to invent a scoreboard to measure the changes.

This governmental ignorance is best typified by the political response to the obvious changes in the mood of the electorate in 1992. Many politicians are still more interested working through a party system with their sole objective being to remain in power. They don't sense that their self-serving actions are transparent to an information rich electorate and that the traditional political establishment is seen by many as outdated.

Two issues illustrate this perfectly.

First, the Democrats know that they could pass a workable healthcare package through the Congress and that it would reform our present system and benefit the entire nation. Yet they choose not to act in a responsible manner because they don't want President Bush to gain any political advantage from their action. They prefer to wait, take a chance that Bill Clinton will win the election, and gain all the credit for themselves. And most importantly, they incorrectly think that no one will notice.

Republicans also suffer from the same disease. Most realistic leaders in the Republican Party know that to responsibly deal with the deficit we need to cut spending and bring in more money in the form of higher taxes. Yet they choose to pontificate and posture because the threat of new taxes is an effective political weapon to use against the Democrats.

These types of behavior are not oriented towards leadership, they are oriented towards the retention of power. They are tactics that will fail, because they fail to recognize that the dynamic changes in America are our diversity, abundant information and changing expectations.

Ross Perot was not a phenomenon like Halley's comet coming once every 76 years. He was a response to a deep yearning for a different type of politics that tell the truth.

There is a large slice at the center of the American political spectrum looking for leadership, better questions and better answers to the problems that people experience in their lives. Their unrest is not driven by any one issue, but by the deeper intuition that the logic of political parties and elected government no longer represents the logic of their lives.

Disenchanted voters believed that Ross Perot was their key to the door of a new age in American politics. In the end, he had neither the strength nor the stomach to represent the people of this nation.

If a realigned Republican Party doesn't emerge to provide that leadership, we, like Perot, will default to someone else. ■

by Jeff MacNelly

LIGHTER SIDE

MACNELLY Chicago Tribune



## BOOK REVIEWS

# Lincoln and a New Birth of Freedom

Review By  
Bill Tate



Lincoln  
AT  
GETTYSBURG  
THE WORDS THAT  
REMADE AMERICA  
GARRY WILLS

*Lincoln at Gettysburg:  
The Words That  
Remade America*  
By Garry Wills.  
New York: Simon &  
Schuster, 1992.  
\$23.00

As anyone who observes this year's national conventions will attest, the game of politics is a war of words. Far more than simply the labels we apply to our experiences, words are the tools with which politicians attempt to shape and control reality's meaning.

In *Lincoln at Gettysburg*, Garry Wills writes of the 272 words comprising the most famous American political speech. Examining Lincoln's "Gettysburg Address" within a series of concentric contexts, Wills shows how our perception of ourselves as a nation was irrevocably altered by what the program for the November 19, 1863, ceremony listed as "Dedicatory Remarks, by the President of the United States."

The most immediate of these contexts was the aftermath of Gettysburg which saw both sides leave 8,000 macerating bodies scattered over the fields of Southern Pennsylvania. The July heat had prompted such hasty burials that the local banker, who headed the interstate commission which created the seventeen acre cemetery to which the Union dead were moved, reported seeing "several places where the hogs were actually rooting out the bodies and devouring them."

The battle itself had been inconclusive. After the ill-conceived attack of the third day, Lee had led his army back into Virginia and offered Jefferson Davis his resignation. General George Meade, Lee's Union counterpart, failed to pursue him, despite Lincoln's frantic promptings, and perhaps missed a chance to end the war. Meade, too, tendered his resignation. Neither resignation was accepted, both presidents believing that to have done so would have been to admit the carnage their generals had created was meaningless.

With both sides claiming victory and neither fully justified in doing so, Lincoln came to Gettysburg not only to win the struggle over interpreting the battle, but to "win" the entire Civil War in ideological terms as well. His success in transforming this muddle of missed opportunities and senseless deaths into what Wills calls "a symbol of national purpose, pride, and ideals" is a compelling demonstration of the power of words.

In his description of the occasion, Wills de-

bunks the myth that Lincoln relied on the inspiration of the moment and simply jotted down his brief remarks on the back of an old envelope while on the train to Gettysburg. On the contrary, Lincoln always took meticulous care in preparing speeches for important occasions. In this instance he went so far as to consult with the designer of the cemetery, William Saunders, and may well have found in the latter's arrangement of the graves an expression of the nation's dedicatory proposition "that all men are created equal."

The second context in which Wills places the Address is cultural, that of the funeral oratory of the time and particularly of the nineteenth century's fascination with death and cemeteries. Here the focus is on Edward Everett, the most famous speaker of the day, whose "Oration" was the centerpiece of the ceremony.

Everett's two-hour address is compared by Wills to a contemporary television "docudrama." It was everything Lincoln's was not. Delivered from memory with the text prepared for publication unopened on the podium, the oration included references to the ancient Greeks, gave a detailed

*Lincoln at Gettysburg*  
succeeds wonderfully in  
every way. It is informative  
and inspiring history of the  
best sort.

account of the battle, offered a constitutional argument in support of the Union cause, and excoriated the South. It was exactly what the crowd, which best estimates put at about 15,000, expected and it was well received.

So were Lincoln's words, and here Wills debunks another myth. Lincoln, he reminds us, was a skilled and practiced speaker with a high tenor voice of great carrying power. His delivery was slow, clear and emphatic. John Hay, Lincoln's personal secretary, commented in his diary that "the President, in a fine, free way, with more grace than is his wont, said his half dozen words of consecration."

Contemporary accounts indicate Lincoln was interrupted by applause five times in the approximately three minutes the Address took to deliver. Far from being disappointed in the result -- as his

See **LINCOLN** on page 27

## More Murphy Brown Bashing, Please

Jeffrey Bell's *Populism and Elitism* is a short but densely packed book that might best be subtitled "An Intellectual's Defense of Dan Quayle." In Bell's opinion, Murphy Brown and Willie Horton-style value issues are appropriate campaign fodder, the true essence of representative democracy and the cornerstone of a latent national realignment toward conservative political principle. Bell argues that disdain for such issues represents a bipartisan gap between elite and popular opinion that has existed since the social turmoil of 1968. Bell favors an increased use of hard speaking value politics and argues that "a conservative pursuing populist or anti-elitist themes can defeat conventional candidates if he or she can communicate directly with the popular opinion stream, over the head of unsympathetic political and media elites."

“His talk of the 'people' as distinct from 'the elite' smacks a class-based view of history that so failed Marx and America's own far left.”

Bell defines "populism" as optimism in the ability of people to make decisions about their own lives. "Elitism" is defined as the belief that better decisions will be made by elites acting on the behalf of other people. Elites are the favored members of society -- elected officials, business executives, journalists, labor leaders, lawyers -- including those who are self-made and those who achieved their success through merit. President Reagan is classified as a populist, as was Lincoln and Jackson before him. McGovern, Mondale and Dukakis were elitists, seeking to use government to pursue their own notions of what is best for the citizenry at large. Populists may use experts as a means to achieve ends set by the people, but never to determine the ends or values themselves.

Bell believes the distinction between populists and elitists is the most important factor in modern democratic politics, predetermining positions on a wide range of topics. In the field of

economics, populists, with their optimism, would support free trade, strong antitrust laws and encouragement for small business start-ups while elitists would favor tariffs, government industrial policy and central banking. In the field of social issues, Bell's populists would oppose standard-setting by elite judges in favor of "community standards" set by the people. Politically, populists favor institutions that give immediate control to the people, such as direct elections, primaries and referendums. Elitists, fearful of the public, favor hedges such as elite-controlled conventions and party-controlled parliamentary systems. Elitists are also said to favor paternalism and "equality of result," including measures such as elite-established quotas and the reapportionment of voting districts in order to insure minority representation.

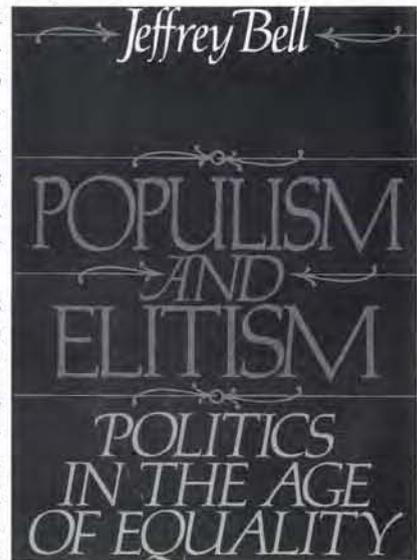
Bell presents a history of elites from the priests and god-kings of 3000 BC, to the "money" and "knowledge" elites of today. The opinions of elites are said to form a collective "elite opinion stream" which converges and diverges from the "popular opinion stream" of the other people. The popular opinion stream is described as highly issues oriented and ready to reject once favored leaders when issues change, just as the British rejected Winston Churchill after World War II. There are two kinds of issues: "values" issues which center on whether a condition is a public evil, and "valence" issues where all agree on the problem and the question is how it can be solved. Ante-bellum slavery was a values issue. The Great Depression was a valence one.

Bell argues that populism reflects respect for human dignity and that the popular opinion stream is ultimately the best choice for government direction. A political leader's responsibility is to help the people choose their desired ends wisely and then to pursue the ends chosen by them. If the agenda of one party does diverge from the popular opinion stream, then the people will desert that party and there will be a realignment ("democracy's version of a revolution") to another party that does not diverge. Since 1968, this realignment has occurred at the presidential level with the conservative Republican candidates winning 5 out of 6 contests.

The realignment is not yet complete, however, as the Democrats continue to dominate ap-

## BOOK REVIEWS

Review By  
Steven Klinsky



*Populism and Elitism.*  
By Jeffrey Bell  
A de Tocqueville  
Institution book.  
Regnery Gateway,  
Spring 1992.  
\$ 21.95

**ELITE** continued on next page

Steven Klinsky is a  
member of the Ripon  
Forum Editorial Board

# Democrats Don't Follow Popular Opinion

*ELITE continued from previous page*

proximately 60 percent or more of all congressional and state elections. Bell attributes this "split level realignment" to the successful populist emphasis of values issues by Republican presidential candidates and the failure of populists to emphasize the same values issues in the state and legislative contests.

The realignment at the presidential level occurred in 1968 after years of national turmoil, beginning with the civil rights movement and including the assassination of John Kennedy, the

ACLU, the Pledge of Allegiance bill, the death penalty, Willie Horton's prison furloughs and abortion where, of the 33 percent of all voters who held the abortion issue to be "very important," Bush prevailed 57 to 42 percent. Bell believes the Bush strategy was populist and correct. The Democratic party -- in an undemocratic course -- chose to follow elite opinion rather than popular opinion, and deservedly paid the price.

In the past, splits between Congress and the executive branch have ultimately aligned in favor of the presidency, such as Congress' ultimate adoption of New Deal liberalism. Bell believes that realignment has been slowed in the current case by Nixon's scandal-plagued second term, the elite's perception that Reagan's success was due to luck and because the ideological debates have not been drawn sharply enough at the congressional and state level. All local candidates talk like moderates, argues Bell, and all cater to the local elites who fund the state campaigns and write the editorials. The Democrats, with more politically savvy candidates, therefore hold onto their seats. In response, Bell calls for candidates to resist elite opinion and offer sharper, value oriented rhetoric at the local level. That is, he calls for more Murphy Brown bashing, not less.

Bell concludes his book with an attack on "the elitist vision of equality" which he describes as the managing by elites toward an "equality of result" (such as busing and quota programs) coupled with "moral relativism" which holds that no one's value system is superior to anyone else's. He attributes liberal environmentalism to an elitist inability to give humanity its deserved priority over components of nature. He sees elitism as the cause of a lack of stated community moral standards and behind the decline of the canon of classical western literature in college curriculums.

"In the realm of moral values," writes Bell, "a belief in equality of result demands the victory of relativism in society." While relativism may resemble tolerance, Bell claims that elitists will be intolerant when it suits them, and cites the elitist pressure for political correctness on college campuses as evidence. He ends with a call for a "new, more intense stage of values battle that is already a generation old. On its outcome will hinge the final resolution of split-level realignment, the future shape of both populism and elitism, and almost certainly the agenda of global politics in the age of equality."

Jeffrey Bell's *Populism and Elitism*

is a short but densely packed book

that might best be subtitled

"An Intellectual's Defense

of Dan Quayle."

campus riots, the Vietnam war, the Tet offensive and the assassinations of Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr. These events, Bell states, so shook the confidence of elite Americans that when the police and protestors fought each other at the 1968 Chicago Democratic Convention, the nation's elites sympathized with the protestors while the people favored the police. That fall, Hubert Humphrey, unable to straddle the split in opinion, lost to Nixon's call for "law and order."

In 1980, Reagan ran on the valence issues of stagflation and foreign policy, as well as values, but his success relative to Gerald Ford's loss in 1976 is chiefly attributed to popular support for Reagan's strong anti-abortion stand.

In Bell's opinion, President Bush's victory over Dukakis in 1988 was almost exclusively due to values. Bell argues that Dukakis, who led in the early polls despite Republican peace and prosperity, ran a good campaign and avoided any misstep such as Mondale's calls for higher taxes. Instead, the election turned on Dukakis' membership in the

Upon reading Bell's book, one comes away with a worried feeling that he is making knowledgeable arguments in support of know-nothings. His talk of "the people" as distinct from "the elite" smacks a class-based view of history that so failed Marx and America's own far left. And his arguments, which assume pure populism to be the ideal for government, sidestep the fundamental and age old questions of representative democracy: must a congressional representative, democratically elected for his character and judgement, do what he believes is wrong if the opinion polls favor it? Should a congressperson change his views each time the polls change? What should he do if the public's higher values conflict with the public's immediate desires? What if the official has facts that are not yet widely understood by the public? (Bell acknowledges popular opinion can correct itself and change over time.) What should a southern senator do in a racist state?

What should a German legislator have done when the crowds cheered Hitler? These are the questions that have fueled university political philosophy seminars for years, and their lack of resolution undermine the apparent clarity of Bell's classifications.

Furthermore, Bell's populist call for more community standards may not be populist at all. A society does need rules under the umbrella of democratically adopted standards set forth in the Constitution.

Bell does not explain what sort of additional standards "the people" want or how they would enforce them. But one great risk in a much wider net of local rules (regulating private reading material, for example) is that the process would simply create a troublesome new "elite"; a small group of activists on the far right or far left who would use superior political organization to impose their own particular views on a more politically passive majority. Many of us would not want to dedicate our time to community review boards to regulate our neighbor, yet would not want to be regulated by them. And in practice, there are few institutions less democratic than local regulatory boards, populated with faceless candidates, who focus their wrath on only a few.

Still, even if a local group did accurately rep-

resent the majority, there is a sphere of individual life and thought protected against the community; the sphere set out by "We, the People of the United States" (elites and non-elites alike) in the Bill of Rights. America was built by people who were outside the "popular opinion stream" of places they left behind.

Bell is correct that moral relativism is no virtue and it should be attacked to the extent it breeds nihilism and a disregard for human life. However, moral certainty has its own dangers. In our century, the greatest crimes have been committed by leaders (including highly popular leaders such as Hitler, Stalin, and Mao) who had no doubts as to the correctness of their cause. What we need is absolute respect for each individual to the extent civilized society can be maintained.

On a lesser plane, a reader can also disagree

Bell calls for more Murphy Brown bashing, not less.

with some of Bell's history. If memory serves, Dukakis did commit campaign mistakes. He sat on his post-convention lead, he did not respond to Republican charges, he looked foolish driving his tank and looked mechanical and inhuman in his debates. The Massachusetts Miracle became less miraculous as time passed, challenging his economic credentials, and he did not rule out new taxes.

Finally, one would doubt that the Republicans could win both the Congress and the presidency with value issues now. In 1992, unlike 1988, the recession-racked economy is an issue. Foreign policy -- how we coordinate the U.S. with our allies, how we react to world ethnic conflicts and how we maintain democracy in the former USSR -- should be an issue. And therefore, efforts to focus all attention on family values would leave the uneasy sense that the Republican leadership is yelping at the high notes because it cannot sing the low. ■

Efforts to focus all attention on family values would leave the uneasy sense that the Republican leadership is yelping at the high notes because it cannot sing the low.

# Can GOP Escape History?

by Fred Kellogg

At the height of the Civil War when Abraham Lincoln said "Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history," he meant that Americans, particularly the Congress and himself, would be judged for their conduct whether they rose to the occasion or not. They were making history despite themselves and would be seen as heroes or villains by a succession of later generations, not only because their actions would be forever remembered, they would be forever *felt*.

Oliver Wendell Holmes was a captain in Lincoln's army at the time. Later, he put a different spin on the same thought when he said "continuity with history is not a duty; it is only a necessity." The history referred to in this comment was retrospective, not prospective. While Lincoln looked forward, Holmes looked back. The message was: that which has gone before does not necessarily exert a moral control over the conduct of the present, but we ignore it at our peril.

Both men saw that history, yesterday's and tomorrow's, inexorably focuses attention on the present. What does this mean for today's Republican Party?

The party was founded to unite forces opposed to slavery's expansion. Its legacy was the reunification of the country around the legalization of racial equality. It was at meetings of early Republicans that the lingering debate was resolved whether slaves were endowed with the "inalienable rights" mentioned in the Declaration of Independence, despite the original clause in the Constitution counting them only "three-fifths" of a person for apportioning seats in Congress. Beginning with passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, the century after the Civil War saw the Republican Party do more to broaden the meaning of equality than any other political organization in America, or indeed the world.

But in the wake of the New Deal, Democrats captured the African American vote by offering the largess of central government. As the traditional voice of limited government, the Republican Party appealed instead to disaffection with central government in the South, including policies that bought black votes with federal money. Thus, the G.O.P. regained an electoral college majority through the "Southern Strategy."

The party cannot escape its historic entanglement with national policy regarding racial equality,

and with the meaning of the first self-evident truth of the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal."

Why did the Declaration begin with that particular right? And what, if anything, is implied concerning its implementation in America? What does it mean -- and are we really meant to *enforce* it?

These are not easy questions, but the Declaration itself provides a clue. Immediately after enumerating the truths that we hold to be self-evident, it adds the observation "that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

The American revolutionaries, who were bold enough to break with the then most democratic government on Earth, found their justification for doing so in the fact that the laws governing them were enacted *without their consent*. The only possible reply was to argue -- as the British so vigorously did -- that colonial consent was not as important as the consent of those *actually* represented in the House of Commons. The colonists, they said, were represented *virtually*: "Don't worry, our representatives know what your best interests are." In other words, Americans were not quite *equal*.

Equality, then, is the foundational issue for the American system of government. It is not just written into the Declaration of Independence for rhetorical impact, it is what lawyers call the "condition precedent" to forming our new republican government. It meant that in 1776 the British could be held to a strict standard of equal representation, or face violent disobedience. It remains to this day the overall standard by which the American experiment must be judged either a success or failure. If we are not punctilious about it any longer, the Revolution was an act of hypocrisy, an excuse for the pursuit of self-interest in the New World.

## RACE AND THE PARTY TODAY

More than a quarter century has passed since Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964. While the main thrust of that bill was to set up a mechanism to permit litigation of employment discrimination, included in it was a proscription of discrimination in the expenditure of federal funds, known as Title VI. When President Kennedy sent the bill's proposal to Capitol Hill in 1963, he at-

*Fred Kellogg is the attorney representing the Freedom Republicans in Freedom Republicans v. Federal Election Commission, holding that the parties must comply with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act if they wish to receive federal convention funding.*

tached the following message:

“Simple justice requires that public funds, to which all taxpayers of all races contribute, not be spent in any fashion which encourages, entrenches, subsidizes or results in racial discrimination. Direct discrimination by federal, state, or local governments is prohibited by the Constitution. But indirect discrimination, through the use of federal funds, is just as invidious.”

Last May, a federal court judge in Washington, DC used Title VI of the Civil Rights Act to order the Federal Election Commission to accept a complaint of discrimination against the Republican Party if the party wished to continue taking more than \$10 million in federal funds to run the Republican National Convention.

The position of the Freedom Republicans, who filed that complaint, is that the governance of the Republican Party should conform as closely as possible to the manner in which the Constitution of the United States provides for the governance of the United States.

The Constitution provides for the election of the president through an electoral college, whose membership is apportioned among the states according to their numbers of Senators and Representatives in the U.S. Congress. Because all congressional districts nationwide are comparable in the number of Americans represented per vote, this system insures against substantial inequity to the citizens of any state. But because every state has two Senators, it provides two electoral votes per state, and this gives special protection to the interests of the smaller states.

The electoral college model provides a fair means of apportioning the interests of all Americans without special designations or privileges, by race, ethnic background, or region. If there were a fairer model for the governance of the Republican Party, that is free of special racial, ethnic, or regional preference, the Freedom Republicans would wholeheartedly support it.

But as the existing system is skewed in favor of states in which there are few minorities -- and *does* give special preference for minorities (the non-voting “auxiliaries”) -- the party should return to a system of delegate apportionment based on the electoral college, which it used from its inception until the early twentieth century. Moreover, because the affairs of the party are controlled between conventions by a national committee, that committee should also be similarly governed.

The danger from not doing this is that racial, ethnic, and indeed *regional* inequities are condoned by a party seeking to elect candidates to

It appears to many black Americans that the Republican Party is conceding the black vote to the Democrats, sending the message Americans rejected two centuries ago: we know what your best interests are.

national office, with power to govern *all* Americans.

The Declaration of Independence emphasized that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. If so, a national party lacks the consent to govern others, in the same degree that it is inequitably governed.

As a specific example, no party can in good faith have a policy of promoting majority black congressional districts -- which the Republican National Committee does -- while simultaneously denying those districts fair representation at its nominating conventions or within its national governing structure.

Without a voice in the party, those districts will turn elsewhere for representation. African Americans in those districts, especially those who may support the tradition and platform of the Republican Party, will be governed without representation.

Worse, it appears to many black Americans that the Republican Party is conceding the black vote to the Democrats, sending the message Americans rejected two centuries ago: we know what your best interests are.

If you follow this, you know all you need to know to understand the case. It's about giving American minorities a political alternative to dependence on the federal government. They already have a candidate for that. ■

# Should We Be Abortion Neutral?

by Beverly G. Hudnut and William H. Hudnut III

What appears below is an appeal we recently wrote to express our concern to the Republican National Committee about the polarizing effect of a rigid pro-life plank in the 1992 GOP platform. According to a late 1991 poll conducted by the Los Angeles Times Mirror, some 71 percent of Republicans believe the government should not interfere with a woman's decision about what to do with her own body. The piece appeared in a condensed version as an Op-Ed piece in the *New York Times* on May 29.

The issue of abortion is so highly charged, that sincere people of good character and conscience have radical and deep differences. We believe the Republican Party would be better served by a platform that remains silent than one which affirms a pro-life position and appears to exclude pro-choice Republicans. Additionally, a platform plank on abortion (either pro-life or pro-choice) will divert attention and discussion from

other substantive and important issues.

In writing this letter, we do not aim to evangelize or convert. Our purpose is not to persuade the leaders of our party to change to a pro-choice position. Instead, we seek to keep our party in the middle, away from either end of the spectrum. We want to win in November, and believe avoiding this contentious issue will help our party's chances.



*Dear Republican Colleagues:*

*Occasionally, not to take a stand is to take one.*

*To take a stand, either "pro-life" or "pro-choice," would say to the members of our party and the people of this country, "There is one correct view on this matter, and if you do not hold it, you are not welcome in our party."*

*Not taking a stand is inclusive, taking one is exclusive. The first option sets up a "big tent" and invites people of differing shades of opinion to stand under it; the second creates a smaller one, where an ideological litmus test must first be passed to gain entry.*

*Last year, during the eighteenth week of Beverly's pregnancy, we discovered through testing that our baby suffered from grave defects that would have prevented him from ever becoming a healthy human being. Anencephaly was just one of his problems. An ultrasound, and later, an autopsy, revealed several more.*

*After talking with our families and counseling with our physicians and pastors, we decided to terminate the pregnancy. It was a heart-wrenching decision to have to make, because we wanted our baby very badly, we had already bonded with him, and loved him dearly. But we both felt that our decision was the only good one to make, grounded as it was in sound professional advice, the love of family and friends, and our faith.*

*Later, the mother of Sue Ann Lawrence, a comatose woman kept alive by court order last year, wrote, "Sometimes it takes more love to let go, than to maintain the status quo."*

*At the time, Bill was a Republican office holder, a former congressman, in his sixteenth year as Mayor of Indianapolis. So our's was a public decision as well as a private one. We issued a news release and tried to be upfront with the media. One wire service gave our story national coverage. The outpouring of love and support we received from all over the country was heartwarming. One Indianapolis television reporter told me that his station had wrestled for hours on a Sunday evening trying to decide how to play our story.*

*We would have been terribly upset if an outside force, namely government, had prevented us from following the dictates of our consciences in this matter. Granted, our case represents a small fraction of the total number of abortions*

We would have been terribly upset if an outside force, namely government, had prevented us from following the dictates of our conscience in this matter... Why should political parties, our party in particular, stake out a position on abortion?

*William H. Hudnut III is a former Republican mayor of Indianapolis. He and his wife Beverly are still active in politics.*

performed in our country, but nonetheless, we feel constrained to ask: Why should political parties, our party in particular, stake out a position on abortion? Why look for trouble on an issue where people are so seriously divided? It seems to us that under traditional minimalist Republican policy, government would decide NOT to interfere with a woman's right to choose.

We consider ourselves to be good members of the Republican team. Our life's work has been spent under the Republican umbrella trying to make life better for everyone. It has been fairly easy to keep quiet about this issue in the past and vote for presidents and other officeholders sometimes in spite of their position on abortion. It was easy perhaps because we felt protected by the Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision. Following the same logic, it is now easy to speak up publicly because our party leaders have encouraged the Supreme Court to reverse *Roe v. Wade*.

Pro-choice Republicans can no longer afford to keep their opinions to themselves. There are many of us with different political beliefs who find ourselves in the middle of this issue. Our voices are not being heard, primarily because we've kept quiet, and no forum of discussion has existed to talk with each other. Surely we're mature enough as a country to be able to talk civilly about abortion, without yelling or screaming or trying to force our viewpoint on others.

When Beverly applied to testify at the platform hearings in Salt Lake City, she was told that the RNC had already selected its three speakers on "both sides" of the abortion issue. The response perplexed us, because abortion is a complex issue with certainly more sides than two. But if there are two, how about a third side? Granted, we are pro-choice, but why not leave abortion out of the GOP platform altogether? As soon as a political party or a politician or any citizen takes a public stand about abortion, an "us against them" situation is set in place, leaving precious little room for dialogue or for living with differences and diversity of opinion.

Roger Rosenblatt, in his book *Life Itself*, has written: "I think we have to learn to live on 'uncommon ground' in the matter of abortion; that we must not only accept but embrace a state of tension that requires a tolerance of ambivalent feelings, respect for different values and sensibilities, and no small amount of compassion."

We think Mr. Rosenblatt is right, and we call upon our leadership in the Republican Party to take a stand on that "uncommon ground" by not taking a stand on abortion. ■

# Limit PAC Influence

OPINION from page 11

lars should be used to provide a tax credit to in-state contributors and to provide public matching funds for those same contributions. I strongly disagree for three reasons.

First, it is simply wrong to increase taxes to subsidize politicians at a time of \$400 billion deficits and an already staggering tax burden.

Second, in a democracy, political participation must be voluntary. We should not force citizens to contribute to all candidates against their will.

Finally, public financing places the power of the purse exactly where it should not be, in the hands of the incumbent congressman who designs the formulas that allocate the money. Thoughtful academics may design a "fair" system, but there is a great temptation for incumbents to twist it to their advantage.

I suggest an alternative to provide political parties with the tools to level the playing field and challengers with additional resources.

Political parties should have the ability to make contributions to challengers that match incumbent mass mail franking and funds that incumbents carry over from previous elections. These two important sources of incumbent advantage could be neutralized overnight without one penny of public funds provided to candidates.

In addition, I believe the role of local political parties should be strengthened by allowing them to make contributions to candidates to match contributions of \$250 or less from residents of the candidate's district.

The effect of these changes would make the funds available for candidates to be truly competitive. Political parties, which play a vital role in creating broad coalitions, rather than narrow special interests, would be strengthened in this process. Lo-

cal citizen-based parties, especially, would acquire new importance in the political process.

But in exchange, political parties, along with unions, should give up the use of soft money in federal elections.

That is, contributions should be from individuals in amounts limited by federal law, and not from corporations or labor unions. In this way, political party financing in federal elections would come from a broad base of support and strengthen the grassroots-based parties in America.

Republicans already do a far better job of recruiting small and medium sized donations. In fact, a close examination of Democratic congressional "reform" bills reveals that they left intact large loopholes for the collection and expenditure of party soft money for "building funds," "staff," and party "administrative expenses." It was Republicans in the House who proposed a real ban on soft money.

As we strengthen and broaden the base of political parties, contributions from PACs should be reduced to \$1,000, the same amount allowed to an individual.

Limiting PAC influence helps to separate legislative policy from the politics of fundraising. PAC contributions to incumbents overpower PAC contributions to challengers by a 10 to 1 ratio. PACs should also be prohibited from transferring funds among themselves and hiding the true source of funds from public scrutiny. It is time to decrease the role of PACs and increase, correspondingly, the roles of parties and individuals.

These simple reforms, district resident funding, party funds to match local contributions and incumbent advantages, an end to soft money, and limits on PACs could revitalize American politics. The result of a real electoral competition could break the current deadlock and make possible the election of a Congress that would seriously address the task of reforming America. ■

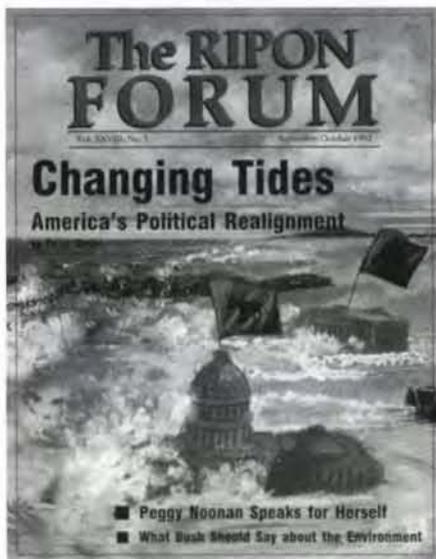
# In the Mainstream of American Thought...

In today's world, everyone has an opinion. Be it the right-wing Republicans or the left-wing Democrats, the voices that are heard seem to come loudest from the fringes of American political thought.

Not anymore.

*The Ripon Forum* seeks to go beyond unrealistic ideologies and represents a voice for those in the mainstream of America. After all, it's people like you who elect our leaders and are affected by public policies.

Whether it's discussion on what's really wrong with the federal government or a discussion on the realignment of our political system, *The Forum* has it all.



**YES!** Send me *The Ripon Forum* for the coming year for only \$18!  
(students, people in the military service and Peace Corp volunteers pay only \$9)

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

City: \_\_\_\_\_ State: \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP: \_\_\_\_\_

You may FAX your subscription card to (202) 543-9237.

Or mail it to *The Ripon Forum*, 709 Second Street NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.

# He Made History with Words

LINCOLN from page 18

reported remark that, like a bad plow, this speech "won't scour" would seem to indicate -- Lincoln shared Hay's pride in an important opportunity put to good use.

What Lincoln accomplished on that November day at Gettysburg was, according to Wills, a three-fold revolution in our political life.

The first established the primacy of the Declaration of Independence's claim "that all men are created equal" over the Constitution's countenancing of slavery. It showed that the ideal was more important than the immediacy.

Wills argues that, under the influence of the transcendentalism of Theodore Parker and his Springfield law partner William Herndon, Lincoln came to understand the history of the United States as an ongoing effort to live up to this ideal. Thus for Lincoln, and consequently for us, the Constitution and the laws and institutions which follow from it were derivative from and secondary to the Declaration of Independence. The former could and should be amended and changed when found to inadequately embody the latter. It was this understanding of the absolute authority of "the proposition that all men are created equal" as the foundation of our national life that Lincoln said the war was testing.

Secondly, Lincoln found that the Declaration of Independence, rather than the Constitution, is the primary document of the country, then we were one people, a "Union," before we were a collection of states. Here, conviction of the primacy, both in principle and in history, of the Union, is said to explain Lincoln's insistence on speaking of the war as a civil insurrection, his suspension of habeas corpus, and most particularly his treatment of emancipation.

This was Lincoln's most profound revolution. As noted Civil War historian James McPherson points out, until the Civil War, "the United States" was invariably a plural noun: "The United States are a free government." After Gettysburg, it became singular: "The United States is a free government." As Wills puts it: "By accepting the Gettysburg Address, [with] its concept of a single people dedicated to a proposition, we have been changed. Because of it we live in a different America."

The final revolution Wills says Lincoln wrought at Gettysburg was one of style. Citing

“

This book is particularly important in this political season as a reminder of how intimately and inextricably connected political vision and purpose are to the words with which they are expressed.

”

Hemingway's claim that all modern American novels are the offspring of *Huckleberry Finn*, Wills writes "it is no greater exaggeration to say that all modern political prose descends from the Gettysburg Address." Wills identifies the Bible, Shakespeare, Daniel Webster, and the eighteenth century rhetorician Hugh Blair, as principal influences on Lincoln's prose and says the latter worked hard throughout his life to give his writing the compression, grasp of the essential, balance, ideality, and sense of the deepest polarities of life that characterize classic art.

Wills concludes that what set Lincoln apart is that he did not argue law or history. He made history and he did so with words. He did not come to Gettysburg, Wills writes, "to present a theory, but to impose a symbol, one tested in experience and appealing to national values, with an emotional urgency entirely expressed in calm abstractions. He came to change the world, to effect an intellectual revolution. No other words could have done it. The miracle is that these words did. In his brief time before the crowd at Gettysburg he wove a spell that has not, yet, been broken -- he called up a new nation out of blood and trauma."

*Lincoln at Gettysburg* succeeds wonderfully in every way. It is informative and inspiring history of the best sort. Wills wears his learning lightly and presents it for our edification without a trace of pedantry. Moreover, he writes of what is one of the most remarkable products of the English language in prose that does its subject complete justice.

This book is particularly important in this political season as a reminder of how intimately and inextricably connected political vision and purpose are to the words with which they are expressed.

"Embarrassed, obscure and feeble sentences are generally, if not always," Hugh Blair wrote in 1783, "the result of embarrassed, obscure and feeble thought." Words to keep in mind in the fall. ■



# Female Candidates Interested in More than Just Women's Issues

Marylander Michele Dyson is up early and looks at her scheduling book. Her first meeting is at 6 a.m. From there she will leave to address a high school at 7:30. At 9 a.m. she will arrive at the community clothes drop to greet fellow volunteers and residents leaving clothes for the underprivileged. Around noon, she has a luncheon with a Maryland women's club where she will stand and stand and stand for several hours shaking hands and smiling for pictures.

By evening rush hour, she will be standing again. This time she will be outside a busy subway stop and introduce herself to passers-by who may not know her.

Several hours later, after crowds begin to dwindle and the sky begins to gray, she may get to dash home to wash her face before her fundrasier at 6:30 pm. By 7:10, she will have to leave because she is supposed to be at an education association at 7:30.

Michele Dyson is literally running for Congress in Maryland's fourth district. But while the young businesswoman's schedule seems to focus on women, it is not the traditional "women's" issues Dyson wants to stress. In fact, she and other Republican women candidates are fighting to avoid the gender based labels the media and political pundits have placed on them. They do not want to be known as merely "women" candidates who cling to "women's" issues, but simply Republicans trying to bring about change.

Recently, Democratic Party Chairman Ronald Brown said Republican women were "running against their own party" by stressing Democratic issues such as abortion rights, child care and family leave. This, he said, gives the Democrats "a tremendous opportunity to reach out to Republican women and independents."

First of all, most female candidates, be they pro-choice or pro-life, say they have pressing agendas to discuss which include traditional women's issues but also goes far beyond it. Access to pre-natal care, family leave, and child care are all considered women's issues yet are dependent on the larger issue at hand, namely the increasing deficit and the floundering economy. These women understand this and are talking about these issues.

Secondly, many Republican women candidates are pro-small business and have worked hard in their communities to

build these businesses up. Candidates such as Judy Jarvis in California and Dyson are small business owners themselves. Texan Donna Peterson, a former West Point cadet and author, is not only the General Manager of A-1 Enterprises in Orange Texas, but also their Small Business Consultant as well. This type of business involvement is not unusual for this year's women candidates, which explains why many of their chief positions revolve around economic development and entrepreneurial encouragement. Therefore, very few of these candidates support *mandated* family leave and believe such regulation would probably be a mistake and cripple the very businesses so many of these candidates have worked to build up.

Finally, they are not "running against their own party." Unlike their Democratic counterparts, they call for policies that stress personal responsibility, as opposed to government intervention, as seen in their positions on health care and education reform.

Candidates such as Jarvis, a registered nurse, have seen the ills of the health care system first hand. Nevertheless, she says that everybody, providers, users and the government, should be held responsible for our health care system. It requires each of the parties to make sacrifices and take responsibility, but at least the country is sure of maintaining the quality of health care presently available. The same goes for schools. Susan Stokes, running in Kentucky's 3rd district, says that parental choice is paramount for the school system. Each parent, she said, must be called upon to share in the responsibility of improving their educational system. Otherwise, we as a nation must surrender the choice offered and let government tell us how to educate our kids.

Congressional hopeful, Deborah Pryce, a Ohio judge and former prosecuting attorney, says she tries to avoid the stereotypes by getting "out there first" to tell voters Republican women are not so one dimensional. If elected, Pryce said her first priority would be congressional reform and deficit reduction.

"I don't want to ignore the women's issues, because they are important," Pryce said, "but what the media has to realize is that jobs and the economy are number one in everybody's mind."

Republican Dolores Porcher DaCosta, an African American running for an open seat in South Carolina, is struggling with a different kind of gender stereotype. She tries to focus on what she feels her constituents are interested in, specifically jobs, as

---

*Mimi Carter is the Associate Editor of the Ripon Forum.*

“

We have all heard that women are the quintessential outsiders, perfect for the current anti-incumbency mood. This, to a degree, is true. These women are not diplomats or career politicians, but are, instead, experts in the district which surrounds them.

”

opposed to what the media is interested in, namely her race and gender. Not surprisingly, many southerners are adverse to electing a woman, let alone a minority woman, to a political body traditionally reserved for white males. But through her pursuit of issues like economic development and reducing big government, DaCosta has tried to shed the image of a slow moving southern belle.

“I need to show them that I’m not like that,” DaCosta said. “I need to show them that I can be a leader and a good one, and that I am able to stand up against anyone, male or female.”

One common strength of these Republican candidates is that many of them have been involved in their community for a long time. In fact, most of the 52 Republican women running for the House of Representatives this year have been part of business, volunteer, or education networks in their home districts for a very long time.

Michele Dyson runs her own computer company while also working with Maryland’s Department of Economic Development to improve opportunities for other small business. She is also the founder of a community reinvestment program and of an industry program targeting minority youth; in this capacity, Dyson tries to encourage students and businesses that they need one another in order to succeed.

In other parts of the country, Susan Stokes of Kentucky and Joan Milke Flores of California’s 36th district both have extensive backgrounds in community service coupled with careers in state politics. Washington state’s 8th district candidate, Jennifer Dunn is a member of almost eight different community groups and organizations as well as an appointee to the President’s Advisory Council on Voluntary Service.

The list is a long one and reveals that almost none of these women are new to the task of helping their districts. They know

improvement is a result of hard work and that the well being of their communities depends on it. For them, like male candidates, moving beyond a single set of issues is simply putting forth a responsible campaign for Congress.

We have all heard that women are the quintessential outsiders, perfect for the current anti-incumbency mood. This, to a degree, is true. These women are not diplomats or career politicians, but are, instead, experts in the district which surrounds them. They take heed of what George Bush called “the quiet people” and have watched school districts crumble, plants close, waste float down their rivers and homelessness increase. Alabama’s sole woman candidate, Mickey Strickland, said she is tired of watching her liberal congressman, Rep. Tom Bevill, whom she calls the “crown prince of pork,” put money into projects that her county doesn’t need right now.

“We just have too many memorial buildings with Tom Bevill’s name on them,” she said. “He recently appropriated millions for an art center while people stand outside in this heat hoping to be the next person in line at our dilapidated health department.”

Many candidates, like Strickland, know their areas well which makes them strong contenders. Yet, it is also what often labels them as single issue, “feminoid” or “pro-abortion” candidates.

Pat Reilly of the National Women’s Political Caucus said that although 1992’s women candidates are some of the strongest, this does not prevent the media from holding them in the spotlight with the abortion issue. Because of the activism on both sides, she said, the media assumes women’s rights and abortion rights are one in the same.

“Although it is a bedrock issue,” Reilly said, “it is not the only issue women have a special interest in.”

Yet the dominant national news theme is that sexual harassment and abortion has brought these female candidates into the political process. Everyone from network news anchors to individual politicians is heralding 1992 as the “Year of the Woman” in national elective politics. It’s an interesting catch phrase, one that is not really accurate. The reality is that in the past few years, more and more women have become involved in the process and the trend seems to be expanding. Take 1990, for example. During this mid-term election year, Republicans had six female candidates for the U.S. Senate alone, including present day Labor Secretary Lynn Martin who gave Illinois Sen. Paul Simon the most competitive race of his career.

Dan Rather recently said more women candidates are running for federal office because they were “galvanized by the Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas hearings and sexual harassment.” Most Republican female candidates would disagree, saying that they feel a need for well rounded legislators who pay attention to all issues, including those like sexual harassment.

Today’s generation of Republican women running for U.S. Congress are viable, solid candidates. They know what the businesses, families and individuals of their communities need because they have been involved in improving them for a very long time. Public office won’t chage their goals. They’ll just be on a larger scale. ■

# Bush War Horses

Many politically active Republicans and Democrats are often amazed at the young age of senior campaign officials on both sides of this year's presidential battlefield. Finding top notch experts in their late twenties and early thirties is not uncommon in either the Bush or Clinton camps. Yet, most of these operatives are seasoned professionals with years of experience under their belts.

Perhaps it's the 60 hour work weeks and enormous stress of professional campaigns which ensures that most officials aren't old enough to have voted for Richard Nixon and George McGovern. The Republican Party is filled with young activists brought into politics during the big Reagan victories of the '80s and by the Lee Atwater led organization which gained the presidency for George Bush. Today, many of those freshly minted college graduates who ran for coffee and answered the phones in 1980, '84 and '88 are seasoned pros with more than one presidential race under their belt.

Take the political division of the Bush/Quayle '92 effort for example. This section of the campaign is a nerve center of activity with operatives all over the country coordinating state efforts, presidential visits and grassroots organizing. The division is led by David Carney, a 33 year old professional who is a former political director at the Bush White House and was a key aide to John Sununu in New Hampshire during the '88 campaign.

Carney leads a set of political aides stationed all over the nation who hope to overcome the big lead presently enjoyed by Bill Clinton and Al Gore. However, Carney believes that the Republican ticket will eventually triumph because, "on election day, the bottom line is that three realities will exist for each candidate: There will be the man, his record and his plan for the future. With those criteria, we believe that George Bush wins every time."

The following are some brief biographies on Carney and his team in political affairs:

**Dave Carney**  
DIRECTOR OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS  
Age: 33  
Residence: Arlington, Va.  
*Formerly the Director of Political Affairs at the White House*

**Tom Hockaday**  
SENIOR POLITICAL ADVISOR FOR THE WEST  
Age: 36  
Residence: Alexandria, Va.

**Territory:** The West  
*Formerly the Counselor to the Administer at U.S. Small Business Administration and Deputy Political Director at the Republican Senatorial Committee*

**Sam Dawson**  
SENIOR POLITICAL ADVISOR FOR THE NORTHEAST

**Residence:** Arlington, Va.  
*Formerly a Political Consultant*

**Warren Tomkins**  
SENIOR POLITICAL ADVISOR FOR THE SOUTH  
Age: 41  
Residence: South Carolina

*Formerly the Chief of Staff to Gov. Carroll Campbell of South Carolina*

**Bert Coleman**  
REGIONAL POLITICAL DIRECTOR  
Age: 28  
Residence: Phoenix, Ariz.  
Territories: Ariz., Nev., Utah, N.M., Ore., Okla., Kan and Hawaii  
*Formerly the Special Assistant to the Administrator at U.S. Small Business Administration, Deputy Regional Political Director at the Republican Senatorial Committee, Associate Political Director at the White House*

**Brian Berry**  
REGIONAL POLITICAL DIRECTOR  
Age: 34  
Residence: Austin, Tex.  
Territory: Texas  
*Formerly the Republican National Committee's Regional Political Director for the Southwest, Executive Director for the Ohio State Republican Party*

**Jeff Larson**  
REGIONAL POLITICAL DIRECTOR  
Age: 33  
Residence: Eden Prairie, Minn.  
Territories: Minn., N.D., S.D., Colo., Mont., Idaho, Wash., Mo., Wyo., Iowa, Neb. and Alaska  
*Formerly the Republican National Committee's Regional Director for the Northwest, Executive Director of the Delaware State*

*Republican Party*

**Jill Hanson**  
REGIONAL POLITICAL DIRECTOR  
Age: 36  
Residence: Washington, D.C.  
Territories: Wis., Ill., Ind., Ohio, and Mich.  
*Formerly the Republican National Committee's Regional Political Director for the Midwest.*

**Tony Denny**  
REGIONAL POLITICAL DIRECTOR  
Age: 31  
Residence: South Carolina  
Territories: S.C., W. Va., Ark., La., Fla., Miss., Tenn., Ky., Ala., Ga., and N.C.

*Formerly the Regional Political Director of the South for the Republican National Committee*

**Valerie Musgrove**  
DEPUTY REGIONAL POLITICAL DIRECTOR  
Age: 34  
Territories: The West  
*Formerly the Associate Political Director for the White House*

**Leslie Groomis**  
DEPUTY REGIONAL POLITICAL DIRECTOR  
Residence: Michigan  
Territories: Wis., Ill., Ind., Ohio, and Mich.  
*Formerly the Deputy Regional Political Director for the Republican National Committee's Political Affairs Office*

# Perot: Parting Glances

WNQ is not altogether sure why **Ross Perot** dropped out of this year's presidential election but we know that statements like these did get the little Texan excited.

*"The theory is that women tend to find him a little bit erratic, a little bit unpredictable, a little bit scary. Chicks don't dig that,"* said Bush Campaign Press Secretary **Torie Clarke** when asked why women did not endorse Perot as enthusiastically as men did.

**VP ANYONE?** After **Jack Kent Cooke** concluded a deal with Virginia Governor L. Douglas Wilder, to endorse the move of the Washington Redskin's home at RFK Stadium in Washington to Alexandria, Virginia, Cooke is reported to have called Ross Perot. Why? He thought the Governor would be a good Vice Presidential pick for his billionaire friend. Maryland Del. **Leon Billings** joked that Cooke called Perot and told him *"Wilder comes cheap."*



## Convention of Mules

When former New York Knicks basketball star, New Jersey Sen. **Bill Bradley**, began to make his speech in Madison Square Garden (home of his many basketball triumphs) to the Democratic National Convention, he said he was not upset when **Jerry Brown's** delegates began chanting. Why not? Always a good sport, Bradley replied that during the speech he thought to himself: *"I have had a lot worse shouting in that building. I can handle this."*



### Men & Cars

As reported in the feminist convention newspaper, "The Getting It Gazette," the always demure State Sen. **Linda Furney** from Ohio was very succinct when she

told voters why they should vote for a woman instead of a man this year: *"If it has tires or testicles, you're gonna have trouble with it."*

### Vogue

Governor **Bill Clinton's** campaign manager, **James Carville**, told the media that he was not bothered by the fact that music industry's favorite sex kitten, **Madonna**, was not endorsing the Clinton-Gore ticket. Carville coolly told the *Washington Post* that *"most people would rather watch her videos than listen to her political opinions."*

## One Last Shot...

In a recent issue of **Pat Robertson's** publication, *Christian American*, Pat takes time out of his busy day to answer the questions of an inquisitive ministry who need guidance in understanding those Americans who support a

woman's right to choose. *"This is spiritual conflict. In Buffalo, New York, a pro-life pastor was punched, kicked and spat upon by pro-abortion demonstrators as he knelt and prayed on the sidewalk in front of an abortion clinic."*

*The protestors knocked a Bible out of his hands, spat on the pages,... It was like a scene out of "The Exorcist." This violence reveals once again the pro-death forces want to slaughter the unborn in secret and under the cover of darkness. We must expose their deadly deeds."*

## Politically Correct Politics

*In light of former presidential candidate Ross Perot's faux pas -- in which he referred to his audience at the National Association of Colored People as "you people" -- WNQ found some helpful hints from writers Henry Beard and Christopher Cerf. Their politically correct verbiage may help other fledgling candidates out on the trail.*

**Adultery.** Consensual nonmonogamy  
**The Aging.** Chronologically gifted persons; experientially enhanced individuals.  
**Corrupt.** Ethically different; morally challenged.  
**Drug addicts and alcoholics.** The sobriety deprived; people of stupor.  
**Education.** Candidates should refrain from using the word "failing" and substitute "achieving a deficiency." High school dropouts should be referred to as "individuals with previously unmet educational objectives."  
**Homeless.** Underhoused; involuntarily domiciled. An

added note here instructs the candidate to be careful when referring to the "underhoused." The candidate does not want the audience to think he believes them to be inferior. Therefore, to avoid such an interpretation, candidates should refer to those who rent apartments or houses as the "nonvagrant homed."

**Hunger.** Nutritional shortfall; caloric insufficiency.  
**Lie.** Categorical inaccuracy; counterfactual proposition.  
**Lobbyist.** Legislative leadership advocate.  
**Looters.** Nontraditional shoppers.  
**Panhandlers.** Unaffiliated applicants for private sector funding.  
**Sadomasochists.** The differently pleased.  
**Toxic Waste Dumping.** Deep ocean placement.

*For these and other campaign linguistic tips look for Beard and Cerf's book "The Official Politically Correct Dictionary and Handbook."*

# Getting kids excited about math is easier than you think



**T**he *24 Challenge*<sup>™</sup> Math Program is an exemplary public/private partnership. It brings together business, government, education, media, and community leaders to get students excited about math.

Kids from all backgrounds have found that the *24 Challenge* builds self-confidence and sharpens mental math, pattern sensing, reasoning and problem-solving skills...vital skills our nation's youth will need to succeed in their lives.

By having congressional leaders and professional sports teams, like the NBA's Cleveland Cavaliers, join efforts with media sponsors, this program enlivens an entire community's interest in math achievement.

Sponsors find that this turnkey, cost-effective program works. In three years the *24 Challenge* program has reached 100,000 classrooms and more than 2 million students.

Bring the *24 Challenge* Math Program to your community and find out for yourself how easy and rewarding it is to help your area's children become proficient in, and excited about, math.

*"I've never seen kids so excited about mathematics."*

Dr. Al Sterling, Director, Adopt-a-School Program, Chicago Public Schools. FORTUNE MAGAZINE.

*"The 24 Challenge is one of the most exciting and innovative math programs I have seen..."*

Dr. Peter Likins, President of Lehigh University and a member of President Bush's Council of Advisers on Science and Technology.

*"The most promising aspect of the 24 Challenge program is its value in catalyzing the success of many students who have been perceived as poor achievers."*

Joseph Fernandez, Chancellor, New York City Public Schools.

## Honorary Chairs include

Congressman Bill Clinger (R-PA)  
Congressman Charles Rangel (D-NY)  
Congressman Frank Horton (R-NY)  
Congresswoman Olympia Snowe (R-ME)  
Congressman Bob Borski (D-PA)  
Congressman Jim Inhofe (R-OK)  
Congressman Jim Kolbe (R-AZ)  
Congressman Don Ritter (R-PA)  
Congressman Dennis Hertel (D-MI)  
Congressman Tom Ridge (R-PA)  
The Cleveland Cavaliers  
The Washington Redskins

## Sponsors include

Bell of Pennsylvania  
Willamette Industries  
New York Telephone  
Philadelphia Electric Co.  
Conrail  
J.M. Smucker Co.  
National City Bank  
St. Paul Federal Bank  
Kodak  
Big Boy Restaurants  
McDonald's Corporation  
Domino's Pizza  
Air Products & Chemicals, Inc.  
South Central Bell  
Eckerd Drug Company  
Fred Meyer, Inc.  
Texaco  
Sharp Electronics  
Ford Motor Co., New Zealand  
Apple Computer, N.Z.  
Fox 19 WOIO-TV  
The Franklin Institute  
Lehigh University  
Academy of Natural Sciences

**For more information call or write:**

Julie Chlopecki  
Phone: (703) 739-0345  
FAX: (703) 836-0882

**24 CHALLENGE<sup>™</sup>**  
**MATH PROGRAM**

1201 Braddock Place, Suite 605 • Alexandria, VA 22314