

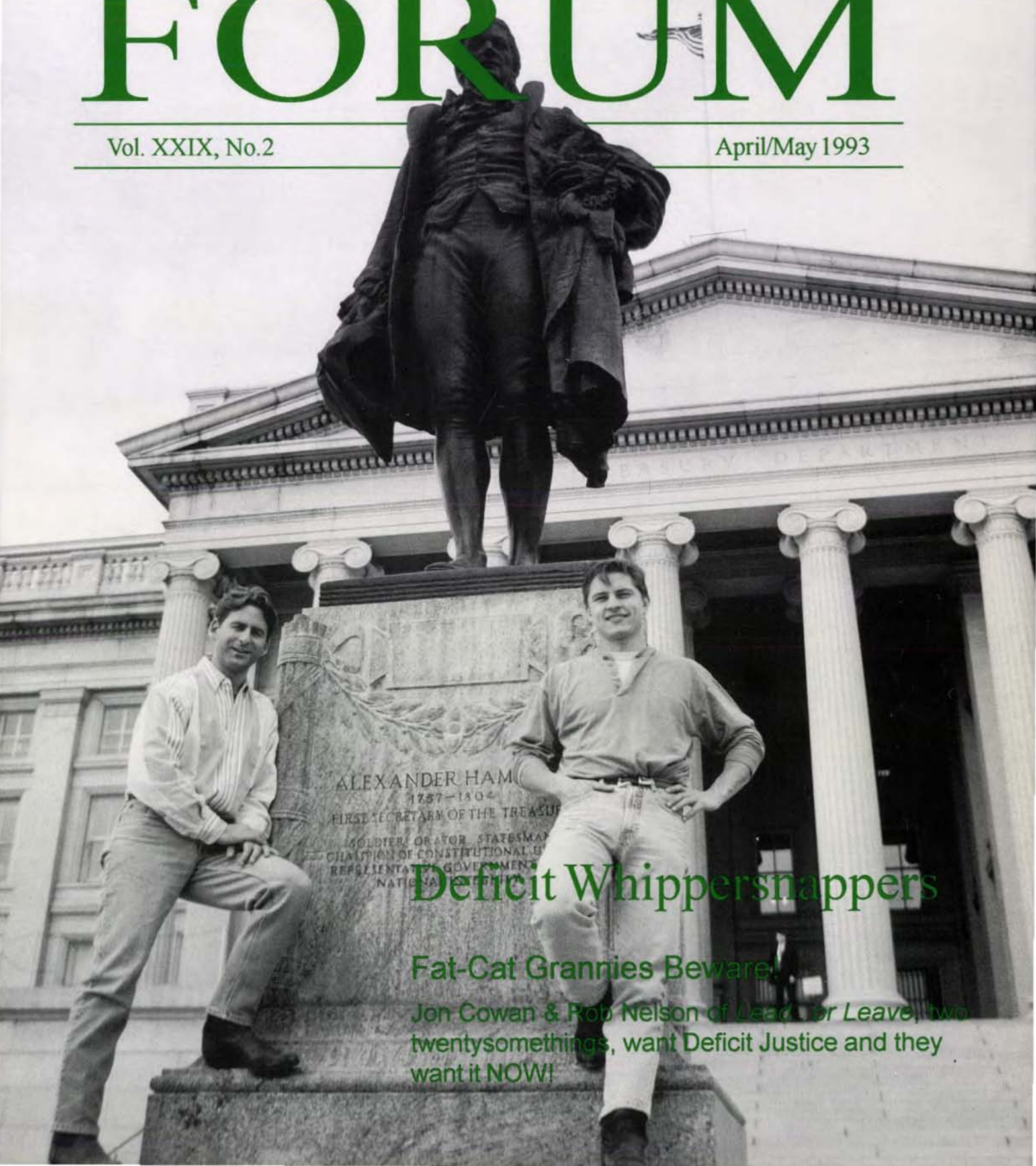
Promises vs. Reality, Clinton's First 100 Days

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The RIPON FORUM

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ALEXANDER HAMILTON
1757-1804
FIRST SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
SOLDIER, ORATOR, STATESMAN
CHAIRMAN OF CONSTITUTIONAL
REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT
NATIONAL IDENTITY

Deficit Whippersnappers

Fat-Cat Grannies Beware!

Jon Cowan & Rob Nelson of *Lead, or Leave*, two
twentysomethings, want Deficit Justice and they
want it NOW!

The Ripon Forum

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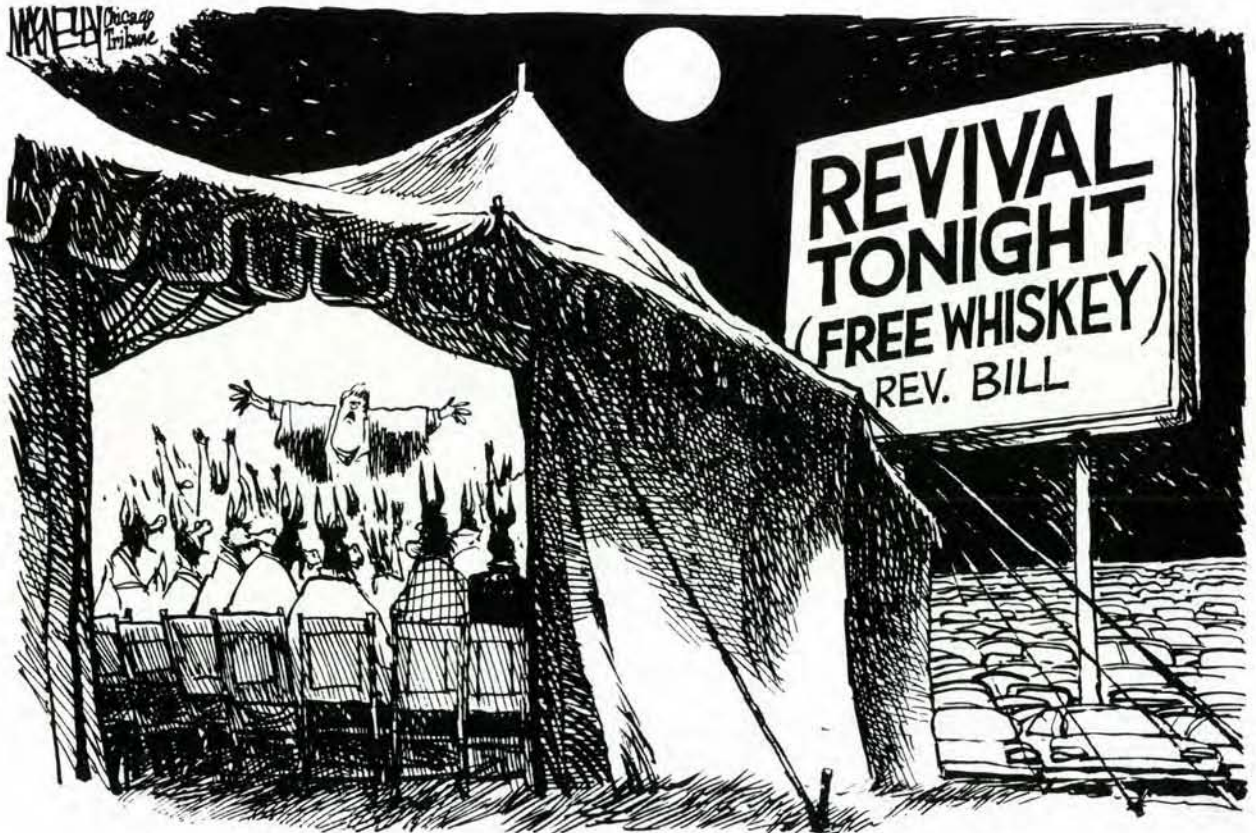
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PRODUCTION DIRECTOR
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CONTRIBUTING EDITOR
Michael Dubke

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ORIGINAL COVER PHOTO
Kevin R. Fuscus

INTERIOR ART
R. J. Matson

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Editorial

Peter Smith finds the GOP of the Future in *The Ripon Forum*

The lesson of 1992 for the Republican Party is as simple as it is clear: mainstream Republicans hold the balance of power in electoral politics, not only in the 103rd Congress but also at the precinct level. Unless party leaders really believe they can win with 38% of the vote, the Republican Party can't win elections without the moderate vote and the GOP can't govern as an effective minority in the Congress without a broad based coalition of Republicans. With moderate and mainstream Americans, we can create a new American Majority. Without us, the party faces a future of frustration and failure.

Last January, Republican moderates from across the country gathered for policy discussions in Washington and the strength of the groundswell for centrist politics was clear. In virtually every state, moderate Republican organizations are thriving. All they need is national coordination, articulation, and active support for their activities. These are not organizations driven from the church pulpit and staffed by self-righteous believers. They are driven by thousands of people who have come to understand that if we leave the work of running Republican politics and the party to the Religious Right, we deserve what we get.

The Ripon Society's goal is to work with moderates and mainstream conservatives across the country to create the new American Majority through policy research and publication, organization building and networking. All of this effort is centered towards one goal: winning elections to bring balance and common sense back to the G.O.P.

The Ripon Forum lies at the heart of our strategy. It is a place where moderates can trade ideas, hear new policy positions, and join the national debate about the future of the party. Over the coming months and years, the Forum will publish moderate policy positions and enrich the political debate; fighting for

inclusion of those positions in party documents and platforms. We will identify men and women who are already leading the new American majority and work to promote them in the party. We intend to serve as a catalyst for moderate Republicans at the state and local level who are committed to political action. The shrill, high-pitched voice of the zealot must be replaced by the calm voice of thoughtful and reasoned positions that touch the pulse of the broad American mainstream.

Beginning with this issue, *The Ripon Forum* will offer the American Majority Series featuring issues which will provide individual ideas on important national policy areas: health care, the budget deficit, trade, the environment, and other topics current in the national debate. We are proud to introduce the Series with an article on the North American Free Trade Agreement by senior Bush officials Janet Mullins and David Dworkin. Mullins and Dworkin, who witnessed the creation of NAFTA from its beginnings, analyze what the agreement now means in the new administration.

In the next issue of the *Forum*, Ripon will begin the American Leaders Series. National leaders will respond to the current state of affairs with their own proposals for legislative and national leadership. We hope to have articles by Jack Kemp, Lynn Martin, Lamar Alexander, Bill Weld, Bill Brock, and others.

Time and again moderate Republican thinking has provided effective solutions to the problems the country faces. Enterprise zones, earned income tax credits, managed health care, workfare, educational choice, free and fair trade and deficit reduction are all moderate Republican in origin and concept. Politicians and leaders have realized that these are common sense solutions to inefficient bloated government programs and practices.

During the coming year, Ripon will be taking an activist role by organizing policy conferences around the country, creating regional opportunities for people to organize and discuss critical political and policy issues. Our first regional conference will be held in Minneapolis next September.

We are willing to fight for the future of our party. But we need help to generate more members and contact us with information about existing groups that would like to be associate members and receive *The Forum*. Tell us the policy issues that you would like to see discussed and developed for the party.

Some will argue that there is no room at the center, that the Clinton candidacy has redrawn the political landscape. Don't believe it. Republicans who argue for a focus to the right have found yet another way to justify the hard right rhetoric of the Religious Right that seeks to lull moderates and moderate conservatives into believing that anything we say or do doesn't matter. The battle is far from over.

The Clinton presidency has not yet settled on the political spectrum. Many of the moderate and conservative democrats who returned to the party to elect Bill Clinton are nervous about his appointments, about the budget package and the economy, about the extent of defense cuts, about paying for national health care, and about the erratic support for the GATT and the North American Free Trade Agreement.

As the Clinton program is pulled to the left by the entrenched forces in the Democratic Party and religious extremists attempt to pull the political debate to their corner of the party, the Ripon Society's role is more necessary and clearer than ever before. At all levels, this country needs a strong, thoughtful Republican voice to contribute to the policy debate.

The American Majority Series, the American Leaders Series, and regional conferences are the beginning of a moderate resurgence in the Republican Party. We need your leadership to make it work.

Join us.

R

A Muddle in Moscow

By Fred Kellogg

Can Democracy in Russia Survive a Head-On Collision With its Soviet Past?

As Boris Yeltsin and the Congress of People's Deputies lurched toward confrontation in late March, predictions came for civil war, a split in the Army and the disintegration of Russia itself. Then, without a shot or a ripple of gray and brown uniforms, the crisis seemed over, the sides again discussing compromise. "This is not a stable compromise," said centrist Leonid Travkin. "In two or three weeks it will all blow up again."

What is happening in Russia? American attitudes toward these developments display ignorance not only of what lies at the root of self-determination there, but in our own country as well. General elections do not produce democratic governance nor does a carefully crafted system of divided government. Nor, as many commentators assume, is democracy assured by the mere fact of deaccessioning state property and increasing private ownership. The enormous Central Sports Stadium in Moscow was built for the 1980 Olympics to house the nation's passion: professional and world class soccer games. Early in the privatization program the stadium was sold in a sweetheart deal to a consortium of buyers and has been turned into a marketplace for imported clothing, cigarettes and other consumer items. The private owners extract generous commissions and fees. Sporting events, over which Russians are fanatic, take second place. The loss of such an important public facility is a disaster that the Soviet bureaucracy would never have allowed.

Corruption was a major reason for the collapse of the Soviet regime. Its massive scale and pervasiveness undermined the government, unions and the

Communist Party itself, reaffirming the popular attitude toward law as something to avoid and circumvent at every level. This remains the case today, as privatization is preempted by those with privileged access and traffic arrests are commonly accepted as the principle form of income for underpaid police and militia officers. Meanwhile, every Muscovite has become an "entrepreneur." Clothing, food, household items are sold and resold, and any private car can be hailed for a ride, subject to negotiation over the price. A young scholar bemoans the fact that before capitalism he could usually hail a ride for nothing, and that academic salaries no longer support a teaching career.

Western visitors comment that Russians lack respect for the "rule of law." Yet respect for the law did not come first in America, paving the way for constitutional democracy. It was earned by its contribution to the work of the popular conventions in adapting pro-revolutionary institutions into a federalized national government, and to preserving broad access to limitless and virtually undefended land and flexible control over the economic and political environment.

Conditions are vastly different in Russia, and if democracy ever takes root it will reflect the differences. Oceans insulated the fledgling American republic from its most dangerous enemies while they cultivated the wilderness and experimented with self-government. Russians were born into a system of feudal servitude having constantly to fight off invaders from east and west. But military science has now produced a substitute for oceans. If Russia can now keep

localized dispute among the former soviet states under control, the nuclear umbrella provides for the first time in a thousand years, breathing-room for political experimentation. Without that protection Russia could not indefinitely survive weak executives like Gorbachev and Yeltsin.

The centuries of serfdom may be harder to overcome. There lacks a tradition of small groups and neighborhoods who will organize communal improvement. Russians seem to have no group self-confidence, no corporate can-do spirit. But the experiments will fail unless Russians find some way to remedy inflation, corruption and repair the damage they have done. The Western approach, voluntary disclosure, income taxation, and enforcement of consensual law, is difficult to imagine springing up abruptly amidst a culture of imbedded evasion and secretiveness. What is more likely is that democracy will spread, if at all, from the top down, an unthinkable notion in the United States.

This may mean taking more or less the same centralized pattern that the Russians have maintained for centuries and decentralizing it -- which is, arguably, what is going on now. No longer must opinions be heard behind closed doors. Ironies abound in comparison to the American experience. A previously unenforced constitution cynically copied from Western models is now in play, revealing its glaring defects. Not until it is taken seriously will it relinquish them. A tripartite division among executive, legislature and judiciary leads to irresolvable confrontations that would

Moscow continued on Page 26

Promises, Promises

Why has Bill Clinton left America at the altar?

By Jonah Goldberg

Upon being elected Governor of Louisiana, Huey Long was asked how he was going to explain his reversal on his promise not to raise taxes. He responded, "Tell them I lied." While it is unlikely our new president will make a similar admission, the contrast between the candidate and the elected official is no less clear today.

This article was originally titled "Matching Clinton's Campaign Promises to Administration Realities." Unfortunately there are few unbroken promises left to match to Administration realities. The *Washington Post's* Jonathan Yardley might have said it best when he noted that while janitors were still sweeping up inaugural streamers, Clinton was casting aside campaign promises like "a stripper tossing her knickers into the cheap seats."

The emerging story about the Clinton Administration is not about "Administration Realities" so much as the new *political* reality President Clinton is attempting to create. For Clinton, offering campaign promises was like exchanging dollar bills for lottery tickets --- it didn't matter how many he expended just so long as some of them cashed in. And now, having won, old obligations and responsibilities pale in the glitter of his new political fortune. He is spending that fortune on an attempt to create a New Domestic Order of the level of the Reagan Revolution or even the New Deal.

In 1991, just after the Gulf War, political commentator Christopher Matthews put forth the thesis that the Democrats were becoming the "Mommy Party" and the Republicans the "Daddy Party." Mommy nurtures and spoils with health, nutrition, welfare; Daddy protects and provides essentials: defense, law and order, economic growth. (This might explain, among other things, why Americans often elect a divided government; no one wants their parents to split up.) The new reality that Bill Clinton is trying to conjure before the 1996 election, is to make the Democratic Party the unwed-Mommy Party: an over-protective fawning parent who is always needed but can never be around enough.

THE PROMISES

Of course the only way Clinton could get this plan off the ground was by jettisoning the ballast of his heaviest campaign promises. While Clinton offered more specific promises than probably any other (successful) presidential candidate this century, there were only a handful of *explicit* promises that he could not avoid addressing. Specifically in foreign affairs, he promised a more aggressive posture toward the former Yugoslavia, a more lenient attitude toward Haitian refugees, and an assertiveness in world affairs. In the social realm, he promised to rescind the military's ban on gays and the Executive Order on abortion. On a larger scale, he promised to "end welfare as we know it." Always cognizant of "the economy, stupid," he promised to cut middle-class taxes, halve the deficit, and control health-care costs.

President Clinton did attempt to fulfill his abortion and gay ban promises early on. He knew that the first pledge wouldn't hurt him, and he believed that the second wouldn't either. But Clinton was a victim of the electorate's obsession with the economy. Because he had said throughout the campaign that he would repeal the military ban, he assumed the public's silence on the issue represented its acquiescence. Instead, it reflected the fact that voters were ignoring, temporarily, non-economic issues. Once Clinton discovered that the public, large portions of Congress, and the military were profoundly opposed to the idea, he stepped back like Dracula from a garlic encrusted crucifix.

In foreign affairs, President Clinton may be the most politically and professionally ill-equipped president in the last fifty years. Clinton is therefore elated that the public cares less about foreign affairs than at any time since pre-War isolationism. And, he plans on keeping it that way. To do so, he appointed Warren Christopher, one of the most risk-averse men in public life, to head up the State Department. What Clinton-Christopher thinking will produce in the former Yugoslavia is unknown right

now but not unpredictable; it will be defined by gradualism, the priority of means at the expense of ends, and reactive rather than proactive overtures.

In our most recent attempts to lob aid into Yugoslavia, there is both good and bad news. The good news is that Clinton is amenable to "doing something" in the international arena. This is good. America must remain engaged in world affairs. The bad news is that it may also reveal a tendency to place the emphasis on the appearance of doing something rather than doing the right thing.

The current situation in Haiti is clearly emblematic of Clinton's priorities. He denounced President Bush's policies as "cruel," "illegal," and "immoral;" he has now adopted those same policies, citing the same Bush rationales. While President Clinton may have warmed up to some of the humanitarian arguments he dismissed during the campaign, a more likely explanation is that Haitian refugees stopped at sea is an easily ignored international story. Tens of thousands of Haitians pouring into Florida is an attention-grabbing domestic one.

The economic promises of the Clinton campaign obviously demand far more of Clinton's attention and skill. His distance from his oath to halve the deficit by 1996 is significant not because of any exceptional amount of prevarication, but because of just the opposite. It was glaringly un-unique.

According to President Clinton, this oath became untenable on January 6, 1993. On that day, Dick Darman announced that the deficit was higher than the Bush Administration previously estimated. The new deficit was \$327.3 billion. Clinton issued a statement "these numbers show that the deficit is far worse than anybody has been telling us for a long, long time."

Now this is a curious statement considering that prior to the Democratic Convention candidate Clinton had admitted that the deficit was probably around \$400 billion, \$72.7 billion *higher* than Darman's calamitously high figure released seven months later. In a *BusinessWeek* interview, he cited the \$400 billion figure as the reason for abandoning his promise to *completely balance* the budget.

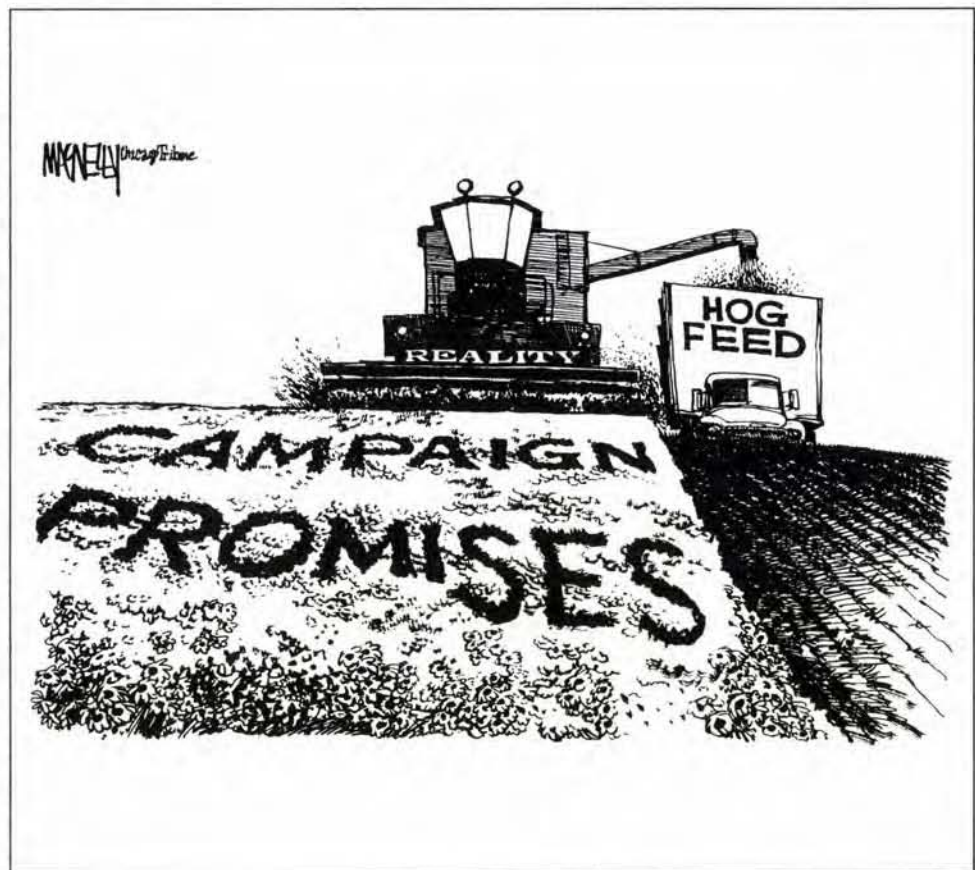
The President has shrewdly, and perhaps cynically, passed off to the First Lady his promise to provide coverage to some 37 million uninsured Americans while keeping costs down and maintaining a market system. Not only does this delay inevitable

failure, it will partially deflect criticism away from the President and possibly muffle some of the Rhodamites.

The promise to "end welfare as we know it," whether he acts on it or not, may well end up being Bill Clinton's "No New Taxes" pledge. But any serious discussion of specifics has been successfully delayed until after he implements his economic plan.

THE PLAN

The book, *A Vision of Change for America*, is the key, but not sole, instrument of Clinton's strategy to entrench the unwed-Mommy party into the national consciousness and, hence, the government. The plan is an attempt to usher in what Paul Gigot of the *Wall Street Journal* calls the "New Suburban Deal" --- an era of picket-fence entitlements. *Vision* is a political document to its core and combines soak-the-rich populism with



cuddle-the-middle-class protectionism.

Clinton draws what every economist knows are facile, if not dangerous, distinctions between different forms of economic activity. This Mommy plays favorites. She picks certain kinds of business as good, and others as bad. In general, big corporations are bad, unless they are West Coast computer companies. Innovative companies are good, unless, that is, they are East Coast pharmaceutical manufacturers. And even though

The Washington Post's Jonathan Yardley might have said it best when he noted that while janitors were still sweeping up inaugural streamers, Clinton was casting aside campaign promises like "a stripper tossing her knickers into the cheap seats."

Mommy will be around a lot more these days, she will set up lots of rules for times when she cannot be. These rules will manifest themselves in the Family and Medical Leave Act and a slew of other social and environmental mandates, inserting the wrench of government deep into the cogs of the private sector.

The plan provides some temporary, and arguably negligible, tax breaks for investment and small business. It provides numerous permanent taxes on all business and consumers, most notably the BTU tax, the tax that will de-energize America.

The net result of the plan is to divide formerly united, and mostly Republican, constituencies. Once divided, the President can peel off enough of the pieces to add to his new coalition. The two most important are corporate America and the suburban middle class. By offering selective protectionism, either explicitly in the form of tariffs, or implicitly in the form of subsidies via targeted "investment credits," Clinton can buy valuable pro-business plaudits from some big name CEO's. By alleviating fears about health-care costs, and possibly tuition costs, Clinton greases suburbia into his ranks.

It took only one word during the campaign: jobs. They would say it over and over again and it worked because they used "jobs" and the economy as codewords. A job no longer simply means a salary -- a job is your interface with the social safety net. If you lose your job, you lose a lot more than a paycheck. Health care, retirement, and child care support are responsibilities the government is steadily ascribing to the private sector. By masking the social costs of these pressing burdens with a corporate face, Clinton is capable of addressing other middle class anxieties, like tuition costs. Through such ideas as a civilian GI bill and a slew of various job corps and apprenticeship programs, President Clinton plans on removing barriers to education. Some of these ideas have considerable merit, but it remains to be seen what form they will take and to what extent they will enlarge the role of the Federal, as opposed to local and state, government into our daily lives.

If this part of his plan is successful, he can strong-arm the far Left and spoon-feed the limousine Left while holding on to the center. This process is already under way. He has bought the silence of the liberal establishment by appointing an M&M cabinet: all sorts of colors on the outside, identical on the inside. Save perhaps for the Treasury Department, this is the most politically homogeneous cabinet seen in years. Thirteen of 16 cabinet members are from the lawyer-lobbyist caste. Despite claims of inclusiveness, there are no Republicans, virtually no conservatives, a bare smattering of low-octane neocons, and most surprisingly, scarcely more than a token clique from the Democrat Leadership Council.

43% & THE DEFICIT

Bill Clinton won the Presidency with the same percentage of the vote as Richard Nixon in 1968 --- 43%. But Nixon, while a minority President in partisan terms, was essentially a majority president ideologically. Governor George Wallace's 14% of the vote was never going to Vice President Hubert Humphrey in any serious numbers. Today, though, the Third Party vote doesn't lie at the extreme end of the political spectrum. It lies at the feet of Ross Perot who bestrides the political terrain with one foot in the Democratic camp and the other in the Republican. The President knows he can't pull off the same trick twice and win with the old coalition of liberal lemmings that marched Dukakis (46%), Mondale (40%), and Carter (41%) over the electoral cliff.

Clinton realizes that, unlike Nixon, there is no way he can permanently deflect the essentially conservative mainstream to his coalition and maintain the Left's support, not even with Hillary's considerable table scraps. So he is changing the political landscape. Clinton hopes to use the theme of deficit reduction to bring in the Perot vote the same way Nixon absorbed the Wallace vote with his calls for law-and-order judges.

His strategy for transforming the current deficit phobia into a long term political agenda is as brilliant as it is dangerous.

The deficit was the conservatives' doomsday weapon. The most cynical of conservatives believed that if all else failed in their heroic battle against the welfare state, at least the deficit would eventually cripple big government. After all, what makes the Mommy party possible is spending. Bill Clinton, with Ross Perot's aid, has successfully framed the deficit as grounds for divorce. By agreeing to pare the deficit down, the Republicans cannot effectively argue with spending increases, in effect forcing Daddy to make child support payments.

RIDING THE WAVE

Bill Clinton is attempting all of this at the best and worst of times. The plan is being proposed at the onset of an economic recovery. If he's lucky, the deleterious effects of his plan won't be noticed by a sympathetic media in the midst of the advancing economy. That way he can claim activist government does not impede economic growth, but encourages it.

The potential problem is that he may ride the wave of recovery right into a cliff side. It is an article of faith in Washington that politics cannot sustain a vacuum. Newspapers need headlines during peace as well as war. When the economy is strong, formerly peripheral social issues become central. Bill Clinton's administration is a petri dish overflowing with the social issue bacillus. Everything from quotas, to gays in the military, to Hillary's veto

power, to his own personal history, all contribute to a massive trust deficit with mainstream America. While Clinton positioned himself during the campaign as a centrist Democrat on issues like the death penalty and the Gulf War, he will have a difficult time maintaining credibility if he tries to talk his way out of the inevitable left wing meanderings his administration will undertake. *The New Republic*, which one would expect to cheerlead this administration, has already defined a Clintonism as the "squaring of very round circles, or embracing mutually contradictory goals, while demanding blind faith from the rest of us."

Will the President successfully navigate himself through the political and economic battlefield? During the campaign, Bill Clinton hurled the new Centrist epithet of "false choices" at every critic. For Clinton there was nothing inherently contradictory between innovation and regulation, between big government and markets, between supporting the Gulf War minority while (theoretically) voting with the majority, between cutting deficits and increasing spending. It worked as a candidate, will it work as President? If it does, then he will have once and for all proven the political sagacity of Yogi Berra who long ago declared, "When you come to a fork in the road --- take it." **R**

Jonah Goldberg is a Washington writer and researcher for the American Enterprise Institute.

When the economy is strong, formerly peripheral social issues become central. Bill Clinton's administration is a petri dish overflowing with social issue bacillus.



Not Another Flip Flop by The Administration?

YES! But this time Bill may be doing the right thing.

Someone should tell Mexico's President Salinas he can relax. Bill Clinton's Congress will ratify the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) this year, despite all of the dire predictions, demands, and the not-so-subtle threats of the anti-free-trade crowd. NAFTA is a good deal for the United States, and no one knows that better than President Bill Clinton. Notwithstanding the misgivings and mixed signals Clinton expressed during the campaign, the agreement is consistent with his vision of where and how he wants the U.S. economy to grow.

The new President talks tough, but in the end he'll use as much muscle as necessary to see that this agreement goes through. During the campaign, Clinton conceded NAFTA was a good concept, but charged that the Bush Administration

negotiated a bad deal that could be rescued only with numerous side agreements. Clinton allies (and former NAFTA supporters) Lloyd Bentsen and Richard Gephardt went so far as to predict the agreement itself would have to be renegotiated under a new Clinton Administration.

Knowledgeable observers of Mexican politics recognize that a repudiation of NAFTA would be seen in Mexico as a repudiation of President Salinas himself. It would almost certainly lead to an end of Salinas' efforts to reform and modernize the Mexican economy and the ruling PRI party as well. Thus renegotiation of the Agreement gave way to negotiation of side agreements. No one should be surprised at the turnabout.

President Clinton has convincingly demonstrated that

By Janet G. Mullins & David Dworkin

when the reality of governing clashes with the rhetoric of campaigning, reality will rule the day. Just look at Bush's Haiti policy, which has become Clinton's Haiti policy; Bush's caution toward the former Yugoslavia has become Clinton doctrine; Bush's "dance with the one who brung you" support of Russian President Gorbachev is parroted by Clinton's embrace of the tottering Boris Yeltsin. For foreign policy neophyte Bill Clinton, these are perhaps bittersweet reality lessons.

But NAFTA presents a much easier choice and could result in the creation of 325,000 jobs which is more than half the amount Clinton promised to create during the campaign. NAFTA would also create the world's largest common market, including 365 million consumers in Mexico, the U.S. and Canada. That's over 20 million more than are currently in the European Community.

Of course, there is a lot of fear over the flight of U.S. jobs to Mexico. U.S. labor unions, particularly the AFL-CIO and the UAW, have been strong opponents of NAFTA. Their fears are understandable, but the facts do not bear them out.

The costs of relocating a plant to a foreign country are astronomical, even when the country offers similar infrastructure and worker productivity. American workers earn the wages they do partially because they are among the most productive in the world (although poor management has frequently undercut their capability). Would Ford's Taurus be the best selling car in the U.S. if it were made in Nogalas? Not likely. And the reason is simple: quality production depends on highly skilled, educated and experienced employees working as a team both together and with management.

Other costs of doing business in Mexico also severely undercut the job flight argument. Mexican infrastructure outside of the *machilladora* zone is largely incapable of supporting industrial production. Highways and rail lines are minimal.

Electrical and telecommunications support is also decades away from parity with the U.S.

NAFTA will also help hedge against inflation and benefit consumers. Reduced prices for fruits and vegetables, now subject to high tariffs, would be realized almost immediately. And it is America's poor and middle class, those who pay the greatest proportion of their income for food, who would be the beneficiaries of these cuts.

Finally, trade liberalization is not a zero sum game. Seventy cents of every Mexican import dollar is spent in the U.S., and fifteen cents of each dollar of Mexican income growth is spent on U.S. products. As Mexico grows economically stronger, it can spend more money on U.S. goods.

What does Clinton need to do to get the NAFTA through Congress? Creating and sustaining support for trade agreements means assembling and organizing the winners against those who perceive themselves losers. Fortunately, for the Clinton administration, there are plenty of winners to muster in support of NAFTA. Among the biggest potential beneficiaries are the auto industry, telecommunications companies, and the financial services industry.

While the auto industry wasn't thrilled by the 62.5 percent rule of origin in the agreement, it is significantly higher than the 50 percent in the Canada Free Trade Agreement. NAFTA also contains tracing requirements so that individual parts can be identified to deter-

mine the North American content of major components and sub-assemblies, like engines. Strict implementation of these rules effectively locks out Japanese production in Mexico.

While Mexico's \$6 billion telecommunications market has been closed to U.S. firms. NAFTA will eliminate all investment restrictions by July 1995. This industry could easily mushroom in size as Mexico's telecommunications market grows to keep



President Clinton has convincingly demonstrated that when the reality of governing clashes with the rhetoric of campaigning, reality will rule the day.

up with its rapidly developing economy. U.S. providers of voice mail and packet-switched services will be hard pressed to keep up with demand.

Financial Services is another growth intensive sector which is now totally closed to U.S. banks and securities firms. Under NAFTA, they will be able to open wholly owned subsidiaries, without restriction by January 1, 2000.

Lastly, the farmers in both the U.S. and Mexico will benefit from NAFTA. In 1991, Mexico imported \$3 billion worth of U.S. agriculture goods, making it our third largest market. NAFTA immediately eliminates Mexican import licenses on those commodities, which covered over a quarter of U.S. agricultural exports last year. The remaining tariffs will be phased out within 10-15 years.

The winners are there to be tapped and this fledgling administration has proven it knows how to organize coalitions. For maximum effectiveness, the Clinton Administration must begin to organize coalitions lobbying efforts in the Congress. (Fast Track's authority for NAFTA was passed in 1991 by a relatively narrow margin of 231-192.)

The Clinton Administration must address the concerns of reluctant Democrats and Republicans to create the winning coalition. The key to coaxing marginal Democrats on board will be the worker adjustment package that will accompany the implementing legislation. A strong worker retraining package helps union workers who lose their jobs as a result of the NAFTA. The looser the requirements, the more workers benefit.

In 1988, Congress created the Economic Dislocation and Worker Adjustment Assistance Act (EDWAA) program with broad bipartisan and Administration support. During its first four years, EDWAA served nearly a million workers. EDWAA's focus on job training and placement has resulted in a 66 percent placement rate at an average wage of \$7.50 per hour - much higher than the earlier Trade Adjustment Assistance program. A major expansion of EDWAA should be the cornerstone of Clinton's worker adjustment package.

To maintain Republican support, any side agreements on the environment and labor should be long on rhetoric and short on new conditions. Mexico already has tough labor and environmental laws on its books. Strengthening Mexico's economy through NAFTA will generate the resources needed to fund the enforcement of those laws.

Some in the new administration may be tempted to put NAFTA on the back burner until after the battle over the Clinton economic package. The President himself realizes he enjoys no such luxury.

A successful trade policy is at the heart of the Clinton economic plan - an equal alongside job creation, health care reform, and "investment." To hesitate on NAFTA would be to hand the agreement's opponents a tremendous tactical advantage -- a mistake this Administration is unlikely to make.

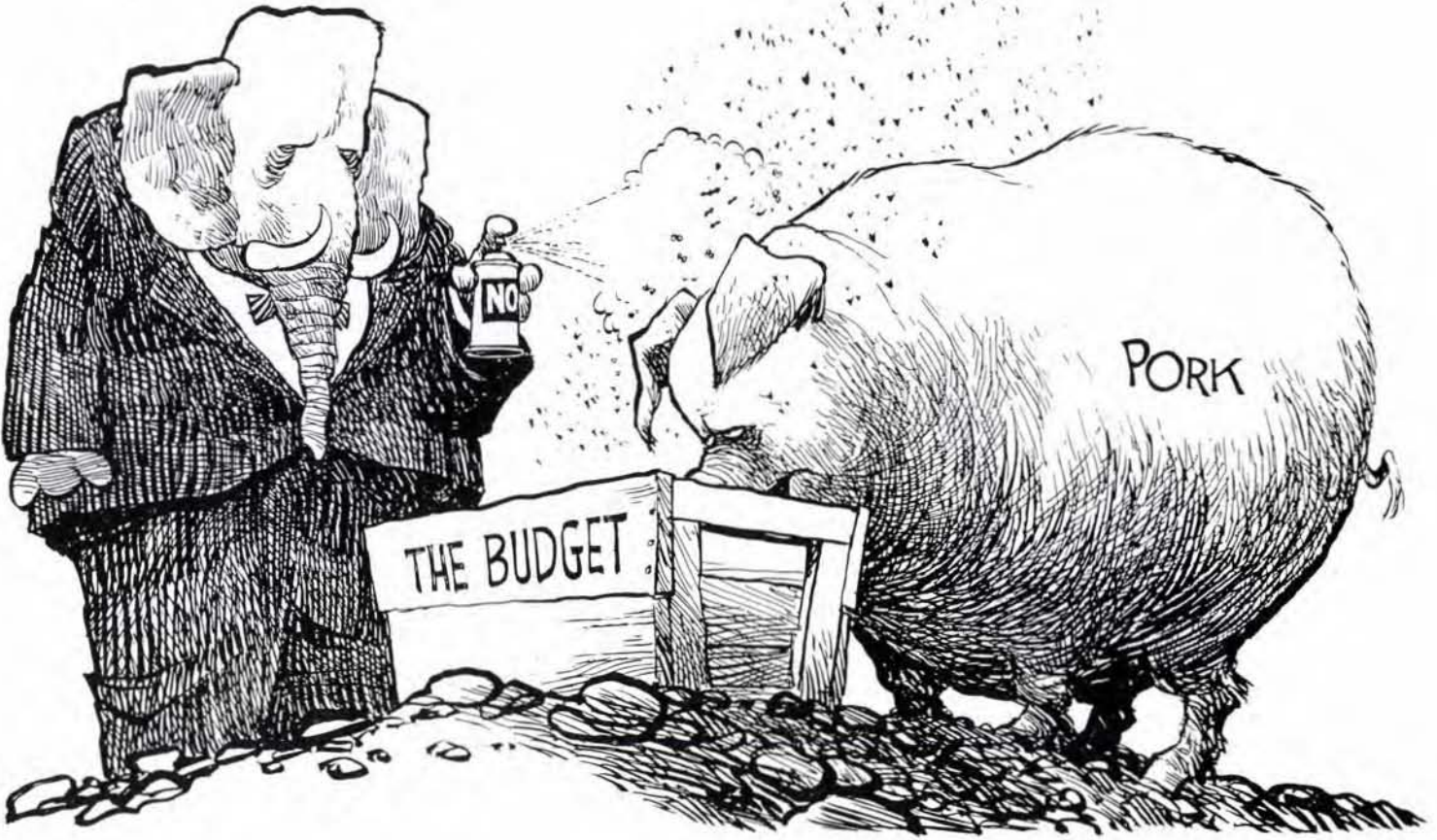
Thus chief trade negotiator Mickey Kantor has led the Administration headlong into negotiations on the trade pact's side agreements. True to the President's style and demeanor, he has chosen reality over rhetoric. He'll stiffen labor and environmental demands to maintain support of the marginal Democrats, but he'll avoid the deal breaking conditions supported by the most liberal members of his party.

Call it a perilous stroll through a mine field or a delicate balancing act on a tight-rope. NAFTA political and Congressional strategy is all this and more. It is a problem ready made for a Clintonesque solution. At the end of the day, that is exactly what this administration will produce. The Bush North American Free Trade Agreement will be dressed up with a little Clinton rhetoric and will be produced new and improved while looking very much like the original product. And it will be passed by the Congress and implemented this year.

Janet G. Mullins is former Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative Affairs and David Dworkin served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative Affairs and was the State Department's Legislative Specialist for Latin American issues.

MACNELLY Chicago Tribune

Enforcing the Other No-Fly Zone



Profiles and Prospectives

The Forum Interviews Jon Cowan of...



"Lead... or Leave"

In a 13th floor office space donated to Jon Cowan, 27, and Rob Nelson, 29, a cadre of twenty-something staff members campaign to make *Lead...or Leave* a powerful voice in American politics. Dedicated to reducing the federal deficit, they work in three overheated, underfurnished offices and a common area. This group of young people issues press releases, schedules television appearances, plans rallies, and solicits membership to signal a warning: unless the country begins to take deficit reduction seriously, those of this generation and those to come will be denied a standard of living comparable to their parents. The answers are there, they say. What is needed is the courage to implement the tough choices and make it happen. Jon Cowan of *Lead...or Leave* took a few minutes to speak with the *Ripon Forum* about their goals, their plans and what it means to reduce the deficit.

FORUM: *How do you describe your job?*

COWAN: I'm a political activist working on generational issues trying to mobilize my generation and older generations who care to fight the deficit.

FORUM: *By?*

COWAN: By generating grassroots support and, through media coverage, to bring attention to the crisis and to mobilize young people to do something about it.

FORUM: *During last year's elections, Lead...or Leave sought to get the politicians to take a pledge to either halve the deficit in 4 years or leave office. Are you still working on this project, and how successful were you last year?*

COWAN: No, we're not still working on the project. We're no longer asking politicians to take that pledge, although all the politicians who have taken it we're going to hold accountable

Lead...or Leave continued on Page 27

Clinton Stagecraft

What this country needs is longterm deficit reduction. What Clinton offers is nothing more than good old fashioned Washington smoke-and-mirrors.

“Two and a half cheers for Clinton’s budget,” we proclaimed the day after the President released his budget plan. Now we’re not so sure. The details are proving to be more troublesome than expected.

This is not to say that President Clinton’s budget doesn’t have its good points. It has several.

First, Clinton puts deficit reduction front and center of the national policy agenda. Listening to Candidate Clinton last year, no one - and certainly not Paul Tsongas- would have guessed that President Clinton would stake the success of his presidency on a plan to reduce the federal deficit.

It is clear that the President shares our conviction that persistent large federal budget deficits are sapping our economy of its strength, momentum and potential. He understands that running deficits to pay for a consumption binge now systematically erodes what we can leave to the next generations. If this continues, ours will be the first generation to leave the nation worse off than we found it.

Clinton must also be given credit for presenting a bold tax plan. He cannot be accused of timidity. The plan calls for huge shifts - large tax increases, large spending cuts, large spending increases. The American people voted for change last November and that’s what they’re getting -- strikingly reordered priorities and a different view of government’s role. It will be impossible for Congress to debate this plan without giving careful thought to what Americans expect from their government and how much they are willing to pay for it.

President Clinton should be commended for putting “taboo” issues on the table. One of the reasons deficit reduction has been caught in gridlock is that taxes and social security both were out of bounds, even for discussion. “Read my lips” meant that no approach, no matter how carefully balanced or desperately needed, would ever succeed if it contained taxes. And the myth that touching social security amounted to grabbing the electrified “third rail” ruled out this 20 percent of government spending even before deficit reduction talks began. Clinton’s plan brushes aside these inhibitions, puts both taxes and social

By: Paul Tsongas &
Warren Rudman

DEFICIT

security right in the center of the bargaining table, and thereby makes possible a full and complete debate on reducing the deficit.

But even though the President earnestly believes in deficit reduction and has proposed a bold plan that hits a lot of political hot buttons, he has come up short. Our chief concern is that Clinton's deficit reduction numbers do not match his deficit reduction rhetoric. His plan has got plenty of sizzle. It is steak we seek.

Clinton's plan was touted as the largest in history. It's not. It would reduce the deficit \$473 billion over five years. The 1990 budget agreement saved \$482 billion over five years.

But it's Clinton's **ten** year numbers that are even more disturbing. As the light bars on the chart show, if we do nothing, the deficit we decline slightly until 1997. Then it takes off. In the second half of the decade, entitlement costs zoom upward far faster than the tax base or the economy, and the deficit zooms up along with them. Clinton's plan takes advantage of the easy down-hill run but fails to do enough to take care of the more serious long up-hill problem after 1997.

Including the surplus funds being put aside to pay for future social security benefits, the federal deficit is projected to reach \$653 billion by 2003. (Without the social security surplus, it will measure \$780 billion in 2003.) By 10 years from now, Clinton's budget would cut this deficit by only \$240 billion. His plan does only one-third of the job. Two-thirds of the deficit would be left on the table. And that's if everything works out as projected. It seldom does.

Clinton's deficit path means a larger public debt. By OMB's own figures, the debt will increase \$1.2 trillion in the five years 1993 through 1997. Of course, as long as we run even one dollar of deficit, the debt will increase. But under Clinton's plan, the debt will grow faster than the economy. Today the public debt equals about 53% of gross domestic product. Under Clinton's plan, by 2003 it will have risen to almost 64%. Interest on today's debt uses about 20 per cent of all personal income taxes. It will be more in the future.

Here's a riddle: How can a five-year budget propose spending cuts of \$202 billion and tax increases of \$271 billion and reduce the deficit by only \$312?

Answer: See below

Clinton budget plan, 1993-1997. (Deficit reduction in \$ billions)						(Source:OMB)
	FY 1993	FY 1994	FY 1995	FY 1996	FY 1997	5-yr.total
Spending cuts		17.1	34.1	59.2	91.4	201.8
Tax increases	3.0	48.9	56.6	72.2	89.9	270.6
Gross deficit reduction	3.0	66.0	90.7	131.4	181.3	472.4
<i>Spending increases</i>	-8.3	-14.7	-22.0	-32.4	-39.8	-117.2
<i>Tax cuts</i>	-6.4	-12.8	-17.1	-14.8	-15.3	-66.4
Net deficit reduction, policy	-11.7	38.3	51.7	84.0	126.5	288.8
Interest savings	---	---	3.0	7.0	14.0	24.0
Deficit reduction, policy plus interest	-11.7	38.3	54.7	91.0	140.5	312.8

REDUCTION

Clinton had \$472 billion of deficit reduction between now and 1997. Why did he let \$184 billion trickle away through spending increases and tax cuts?

In our view, he is making several major gambles. First he is gambling that, despite many encouraging signs of recovery, the economy needs a jolt of short term fiscal stimulus. Even though he is putting nearly \$30 billion into his stimulus program, that is only half of what economists say is needed to make a difference. Our fears are that a self-sustaining recovery is slowly getting under way at last, that stimulus is not required, and the only tangible result of spending \$30 billion will be an increased federal deficit.

Another Clinton gamble is that his \$100 billion investment agenda will not turn into a massive investment pork barrel. The deficit should be reduced so that more of our nation's savings can be invested through the private sector in building a strong economy for tomorrow. When the government runs deficits today, it is to pay for current consumption. Deficits to pay for long term investment *might* make sense, *if* the investments were very wisely targeted; *if* the areas of investment were something that only the government could do, not the private sector; *if* the investments were more likely to pay off in a stronger future economy and a better standard of living than if the money were used to reduce the deficit.

Frankly, some of the items on Clinton's investment agenda don't belong there. They may be good programs. They may even help indirectly to improve the standard of living in the next century. They may make the lives of children and adults more comfortable today. But compared to the urgent need to bring down the deficit, it is hard to condone any but the highest priority investments.

Clinton has gambled on health reform. As presented in February, his plan does very little to control the growth of entitlement programs, which are the cause of much of the zooming deficit at the end of the decade. The comprehensive health care reform plan he has promised to submit to Congress by early May is supposed to provide this missing element. Yet most experts are warning that health care reform has more chance of increasing the debt than reducing it.

Finally, Clinton has gambled that elected officials in Washington can be trusted to follow through on a budget "menu" that begins with the dessert course and finishes up with boiled vegetables. Generally, the President's budget is the "high water mark" of deficit reduction. Then erosion sets in, as first one, then another, policy slips out of the package. Plans have a way of emerging in December as mere shadows of what they promised in January.

Congress eagerly lapped up the first dessert course when it passed a six-month extension of emergency unemployment benefits, choosing to "charge" them to the deficit rather than to pay cash by financing them with spending cuts or tax increases. Pay-as-you-go rules governed three previous rounds of emergency benefits in this recession. It's not a good sign that this final round is "on the house."

In the next few weeks, Congress and the President will have to make a clear choice between deficit reduction, tax and spend, or business as usual. The congressional budget resolution is being debated. It is already clear that there is an unusually strong sentiment for locking in even more spending cuts that the President suggested. And it is possible that Congress might even take the virtually unprecedented step of turning down stimulus spending urged on them by the President.

But these are the opening rounds, being played out in the shadow of a looming public debt that is about to exceed its statutory limit. Congress is seeking political cover for that tough vote.

The true test will come later. During the spring and summer, Congress will have to enact appropriations bills and change tax laws and entitlement programs to conform to its budget. That is when the nation will truly find out how serious they are about deficit reduction.

Keeping deficit reduction at the top of everyone's priority list for the rest of the year, and longer, is critically important. A prolonged commitment to deficit reduction is the best way to keep markets believing in Clinton's plan and therefore keep interest rates down. This alone has far more impact than any government stimulus program. And long term deficit reduction is the best way -- perhaps the only way -- to get the long term economic growth needed to provide better jobs, improve standards of living, and keep America in control of its own destiny in the next century. Not only do we owe this to ourselves, we owe it to the next generation. [R]

Former Senators Paul Tsongas and Warren Rudman are co-chairs of the Concord Coalition, a new grass roots organization dedicated to promoting deficit reduction by changing the political climate.

For more information about The Concord Coalition write:

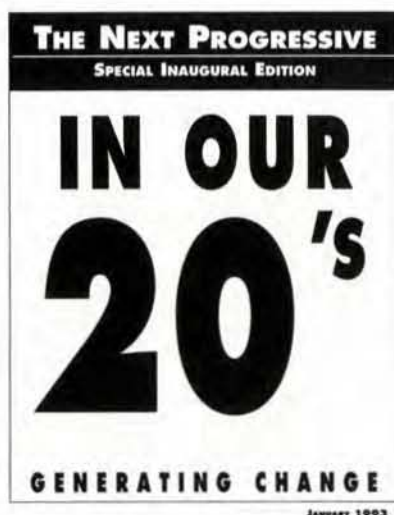
The Concord Coalition
1025 Vermont Avenue, NW
Suite 810
Washington, DC 20005

Book Reviews

Young Literati

We are black and white, rich and poor, gay and straight, over and under-educated ...with a diversity that befits neither sound-bite nor label.

Review by Candace Locklear



The Next Progressive
Edited by Eric Liu
Published Quarterly
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202/828-3059

Busters. Slackers. Generation X. The New Petulants. Thirteeners. Young Fogies. The MTV Generation. Twentysomethings. And on and on. This is just a sampling of the labels tossed about when trying to categorize people aged 18 to 30. Why is there such indecision as to which label fits? "They are meaningless generational horoscopes," according to Eric Liu, 24, founder and editor of the 18 month old magazine, *The Next Progressive*. He laments the fact that mainstream media frequently dubs young Americans with such negative titles.

Liu, the son of Chinese immigrants, is easily cajoled and possesses a relaxed demeanor for such a busy person. He grew up in Poughkeepsie, NY and graduated from Yale in 1990. Since then he has worked as a legislative aide for Senator David Boren (D-OK) where he gained the political savvy to pump out his publication. Washingtonians often see the bold-type black and white bordered magazines stacked on the floor next to the exits at bookstores and trendy eateries-- always for free. Nationally, many have read about Liu along with other "young reformist zealots" in *The Washington Post*, *The Utne Reader*, (where *The Next Progressive* was selected as one of the ten best alternative magazines of 1992) and, recently, *U.S. News and World Report*.

Liu started his magazine to prove the media pundits wrong through responsible and smart journalism. In the first issue, Liu stated that the negative press our generation has received "arises from the sense that we are powerless to bring about concrete political change." Because his age group slips easily out of rigid labels, he would rather call his peers a Generation of Synthesis. As one article in his latest

Inaugural edition boldly claims "...we aren't a brand name. We are black and white, rich and poor, gay and straight, over and under-educated...with a diversity that befits neither soundbite nor label." Liu's language is inclusive, stirring the reader to react.

Much print has been dedicated to the argument of who and what the twentysomething generation is, how they should behave upon initiation into more powerful roles and how to do so responsibly. One frequent contributor to the magazine succinctly sums up the reason for such concern: "At no other time in history has there been such an astronomically intense set of choices for young people to make, and such a bleak chance of us picking the right one."

Each issue of *The Next Progressive* opens with its statement of purpose-- a two-pronged mission which has remained intact, if deftly reworded, throughout all six issues. First, *TNP* wants to "prove that the twentysomething generation...does in fact have insightful, dynamic ideas for America's future". It takes just a look to convince one that there are many who are proactively taking a stand and "generating change." Second, *TNP* proposes to be "the vanguard for the coming progressive revival--committed not to knee-jerk ideologies of left or right but to the principled reform of both." Although it seems like a Clinton Soundbite, Liu came up with it first. Evidence of the purity of Liu's missions is discovered on the back cover/subscription card of each issue. Capitalized, bold letters scream BIPARTISAN APPEAL! and state that both William F. Buckley and Michael Kinsley have plunked down their twenty dollars for a year's worth of the magazine. Pretty impressive.

Published quarterly on computer and staffed by revolving groups of volunteers, *TNP* receives funds from a few hundred subscriptions and donations. Most contributors are writers for major publications, with a few articles as reprints from other journals. The writing is refreshingly free of the cynicism so typical of many such publications. Apathy is not welcome. No *National Lampoon* behavior here. Over 10,000 copies of the Inaugural Issue were

published, and of all six issues, it is the best. Liu's editorial (always well-written and full of trenchant verbiage trumpeting a generational "call to arms") offers five definitions of who we are and what we as a generation want to achieve together.

The 15 articles in the Inaugural Issue were written by, not about, the twentysomething leaders. For example, Wendy Kopp, 25, founded *Teach for America*, a not-for-profit group that dispatches recent graduates, who pledge two years of teaching time, to inner city schools around the country. In her article she explains that "we are united by a conviction that [the American Dream] will become a reality only when every child in this nation has an equal opportunity to a quality education. Our approach is not to stand on the sidelines, criticize the system, and call for change. Our approach is to become personally involved in a movement to work toward our vision of a better America."

Another article, aggressively titled "Fiscal Child Abuse", is written by the two press-friendly founders of Lead...or Leave, (a national campaign to reduce the deficit) Rob Nelson, 29, and Jon Cowan, 27, who are also featured in this edition of *The Ripon Forum*. The article grabs our attention when it states, "Like an addict, America continues its debt binge -- borrowing hundreds of billions of dollars more every year, and passing the bills onto younger generations." The reader must allow such bombastic prose when the two young men list hard facts and figures throughout the article for us to consider.

TNP's provocative style sparkles at the end of the issue when an extensive resource directory of public organizations is categorically listed. Here, interested readers can directly contact a variety of centers, task forces, institutes and leagues in search of ways they can become involved. Liu hopes to continue adding logical chunks of information to the magazine and asks his readers for assistance.

Watch for coming issues of *The Next Progressive*. The articles are never sententious; the thoughts are always fresh. Once the cover is folded over, intellectual growth is guaranteed, no matter what your age or level of experience. **R**

Cultural Groupthink

Review by Bill Tate

Democracy's great experiment is the replacement of coercion with persuasion as the means to political power, and a measure of the genius of our Constitution is the success with which it has safeguarded this substitution for over 200 years.

At least that is the principle on which our system is supposed to work, and the argument can be made that is how it did work last November. The outcome of the election -- and the peaceful transition of power that ensued -- can be seen as the result of one individual and his political party having better informed solutions to the problems facing the country than the individual and party then in power.

David Bromwich, a professor of English and director of the Whitney Humanities Center at Yale University, however, is not sanguine about the future of either the life of the mind or the body politic in this country. If the health of a democracy may be determined by measuring the vitality of the link between its intellectual and political life, the diagnosis contained in *Politics by Other Means: Higher Education and Group Thinking* is dire indeed.

Bromwich contends that two separate "cultures" have emerged in America today: a static, sterile right-wing political culture on the one hand; and a self-contained, effete and mostly left-wing academic culture on the other. He finds each to be dominated by an ethic of group thinking that is antithetical to the functioning of a democracy. "Both," he believes, "are deeply sick."

According to Bromwich, the source of this malaise is two-fold. For our conservative dominated political culture it is a profound mistrust of the ability of secularism to provide the basis for a moral society.

Bromwich contends that two separate "cultures" have emerged in America today: a static, sterile right-wing political culture on the one hand; and a self-contained, effete and mostly left-wing academic culture on the other. "Both," he believes, "are deeply sick."

For the radical intellectuals holding sway in academia, the illness is a symptom of the "professionalization" of the study of the humanities. Bromwich explicates the difficulties both of these "cultures" have created for themselves by examining the different -- but equally mistaken -- understanding each has of the nature and uses of the so-called "western tradition."

As exemplars of the political culture in America Bromwich chooses George Will and William Bennett. He says both see the past as presenting a body of moral and political thought containing authoritative expressions of fundamental truths about the nature of the human being, behavior and community. Although they describe it in different ways, both understand this "core tradition" as being embodied in specific works of art, literature and human institutions, and both believe it to be essentially unchanging.

Further, according to Bromwich, Will and Bennett agree on viewing the role of education to be the "transmission" of this tradition. They also agree that the aim of education -- understood in this fashion as inculcation or initiation -- is right action; both propose "to remedy the decay of American society by a stiffer curriculum of great books in high school and in college."

While the tone of his criticism, particularly of Will, is distracting, Bromwich's reading of the latter's *Statecraft as Soulcraft* and of Bennett's speeches on educational reform is fair and accurate. Neither acknowledge the historical nature of the tradition they prize. Underlying the positions of both is the instinct that "morals cannot survive without the prop of religious faith," and both seem unaware of the authoritarianism towards which such an instinct tends.

If he feels "a certain sympathy" for the importance Will and Bennett place on tradition, Bromwich exhibits none for the treatment given tradition by largely anonymous academic "institutional radicals" to which he devotes most of his attention in *Politics by Other Means*.

Unlike their conservative counterparts, their misunderstanding of tradition arises precisely from their knowledge of its status as an historical artifact and thus

"produced . . . by choice and circumstance and the accidents of power." Here any work of art or literature is labelled an expression of, and inevitably an effort at justifying, the dominance of a specific gender, class, race or ethnic group.

Thus, for conservatives the western tradition is sacred and the only proper response is reverent assent. For radicals the tradition consists of political products each of which is "complicit in crimes it does not confess." The only appropriate response to such creations is suspicion.

It is at this point that the "professionalization" of education in the humanities becomes important. If the western tradition is the product of "dead, white male Europeans" and is therefore to be approached with suspicion, then access to its meaning depends upon interrogating it properly. This in turn depends upon employing the "politically correct" methods of interpretation and these are now the possessions of institutions and the professionals that inhabit them.

As a consequence, the idea that "knowledge is a cosmopolitan good has been displaced by the professional idea that knowledge is an institutional good," Bromwich writes. "Not the free discourse of equals . . . but the licensed discourse of peers, creates the conditions for an advance in knowledge. And what is true of knowledge is true of thought itself."

It is through efforts to control the humanities curriculum to ensure its "political correctness" that the professionals of the academy pursue the "politics by other means" of Bromwich's title. This is authoritarianism of another and more subtle type than that to which the religious right tends, but all the more pernicious for its humanist trappings.

Politics by Other Means is intended as an extended polemic on the state of higher education in America today. It is dense, and, because its chapters were originally individual essays, repetitive. It is passionately argued and, paradoxically, often both deeply personal and at the same time abstruse in its argumentation. Yet the book will amply reward a careful reading by the practical politician.

This is particularly true of Bromwich's discussion of tradition as the record of moral reflection on the customs and practices of a community. The subject matter for such reflection is first of all "the continuity between past and present which makes a given society what it is, second, the continuity between present and future which helps it to survive." For Bromwich, tradition is a living entity that is constantly being expanded and reformed while it in turn forms and reforms our own sensibilities.

Of this process through which the study of the past informs the values of the present, William James wrote, "we learn what types of activity have stood the test of time; we acquire standards of the excellent and durable. . . Our critical sensibilities grow both more acute and less fanatical."

"If one asks what it would feel like," Bromwich concludes, "to respect tradition even while rejecting authority, these words offer a vivid clue." With Bromwich we might say amen, and hope for a politics "both more acute and less fanatical." **[R]**

QUANTUM POLITICS

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Death, Destruction, and Desperation The Lessons of Bosnia

By Janusz Bugajski

The fate of Bosnia-Herzegovina may be the key to the development of post Communist Eastern Europe. Because the conflict in the former Yugoslavian country of Bosnia contains most of the ingredients of instability that lurk below the surface across the region from Tirana to Moscow. Moreover, the response of the international community will set a precedent in the handling of national conflicts for the rest of this decade. Unfortunately, the reaction thus far may well encourage the very crises the West is hoping to prevent. Several poignant lessons can be learned from the Bosnian tragedy: not as a mere academic exercise but as a basis and guide to future policy decisions toward the entire region.

Lesson 1: Ingredients of Conflict

With the disintegration of monolithic Communism, the Soviet bloc alliance, and the three multi-national federations (Yugoslavia, Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia) Eastern Europe entered an unsteady process of transition toward novel political,

economic, and security arrangements. The Balkan states in particular have experienced serious roadblocks to the development of stable capitalist democracies. This is a result of several factors, including a weak economic base, fragile democratic institutions, the persistence of post-Communist bureaucracies and entrenched political cliques. The presence of large ethnic and religious minorities, and the susceptibility of wide sectors of the population to nationalist propaganda and authoritarian control have also added to the problem.

The two most pressing dangers facing various states in the Balkans (as well as the former Soviet Union) are the potential failure of their democratic construction that might lead to autocracy and dictatorship, and the prospect of domestic cross-border and regional conflicts fuelled by economic, political, and ethnic tensions. Authoritarianism and conflict clearly feed upon each other as shrewd demagogues manipulate public opinion by offering populist solutions for economic difficulties while placing limitations on pluralism to counteract political fragmentation and public confusion. Even more ominously, radical groups that attain power can manipulate nationalist yearnings, heighten ethnic stereotypes, and use specific communities as scapegoats by highlighting by discrimination and repression. This can deflect popular attention from pressing economic problems and justify tight restrictions on civil liberties.

Most of these elements have been evident in Yugoslavia, an artificial multi-ethnic state that proved unable to survive the rise of nationalism among most of its ethnic groups. The national balance preserved by Yugoslavia's dictator Marshal Tito for thirty-five years and the state structure glued together by the extensive Communist bureaucracy slowly unravelled during the 1980s. Once the Serbian republic, under the leadership of Slobodan Milosevic since 1987, began to assert its dominance, a chain reaction of nationalism was unleashed. Former Communists abandoned both the Leninist and Yugoslav causes and grasped at ethnic nationalism to retain their positions. Their motives were not purely egotistical, and in some cases they sought to serve their nation and to obtain the most beneficial deal possible from the spoils of Yugoslavia. But fears of renewed domination by Belgrade helped to push each ethnic group toward increasing demands for secession and independence. The irresistible force of republican separation clashed with the immovable object of Serb-Yugoslav unitarism and the result was two violent conflicts in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The danger of further bloodshed in Montenegro, Kosovo, Macedonia, and within Serbia still exists.

Nationalism is rising across Eastern Europe. In some cases they threaten to eliminate the "civic option" of tolerant pluralism that is so essential for promoting market reform and international security. While various minorities from Poland to

Bosnia continued on Page 24

Democracy in Africa

What role should the U.S. play?

The end of the cold war has brought profound and dramatic change to the African continent. From Zambia to Benin, political pressures have forced the exit of African dictators. People are demanding responsive government and most African countries have embarked on significant economic reform.

Yet not all news is good. Reform is proving difficult for the newly emerging democracies while a number of old style dictators continue to cling to power. Civil wars persist in a number of countries. Perhaps most important, one cannot help but be frustrated by the continuing economic and social decline of the continent.

Analysts point to a number of causes for the economic decline in Africa: underdeveloped infrastructure, poor educational institutions, limited financial support, spiraling debt, a lack of investment, among other issues. While each of these factors plays a role in Africa's decline, I would argue that the central failure is linked to politics: a problem of ineffective and repressive leadership. With few exceptions, African governments have pursued self serving policies, designed to consolidate state power at the expense of the well being of the people.

After its independence from colonization, the modern African state governments grew to consume nearly every aspect of life. The state controlled the economy, it manipulated the judiciary and dominated the media. To suppress any threat to its power, the state destroyed civic organizations and political parties where they existed. These basic institutions threatened the omnipotence of government authority, and thus the personal power of Africa's "big man" dictatorships. In short, the modern African state swallowed all the political space, destroying anything which threatened its unlimited authority.

The expanding African state grew out of the colonial tradition of repression. In that era, the European powers destroyed all vestiges of African civil society and prevented any continued organized political opposition to their rule for decades. It was a classic technique of colonial control which

left Africa disabled when the Europeans quickly withdrew from the continent where they left little institutional framework and only the remnants of civil society. Therefore, many first African leaders of the post European era knew only this colonial tradition of repressive government.

Fortunately, change is now sweeping Africa, moving nations away from repressive one party regimes to more open, responsible governments. Africans are demanding that their governments be accountable to their citizens. The people of Mali, Benin, and Zambia, to cite just a few, have demanded more representative government. They want free speech, a press that tells the whole story, and elections with real choices. Due to perseverance, these Africans are getting what they asked for.

But real and lasting democratic change is not easy. In the euphoria after the cold war, when dictators world-wide were falling, Africans began to focus on the ballot box. But real change results from a fundamental transformation in societies—not just electoral defeats. This change is difficult but essential for the development, indeed the survival, of much of Africa. The African state, as it is now, must be scaled back and alternative structures strengthened and created.

For example, a strong and independent judicial system is essential for confidence in the political system and for private investment. Today most court systems in Africa lack the autonomy needed to gain the public trust. An independent judiciary coupled with a free press would do much to create part



of the foundation for responsive government. In time, this would encourage a reliable financial system, which is virtually nonexistent throughout much of Africa today thus discouraging international investment.

But reforms cannot stop at the government level. African civil society, destroyed by the colonial powers and post-independence dictators, must be rebuilt. Concerned countries like the United States cannot impose civil society; it must evolve from a local, grass-roots basis where people are free to form local institutions which represent their interests against the central government.

Although we contribute money to help Africa succeed in these endeavors, we should not demand that African democracies mirror the U.S. model. Africans should develop their own democratic institutions responsive to local traditions and culture and grounded in fundamental freedoms.

To help Africans meet these tremendous challenges, the world community must respond with support and encouragement. This historic time of transition has presented an unprecedented opportunity to help Africans build a new Africa through dramatic, energetic, and creative responses.

The U.S. government has a key role to play in working with Africans to create conditions which will foster democracy and genuine economic growth. Over the past few years, we have increased our official development assistance to Africa, particularly to those states such as Benin and Zambia which are currently engaged in serious political and economic reform. We have also created a development fund specifically for Africa to ensure that African assistance remains a priority and not an afterthought.

However, I have long been concerned that we do not make the best use of all our foreign aid dollars. Many of us who care about development in Africa have been searching for ways to improve and streamline the foreign aid process. Opinions differ, but all agree that in this era of diminishing resources, we must make every effort to get the most "bang for the buck."

U.S. assistance must go beyond traditional programs and seek new ways to assist in the reform process. In the past, donors have sent aid to central government structures which did not necessarily support a more free political system. Now, U.S. aid should focus on building the institutions which underlie democracy, such as a free press, local governments, and an independent judiciary.

On the political front, Africans are demanding a voice in their future, often at great personal risk. Because they no longer fear repression, they want a free government. As the world's model, the U.S. government has a responsibility to speak out firmly in support of these aspirations.

But as witnessed by those in and outside Congress, it takes time to make decisions when the debate is open for public discussion. Some have even claimed that de-

mocracy could exacerbate underlying ethnic tensions. But, the alternative is worse. Pluralism could lead to ethnic groups disguised as political parties. Their struggle for political dominance could create civil war and anarchy.

However, as Americans, our experience has proven that people can learn to live together and that ethnic differences can be an asset. We are a society built on cultural diversity where our strength derives from peaceful competition between groups, interests, and ideas. While race relations are not perfect in the U.S., I cannot help but believe that a similar openness and diversity will only strengthen African societies.

The U.S. government alone cannot help Africa complete the momentous transition now underway. Political freedom can only prosper within the context of a strong and vibrant private economy. I believe that our private sector, in cooperation with the U.S. government has a vitally important part to play in creating a peaceful and prosperous African continent.

First and foremost, it is essential to increase direct business investment in Africa. This will not be easy because Africa is a difficult place to do business. Waste, corruption, and transportation inefficiencies are only a few examples of the problems facing international businessmen in Africa.

At the same time, most American corporations lack an understanding of the opportunities in Africa. We must work more closely with the U.S. business community to increase awareness, to develop economic incentives, and to expand an understanding of Africa, its people and its culture. Because the U.S. private sector possesses such tremendous energy, intelligence, and experience, we need to find a way to harness this enthusiasm and to share this expertise with Africans. Some private groups have already taken advantage of business opportunities in Africa and have witnessed first hand the mutual benefits derived from such partnerships.

For example, in response to the overburdened Nigerian judicial system, last year the American Bar Association sent four attorneys to Lagos to give a seminar on dispute resolution to over 200 Nigerian lawyers. This mission resulted in the creation of the Lagos Centre for International Commercial Arbitration, an important development not only for the Nigerian court system, but also for the general investment climate.

Increasing U.S. investment and private cooperation in Africa is only part of the solution. Open international markets are very important for reforming African economies. While the United States preaches free trade during the GATT round, we ourselves have extensive trade barriers which inhibit the import of many goods, such as textiles and agricultural products, which

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By Senator Nancy Landon Kassenbaum

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Albania are pressing for an easing of central control, state leaders fear that granting concessions to minority leaders will aggravate ethnic relations and spur demands for minority self-determination, stimulate rebellions or insurgencies, and provoke inter-communal violence.

Lesson 2: Conducting Ethnic Wars

The wars in Croatia and Bosnia have shown how to manufacture low-intensity conflicts for the purpose of conquering territories and acquiring resources from neighboring states. The Milosevic regime calculated that a massive military intervention by the Yugoslav army against Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia would prove too costly and would be counterproductive; it also could have provoked international intervention. Instead, Belgrade decided to capitalize on the grievances of Serbian minorities in neighboring republics by crafting ethnic and civil wars to construct a Greater Serbia from the ruins of Yugoslavia.

Serb guerrillas were provided with weapons and military support while they expanded their hold on large tracts of territory that would link Serbia proper with all Serb-inhabited regions. In the process, Croat and Muslim residents were either expelled or murdered to shift the ethnic balance in favor of Serbs to prevent any rapprochement and to justify the creation of ethnically pure states under the banner of "self-determination."

Serbian government policy not only infected ordinary Serbs with nationalist and xenophobic passions but it contributed to radicalizing the Croats and Muslims either for purposes of self-defense or to forcibly regain their lost territories. Moreover, Zagreb itself became fixated on gaining control of Croat areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina; the argument of force had prevailed; if a Greater Serbia could be realized then why not a Greater Croatia constructed with the annexation of Bosnian territory? The nationalism and expansionism of one group served to intensify similar demands among neighbors.

The perils stemming from the Yugoslav wars are two-fold: escalation and imitation. The bloody conflict could easily spread to the heavily Albanian populated area of Kosovo (in the Serbian republic), the multi-ethnic province of Vojvodina (also in Serbia), the increasingly restless republic of Montenegro (in the remaining Yugoslav federation), and the isolated republic of Macedonia where at least five states uphold political or territorial ambitions: Bulgaria, Albania, Serbia, Greece, and Turkey. A Balkan war could well erupt over Macedonia, dragging neighboring NATO powers into the fray in support of rival protagonists.

A second danger is the duplication of Bosnian-type conflicts. Numerous points of dispute are evident between the post-Communist states. Some of these may escalate, especially if neighboring countries experience domestic instability and

focus on foreign enemies to divert or dampen internal turmoil. Conflicts will revolve around ethnicity (the restricted rights of cross-border co-nationals and their exposure to discrimination and violence), territory (annexationist claims to neighboring lands on the basis of historical, demographic, or economic links), security (where authoritarianism in one state may provoke pre-emptive action by a neighbor fearful of future aggression), and economics (following the disruption of important energy flows or disputes over fishing, drilling, or mining resources, or over environmental air or water pollution). Some or all of these frictions are already evident between Hungary and Romania, Slovakia and Hungary, Albania and Serbia, Albania and Macedonia, Croatia and Serbia, and Romania and Moldova.

Lesson 3: Preparing for Future Crises

During the past two years, a legion of mistakes have been committed by the outside world in handling the Yugoslav crisis: mistakes of both omission and commission. Instead of close and early Western involvement, the brewing conflict was simply neglected. A strong message should have been despatched to Belgrade during 1991 that any violence against the republics would be treated as an act of international aggression. In effect, recognition of the republics could at that time have acted as a deterrent to state violence. Human rights monitors should have been despatched promptly to Croatia and Bosnia long before the outbreak of hostilities, while intensive programming should have been launched in building democratic institutions. Such a package may not have averted all violent confrontation but it would have signalled the early internationalization of the conflict and deterred all but the most brazen army-guerrilla aggression.

The Bush administration made two fateful errors in the spring of 1991: it defended the "integrity of Yugoslavia," which was received by Belgrade as "integrity at all costs" and resulted in military actions. Bush also detached America from the crisis, leaving attempts at resolution to a feeble and disunited European Community; instead of a focused and coordinated response to the wars in Slovenia and Croatia, an inept and delayed attempt at restoring peace was made by a diverse assortment of institutions, including the UN, the Council for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), and various Western governments. Half-hearted and sporadic initiatives simply encouraged Milosevic to pursue his conquests with impunity, confident that there would be no military retaliation or direct U.S. involvement.

The anti-civilian war in Bosnia-Herzegovina further underscored UN and EC ineptness. Humanitarian assistance, although it is both necessary and admirable, has diverted attention from the root causes of the conflict: a brutal policy of "ethnic cleansing" instigated by the Serbs in Bosnia under Belgrade's patronage to expel, terrorize, or murder Muslim inhabitants in territories designated for Greater Serbia. The Bosnian authorities were caught defenseless because of advice from Western states that military preparations would only serve

to "provoke" the Serbs. When the slaughters started the Bosnians felt betrayed and abandoned by the international community which had recognized the new state but refused to defend its integrity and independence. As the slaughter and brutality continued, the UN remained impotent, supplying food to besieged unarmed civilians and outgunned Muslim defenders. Meanwhile, the arms embargo imposed on all the Yugoslavs during the Croat war simply disabled the Muslims while freezing the inbuilt military superiority of the Serbian forces.

The Bosnian catastrophe must serve as a dire warning to the international community in preparation for impending crises elsewhere in Eastern Europe. Western policy must be both pre-emptive and reactive, it must contain both a long-term strategic vision and a package of shorter term policy responses. In the short range, steps have to be undertaken to define the role, structure, and mission of pre-emptive peace monitoring, reactive peace-making, and protracted peace-keeping operations. NATO, as the most credible security institution, could play a central role, a step which would coincidentally help to define the mission of the Atlantic Alliance in the post-Cold War era. Arbitration and mediation procedures must be established between the East European parties under CSCE auspices, while

minority rights and state obligations have to be codified in comprehensive international agreements. A major Balkan peace conference could be swiftly organized to tackle these questions, to address the national interests of each state and minority group, and to deter both an escalation or replication of the Yugoslav crisis.

In the longer term, a viable and stable security structure must be established that will encompass the East European region. NATO should be the vehicle and could transform itself in the process of expansion and adaptation. The prospect of NATO membership, according to specific criteria laid out in advance, will in itself promote democratic reforms, while the promise of security integration and military protection will encourage regional stability. The process of building a broad security network will not be smooth and problem-free, but it is certainly worth the effort and energy to preclude future Bosnias.

*Janusz Bugajski is associate director of East European Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC. He has recently published **Nations in Turmoil: Conflict and Cooperation in Eastern Europe** (Westview Press, 1993).*

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Africans produce. Clearly, if we are genuinely committed to strengthening Africa's economies, we must start by examining some of our own trade policies.

Although these recent accomplishments are encouraging, Africa is still troubled by conflicts, ethnic tensions, hunger, and poverty. Several devastating wars, from Ethiopia to Mozambique, have ended but others continue. The brutal civil conflict in Angola has resumed while fighting in Liberia and Sudan continues unabated. Because the U.S. Government played an important role in reaching a settlement to the strife in Ethiopia, so should it assist with the negotiations in each of these nations. American assistance, paired with United Nations involvement, could almost guarantee continued progress in these areas.

We should all be extremely proud of the U.S. relief operation in Somalia. The goal of the American-led operation was to open relief corridors which have now provided food for those in need. Malnutrition rates have dropped dramatically and feeding centers are now schools and a local police force is in operation. More importantly, this country, once ravaged with hunger, has made dramatic progress and tens of thousands of lives have been saved.

But instead of patting ourselves on the back, the United States should see this as a lesson to be more proactive and less reactive. In the future, the United States should work with the United Nations to prevent Somalia-like situations. The U.N. humanitarian agencies must improve delivery services and coordination. This combined with an active diplomacy can stop disasters before they start. In the end, only negotiated settle-

ments in Africa's remaining internal conflicts can end the suffering of hundreds of thousands of innocent victims.

In South Africa, we have all been encouraged by the dramatic progress over the past three years. South Africa is on the path toward the establishment of a non-racial democracy. However, much remains to be done. The United States will continue to support this negotiation process, encouraging a peaceful and rapid end to the apartheid system. Looking forward, we also need to convince those who will hold power that a free market is essential to the economic growth needed to fuel the development of post-apartheid South Africa. A democratic and non-racial South Africa can serve as an engine of growth for all of Southern Africa and for the entire African continent.

Many may wonder why we should care about what is happening in Africa. Sometimes it seems the continent is an endless source of disaster and crisis; Ethiopia, Mozambique, the Sudan, and Somalia are just a few examples. Many believe that Africa is hopeless and that no matter what we do, it never seems to be enough.

Although I understand that belief, I do not share it. I know also that the new administration does not share it. Throughout my years in the Senate, I have believed that Africa is a special place, one with enormous problems and spectacular potential. And even though the problems continue to overshadow and overpower the potential, I still believe that one day Africa will come into its own and contribute more to the world than we now give to it. R

Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum is the junior Senator from the state of Kansas.

Humor

Washington, as understood by Harry Phillips

In Washington, House Speaker Tom Foley put the kibosh on a proposal to have President Clinton appear on the House floor to answer questions from members about his economic program, similar to sessions held at the British House of Commons. Foley said the proposal was "unprecedented" and a "far-reaching change in our practice" and a "big step that the House was not ready to make" at the present time. I wholeheartedly agree with Speaker Foley. If Congress cannot take the "unprecedented" and "far-reaching" step of producing a balanced budget or reducing the deficit, there is no reason to expect it to do something so sensible as having the president appear before Congress, and through C-Span the American people, to take questions from representatives.

(This has nothing to do with anything but I read an article about India recently and I've just got to say that Indian Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha and his government sure know how to pick a winner. In a country where there are 730 million Hindus and only 110 million Muslims, who would you pick a fight with? That's what I thought. But P.V. and his cronies are facing the worst riots in the nation's history because his government is perceived as having suppressed the aspirations of the majority Hindus, and the Hindus are peeved, to put it mildly. Two million of them showed up just for a demonstration. Even a six-year-old knows enough to go with the bigger team on the playground.)

The Clinton Administration's proposed short-term stimulus and long-term investment package has been touted as good for the nation's economic health. It reminds me of the story about the guy who invented a new brand of dog food.

"Our company has just created the ultimate dog food," he said. "It's meaty and succulent. We've bought a brand new

processing plant. We've already reserved shelf space in supermarkets across the country. We even hired a Madison Avenue advertising agency to help us market it. There's only one problem. Dogs don't like it."

Will the Clinton economic plan be turned into so much puppy chow? Stay tuned.

There is evidence to suggest that the Congress, ever mindful of the next election, is having a difficult time swallowing the administration's economic program. Therefore, in the interest of national unity, here are ten good reasons why all Americans should get behind our president's economic plan (and write to your deadbeat congressmen and tell them to do the same.)

Top 10 Reasons To Support the Clinton Economic Plan

10. Because Wilfred Brimley said the right thing to do if you don't support it would be to boil you in oatmeal.
9. Being included in the largest tax hike in history means you'll finally get to do something historic.
8. Word "trillion" has lost what little meaning it had for you and you're convinced this plan will jack the deficit up to the "jillion" level which you find a cooler word to bandy about at cocktail parties.
7. If you don't, we'll have "Don't Stop Thinking About Tomorrow" piped into your home until you go insane.
6. It's the first time in your life you've been called wealthy and you're still basking in the glow.
5. Considering your child's college education costs about as much as an F-16 fighter, these taxes are peanuts.
4. New taxes provide convenient excuse to cancel the family vacation to Wally World.
3. Money needed to finance Roger Clinton's new rock band.
2. Will convince you to "focus like a laser beam" on your presidential choices in 1996.
1. It's so refreshing to be robbed without having a gun waved in your face.

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historically have produced takeover by a strongman, and may yet do so if the hardships become too much for Muscovites to endure. Nothing prevents a reversion to the repressive past but the pervasive knowledge of how bad a police state can become. Even the military profession is deterred from politics by that knowledge.

A major irony is that the necessary legal, economic and political reforms for democracy may have to be instituted by central command. Control over inflation, a massive crack down on corruption, and a remedy for the gross injustices that these have already engendered will be necessary. The average citizen will have far less influence on these developments than is

customary in the United States. But the potential for that influence is now apparent for the first time, thanks to the technology of modern communication. Government by compromise has so far not made any progress and Russian life is not improving. It is getting worse, and the freedoms instituted under Gorbachev and Yeltsin no longer make up for hardship and uncertainty. Until life gets better, the experimentation cannot end. It is flirtation with danger. Russia may resort again to firm central command with a new kind of curtain being drawn. But even so, the quest for democracy will not necessarily have ended. It will go on as it does in our own country. R

Fred Kellogg lived in Moscow during the fall of 1992 as a visiting professor at Moscow State University and is a regular contributor to The Ripon Forum.

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4 years from now. We expect them to stick by their pledge. We were very successful. You can measure it two ways. One you can say in absolute terms: we got 100 candidates to take the pledge; 17 of them won office. Sixteen of those were incumbents and one of them was a challenger. And they were from both parties, including four senators. So we were very successful.

You could measure it another way, and say, well, two guys who nobody knew came out and asked politicians to put their careers on the line, which they're not willing to do under any circumstances. The fact that you got one person to take it, much less somebody who won -- Ross Perot to take it and talk about it during a presidential debate, that's stunning. Very few groups, particularly groups run by young people, have broken through with political debate the way we have in the last 6 months, and I think it's because the issue is so ripe because so many young people sense that there's a huge generational divide opening up. And until the country is willing to face the crisis head on, we're not going to be able to solve it.

FORUM: *If the members of Congress who did take your pledge are unsuccessful in cutting the deficit and are forced to leave, because they stuck to your pledge, isn't that counterproductive?*

COWAN: No, it's not. That's a very shortsighted view to say that it's counterproductive because the question isn't whether a couple of politicians stay in office, it's a question of whether the country is willing to get out of denial and face the crisis squarely; and if we're not, it doesn't matter how many people stay in office. Remember, in every great war there is somebody who's the front-line troops. I mean, Congress didn't say, "Gee, we shouldn't send somebody on the front lines in the Persian Gulf because they might get killed even though it's only going to take a small number of troops to win this battle." When the generals put out the call, the troops go without question. Why should members of Congress be any different? Somebody is going to have to get sacrificed to the greater cause of getting the country back in shape and saving the country for future generations.

I also believe that there are no politicians who are irreplaceable. I mean, some of the people who took our pledge are good people, they'll practice good politics, they're caring, committed people, but nobody is irreplaceable.

FORUM: *Many politicians called the pledge a gimmick. What do you say to those people?*

COWAN: I would say getting reelected and not fixing the deficit is a gimmick. The basis of a gimmick, the idea behind a gimmick, is that you deceive people. I would say we're certainly not that; we weren't deceiving anybody. It's a promise. I would say running and promising that you're going to fix a problem vaguely and then not committing to actually doing it and getting

it done, that's a gimmick.

Remember, it's a really sad state -- it's a big statement about the country -- that asking people to put their jobs on the line to get something done is called a gimmick. When a guy works in a factory and the owner of the factory says, "If you don't perform at X rate, if you don't get such-and-such a job done, you're going to be fired." Nobody calls that a gimmick; they call that a layoff. Why is it a gimmick to ask a politician to commit to their job to getting something done?

FORUM: *What type of encouragement are you trying to give those politicians who have taken the pledge?*

COWAN: Well, since the election, *Lead...or Leave* is continuing to wage an even greater campaign for serious deficit reduction. There are two debates in the country: one is over how we get deficit reduction in the mix of taxes and spending; the other is what goal we get to, and that's the part that's been ignored. We believe that you have to cut the deficit in half at a minimum over the next 4 years. We should have the deficit down to under \$150 billion by the end of 1996. It's reasonable, it's doable, and most importantly, it's necessary. Right now the country is debating how we're going to get there. Where are we going to go? We don't even know where we're trying to get. Right now we're going to get about a quarter of the way there, we're going to get about 25-, 30-percent deficit reduction. That's not nearly enough. We should be getting at least 50 percent.

People have to remember that the politicians, or the smoke-and-mirrors debate about how we're to get it fixed and taxes and spending -- if we put the Clinton plan and the congressional additions into place, we're still going to add up over a trillion dollars of new debt in the next 4 years. The question the country should be asking is: How much deeper should we cut the deficit? Not whether we've done enough.

FORUM: *Won't there be serious economic ramifications if you do cut the deficit so quickly?*

COWAN: No, it's not quick.

FORUM: *I mean, 50 percent over 4 years is what some economists call too quickly, that it will hurt the economy if you cut it that fast.*

COWAN: We could not find a single economist, except those on the very far left, who believed during the election that cutting the deficit in half was enough. In fact, if you look at the projections, the deficit was supposed to drop in half in 4 years on its own because the economy would pick up, because the savings and loan crisis would ease. Every single person -- I mean, I can quote you very well-known people from the Heritage Foundation and the American Enterprise Institute who sat across the table from me and pounded their fists and said, "You're not asking for enough. You're giving these politicians a free ride by asking them to do something that's going to happen on their own."

Do you think President-elect Clinton, President Clinton, campaigner Clinton, would run on a platform he didn't think he could do? He ran on a platform to cut the deficit in half in the

next 4 years.

FORUM: *But now he's saying it's too big.*

COWAN: Wait a minute. Clinton said he could cut it in half. Remember, there was a consensus in this country about cutting the deficit. You either voted for Bill Clinton, who said, "I'll cut it in half over the next 4 years," or you voted for Ross Perot, basically who said, "I'm going to eliminate it in 5." That was a huge percentage. So there was a clear consensus that at a minimum we should cut it in half; at the more extreme version, we should go much faster.

Literally 3 months ago, cutting the deficit in half was seen as mild, as barely adequate, by most economists. Anybody who says that cutting it in half over the next 4 years is too fast is, one, wrong, and two, very shortsighted. The question isn't: What's going to happen in the next couple of years? We will weather the next couple of years. The question is: What happens over the next 10 to 15 years? We can cut the deficit in half, not only strengthen our economy, but prepare the country for the long run.

FORUM: *Do you feel a certain responsibility to propose some solutions to the deficit problem, or do you feel that it's all right if you just sort of say, 'Hey, Congress, you come up with the ideas and we'll support it as long as you cut it in half?'*

COWAN: Remember, the problem in the country isn't specific solutions; Ross Perot was right about that. Perot said there are lots of plans lying all over Washington, we can pick up a good plan and run with it. He's right, there are plans all over Washington to cut the deficit. Senator Nunn and Senator Domenici put forward a plan that would eliminate it and run a surplus by the year 2002.

The plans are out there. We know what choices to make. We're beating ourselves over the head pretending that we don't know what choices. It's a matter of political will. *Lead...or Leave's* niche, what *Lead...or Leave* brings to the public debate, is to help generate the political will and the consciousness to get the problem solved.

Remember, anytime in American history when we faced a crisis, people understood the nature of the crisis and were willing to back politicians who made tough choices. What's missing now is not a consensus over exactly which choices, what's missing is the political will to actually make those choices.

Lead...or Leave isn't Congress. The Concord Coalition, Ross Perot -- all these people aren't Congress. Jack Kemp isn't Congress. Congress was sent there to debate the tough choices, present a package to the American people, and then convince us why it's the right thing. And I think it's irresponsible of people to say, "Well, if you don't have a plan, what's it worth?" because they're overlooking the fundamental problem.

FORUM: *Many in the media are predicting some type of generational war over governmental benefits, the tax burden placed upon young people. Do you think this will actually happen?*

COWAN: I hope there will not be a generational war. *Lead...or Leave* thinks one is avoidable, but we also think one will happen if we don't make the tough choices now. There are a lot of people in the press who portray *Lead...or Leave* as trying to foment a generational war. Quite the contrary. Nobody ever accused Paul Revere of being the one to start the war. We're, in fact, trying to avoid it by warning that it's coming unless we do something.

We also believe that it doesn't have to pit young against old, boomers against baby busters, us against our grandparents. In fact, we love our grandparents. We want to protect the people, the neediest people in the country, that young and old alike should be protected, but that's a small percentage of the country's resources.

The pie isn't growing at the same rate anymore. We've got one pie, we've got to decide how we're going to divide it. It shouldn't be divided based on who is more powerful, the more powerful special interests, who's older, who's younger; it should be divided based on need. Where is the need? Once we take care of the basic need so people are surviving and taken care of, then we've got the rest of the pie to divide up and we can bake that however we want.

It's misleading. Senior lobbyists will perpetuate the myth. They'll say anybody who wants to tackle social security is going to take away money from poor old people who need it desperately. Of course not. It's a small percentage of the people who get social security, it's a small percentage of the people who get Medicare. The country can afford to take care of those in need, but if you're not in dire need, if you're not desperate, you've got to be part of the solution, not part of the problem.

FORUM: *What kind of reaction have you had from older generations and the groups that represent them? What does AARP (American Association of Retired People) and the National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare think of Lead...or Leave? Are they trying to work with you?*

COWAN: There is a mixed opinion among senior citizen groups. Some of the groups are more mild, they realize that the social security system is headed towards collapse and that we should do something about it. Some of them are rabid and they don't want to open the door one crack, and they believe that any changes to social security at all would be harmful to their members. There is a real mix.

After a recent rally at AARP Washington headquarters they invited us in for milk and cookies. We said, "No, but we would like to meet with you the following week." We set up a meeting, we went in, and they wouldn't admit that there was anything wrong with the social security system. In fact, the AARP maintains that social security isn't part of the budget problem because it's not really part of the budget, that social security is running a surplus, and because it's running a surplus, it's not part of the problem.

Well, they're wrong. They're wrong in two ways. One, the surplus is being used, it's being stolen to finance current

government consumption, so it's not there anymore. Secondly, there is just one national pie. If social security takes up 20 percent of the taxes that we raise -- if you were to cut social security, reduce social security, and means test it, for example, you could take a certain portion of that money and either give it to reduce the deficit or you could make other critical investments. Social security is an intimate part of the budget and to break it apart just shows ignorance about how the budget works.

I also think liberals can be found at fault for not believing, until very recently, that the deficit was a serious problem that we had to tackle, and liberals can also be faulted for not seeing the relationship between the deficit and real human problems. We aren't able to fix up Los Angeles in the way that we want because we say we don't have any money. We can't do anything for the Soviet Union, which disintegrated. We should have a Marshall Plan for the Soviet Union so that my generation 30 years from now doesn't point fingers and say, "Why didn't we solve this problem? Why did we not make sure that these countries return to totalitarianism?"

The conservatives should be faulted for talking tough on the deficit, but so few of them are willing to actually put some of the critical entitlement programs on the table. They propose flexible freezes and across-the-board this and across-the-board that. Those kinds of things don't work well.

Members of Congress need to be willing to enumerate their specific choices. For example, in social security, conservatives don't want to incur the wrath of senior citizens. Well, that's not very politically courageous. You've got a choice now: you can either solve the problem, or at some later point you'll incur the wrath of younger generations because you've mortgaged our entire future.

I think it's important to point out a lot of senior citizens and older members of Congress of both parties will say, "Well, gee, we're part of a generation that went through World War II. We suffered through the Great Depression. The country owes us. We're entitled to all of this. Stop whining." We're not whining; what we're asking for is a clean start.

Generations in power are not going to pay down the \$4

trillion in debt. We're simply asking, don't rack up more on our shoulders. You ran up \$4 trillion of debt, we're going to have to pay it off, your sacrifice was World War II, our sacrifice is going to be lower living standards and a \$4 trillion debt. They're probably equal sacrifices because they'll cost as many lives. It will be severe, it will be very severe.

I think the people who fought in World War II were courageous, they did a very important thing for the country, and nobody can take that away from them, and nobody should, but the choice isn't between rewarding people who fought in a great world war and penalizing young people. No grandparent would want to make that choice. The country has enough to go around, that if we make some tough choices, everybody puts some sacrifice on the table, we'll be able to get out of this.

FORUM: *Why do you think the older generations are acting irresponsibly towards young people?*

COWAN: It's really a fundamental thing. People have lost sight of the future. It's a pretty deep thing. I don't think people fundamentally believe or can see a meaningful future. You can see it's a common thing between an inner-city child and a member of Congress and a wealthy Florida retiree and a middle-class household. The common thread that runs among them is that nobody can see the future anymore. So, effectively, people

don't sense a frontier. And what has always pushed the country forward is this idea that there was a frontier, and it was leaving England, coming to America, and founding our own country. And then it was the Civil War, the frontier there was we're going to establish north and south, and establish a slave-free country. And then the next frontier was out west. And the next frontier, good or bad, was going to other

countries. We did a bunch of colonizing ourselves, whatever your views are of that. And then the next great frontier was space. And then the final frontier is kind of medicine: we've lengthened lifetimes, we've got immunizations, we've made huge reaches.

Well, now people can't see a frontier, and whether you're articulate about it or whether you just sense it in your gut, every American knows that if they look at this. Why are we doing this to our country? Because we no longer believe there's a frontier,



we no longer believe there's a meaningful future. And it's going to take a shift in consciousness as dramatic as saying there should be no more slavery, we no longer have to be bound to England, we're going to stop Hitler's tyranny, we're going to reach out into space, a shift of consciousness as profound as any of those other revolutionary moments in American history. It's something to ponder.

FORUM: *Did the fact that Ross Perot took the pledge last year during the presidential campaign serve as a catalyst for the great deal of national publicity Lead...or Leave has received?*

COWAN: Yes, it had a big impact. It helped get us publicity. When we started out with Senator Tsongas and Senator Rudman by our sides at the National Press Club backing what we were doing, that got us immediate coverage, but when you're a young campaign and you don't have a lot of money, you live or die by media coverage. It gets your message out, it brings in people to start up chapters. So Perot talking about us at the debate helped a lot.

FORUM: *How many members do you think you have now?*

COWAN: We have about 100, 150 chapters. And we started a membership drive only a month ago, so we probably only have 1,000, 2,000 members and we started 7 months ago -- 7 months is all.

FORUM: *Do you really think that Lead...or Leave's goals are realistic and obtainable as opposed to being symbolic?*

COWAN: Well, I think we'll do one of two things. Either *Lead...or Leave* will help frame the national debate so we cut the deficit in half over the next four, and eliminate it in the next eight; that's the best case scenario. The worst case scenario is that *Lead...or Leave* will be such an effective pressure group that we at least keep Congress from backsliding. Remember, they backslid year after year after year, and they always set a goal and then they don't meet it, and then they go further and further away from that goal. We'll at least be able to keep them to what they started out at.

FORUM: *Quickly about social security, does Lead...or Leave support reforms like means testing on social security and Medicare?*

COWAN: Yes. We support a pretty broad range of reforms, all of which would protect the needy and poor or elderly, but will reform the system so it's fair and it's around for future generations.

FORUM: *Lead...or Leave has called for generational equity on social security. What do you specifically mean by that, generational equity?*

COWAN: We mean two things. One that the way we pay for the system doesn't unduly burden future generations. Right now I pay 20 times as much in social security taxes as a 70-year-old did when he was my age. That's inflation adjusted. It's 200 times if you don't inflation adjust. Shocking. So one thing is fair payment.

The second is to ensure that we make the reforms so the

system is around for future generations. It's heading towards collapse right now, and the Social Security Administration projects collapse as early as 2020, more reasonably by 2036, and that's using very optimistic growth scenarios. That's using growth projections that are better than our growth in the last 20 years. That's their pessimistic scenario, is growth projections that are better than our growth in the last 20 years.

FORUM: *Neither of you are in your early twenties anymore. How are you going to keep this sort of generational effort going?*

COWAN: Well, we mobilize people as young as 16 and as old as 85. I don't think our age is relevant. In fact, I don't think the age of the people who work with us is relevant. I think what's relevant is whether you want to save the country and whether you want to make the tough choices; and if you do, it doesn't matter what age you are, you should join our crusade.

FORUM: *How is Lead...or Leave funded?*

COWAN: About 20 percent from people sending us membership at 1-800-44-CHANGE, the other 80 percent from wealthy individuals. We run on a tiny budget, and I'll tell you, anybody who reads the *Ripon Forum*, if you are an American who can afford to give, particularly if you're a wealthy American, put your money where your mouth is. If you've been complaining about how the deficit and those darn liberals in Congress spending all this money, give it to *Lead...or Leave*. And if you're liberal and you read the *Ripon Forum* and you're complaining about the deficit is going to destroy all the social programs I care about, give it to the one youth group in the country who is really raising their voices over this.

FORUM: *If your efforts to reduce the deficit are not successful and the Clinton administration fails, are there any other options?*

COWAN: Well, first of all, let's be really clear: There won't be failure by the Clinton administration, it will be a failure by Clinton, Congress, and that means both parties.

FORUM: *Will you run for Congress, either of you, do you think, maybe some day?*

COWAN: I have no idea.

FORUM: *You have no idea?*

COWAN: And I wouldn't want to run for Congress right now because I would rather be on the outside fighting the battle. Maybe Congress will change. We certainly would hope in 1996 to run a slate of younger candidates on Democratic, Independent and Republican tickets in different places, maybe a half a dozen places, around the country.

FORUM: *How long do you project the campaign to continue?*

COWAN: How long will *Lead...or Leave* go?

FORUM: *Yes.*

COWAN: As long as there are people who are willing to help fund a cause like this. Our ideas are infinite. We have a great deal of passion for saving the country, we think there are a lot of nonpartisan problems that need solutions, and we'll keep going as long as we can raise the money to do it. R

HAPPENINGS

While the Motor Voter Bill is about to pass, albeit with some concessions to Republicans, syndicated columnist **William F. Buckley** said there are ways to equalize the number of Democrats and Republicans who will be encouraged to register by the new law. "A little Republican creativity is in order," he said. "The bill should be amended to reach out to the truly disenfranchised by providing voter-registration forms at gun shops, fur salons and private schools."

Wendy Gramm, wife of Senator **Phil Gramm** (R-TX) and former Head of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, is about to announce the formation of her own think tank, to be affiliated with the Citizens for a Sound Economy. Jim Miller III, former Reagan Office of Management and Budget director, will head the organization. But what about funding? Seems as if there could be some intra-family squabbling on who has raised the most money if Sen. Gramm continues his run for the presidency in '96.

Former Secretary of Housing and Urban Development **Jack Kemp** may have left the government, but his pictures and portraits of his idol's monument, The Lincoln Memorial, have remained to inspire the new HUD Secretary, **Henry Cisneros**. Kemp even presented the new secretary with an autographed copy of one of the larger photographs as a welcoming gift. Cisneros has left the photographs of the memorial up but has been less kind when referring to Kemp and his plan to sell public housing to tenants.

Cisneros, who has been critical of the agency's waste, said that Kemp's focus of "ideologically attractive themes" might have contributed to "some inattention" to the basic management of H.U.D. Since when did encouraging the nation's underclass to strive to own their own homes become simply "ideological?" WNQ thinks that if this type of "tie-their-hands-behind-their-backs" and allow no innovation mentality is widespread among Department secretaries, Clinton's tentative hold on his electoral base of 43% (due to his mantra of Change, Change, Change) will shrink and his "ownership" of the White House will be short lived.

BUDGET BUSTERS

WNQ's choice of political favorites this month are Republican Representatives **John R. Kasich** of Ohio and **Steve Gunderson** of Wisconsin. Kasich is the Ranking Republican on the House Budget Committee who did what he could to put Democrats in their place this past March. After the Clinton budget package was presented to the Congress, Kasich took matters into own hands to protest the package's spending initiatives, half of which are paid for by tax increases. Kasich and his small staff worked long hours to come up with an alternate plan that would require no tax increases, yet would still reduce the deficit significantly.

"To just sit back and criticize Clinton without a manageable, credible alternative is a dreadful mistake," Kasich said last month at the committee meeting where his plan was defeated on a near party line vote. "We didn't come here to be potted plants."

Yet Rep. Steve Gunderson and eight of his colleagues had different ideas. Although Kasich's plan eliminated all taxes it also cut back the financial aid to students, kept the deficit-feeding Super Collider project and removed the tax on millionaires and those who make over \$200,000 a year. Gunderson and other House Republicans such as **Nancy Johnson** of Connecticut, **Olympia Snowe** of Maine and **Wayne Gilchrist** of Maryland believed that more could be done to reduce the deficit. They therefore came up with an alternative plan that reduced the deficit more than either the Clintonites or the Kasich followers did by combining the best of both plans. "I and some of my colleagues have concluded that real and fair deficit reduction is the key goal of the American citizen today," Gunderson stated. While many of the members from both sides of the aisle agreed with this statement and their plan, it garnered only twenty votes leading Gunderson to conclude, "If deficit reduction were the goal in Washington as it is in America's heartland, and bipartisanship were the mode of operation, this budget would [have] passed."

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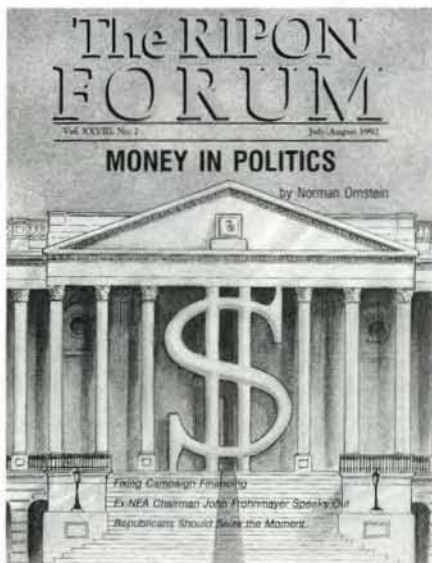
Operation Rescue head, **Randall A. Terry** had these words when asked whom he thought President Clinton would nominate as the next Supreme Court Justice. "It may be hard to find a multi-cultural, politically correct, child-killing, lesbian spotted owl to fill the vacancy," Terry noted, "but Clinton will try. I fear Mario Cuomo is the closest thing he's got."

Best Bumper on the Beltway

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