

THE RIPON FORUM

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MONSTER CLASH:
How GOP Moves Against
Environmental Protection Could
Backfire at the Polls

Can Labor Rally?

Terminators II

Stuart Stevens Reveals



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STOP 300

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POLICY ON PARADE

7 Going Against the Greens

Will the GOP's Push Against Takings and Red Tape Alienate the Green Vote?

by Andrew Branan



FEATURES

14 Return of the Terminators

It Was a Tough Spring for Term Limits: After Congress Tripped Them Up, the Supreme Court Knocked Them Down. But With Three-Quarters of the Public Behind Them, They're Back With a Vengeance.

by Norman Leahy

17 Labor's Last Ditch?

With "Competitiveness" in Vogue With the Nation's Lawmakers, the Weakened Trade Unions Are Mounting a Desperate Stand to Save Their Positions.

by John F. Persinos



ON THE RECORD

22 Pacing the Pack

With Swashbuckling Stuart Stevens Leading the Dole Air War, Don't Look For a Dull Campaign From the GOP Favorite.



DEPARTMENTS

- 4 Under the Big Tent by Michael Dubke
- 5 To the Ripon Readers
- 6 Capital Comix
- 11 The Pulse-Stir
- 13 The Analyst by Christine Mathews
- 26 Research & Reviews
- 28 Beyond the Beltway
- 30 Notes & Quotes

Cover: Environmentalists protest Arizona's Prop 300, a measure sponsored by the state that would have slashed government's ability to regulate private property.

Who Wants a Big Tent Anyway?

When was the last time you heard someone use the term "Big Tent" outside the confines of the *Ripon Forum*. I will bet it's been a long time. Oh sure, Speaker **Newt Gingrich** was Ringmaster Newt Gingrich when the circus came to town, but even then the elephants paraded on the front lawn of the Capitol and not under a big tent. It seems that the luster has been lost on one of the guiding passages from the late **Lee Atwater**. A *wunderkind* of the GOP until his untimely death in 1991, Harvey Lee Atwater spoke passionately for a "Big Tent" Republican party, an inclusive Grand Old Party that would replace the New Deal Democrat coalition and thrust the GOP into the next century as the major political force.



Lee Atwater

Well, under the "Big Dome" at the end of July, 51 centrist Republicans separated themselves from the leadership and struck the 17 provisions restricting Environmental Protection Agency enforcement of clean air and water rules from the EPA funding bill. [See related article on page 7.] They were not lauded as good soldiers who had an honest disagreement; instead they were attacked; and three days later—with the GOP leadership claiming their right to vote again on the same amendment—the restrictions were restored on a 210-210 roll call vote. (Since the centrists were not able to supply a majority on the reconsideration, their amendment failed.)

No "Big Tent" was in evidence on the House floor. To add insult to injury, the *Wall Street Journal* reports the GOP centrists were privately dismissed by the anti-green forces as "bedwetters" and "remnants of a 'country-club' era out of sync with the

harder-edged philosophy of the new GOP majority."

Until such rhetoric in the ranks of the Republican leadership is set aside—and until Arney, DeLay & Company understand that their more moderate brethren hold the key to continued GOP electoral success—we may be handing Clinton and the Democrat Party an opportunity they so richly do not deserve: to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat.

The Ripon Society is dedicated to creating a permanent Republican majority, defeating Bill Clinton and the Democrats in 1996 and attracting disaffected independents to the GOP. But it makes our job that much tougher when our congressional leadership turns its back on over 20 percent of its own members.

"Big Tent" in Action

The Mayflower Hotel in Washington was the site of the 3rd annual Conference for a Republican Majority in July; with the help of Conference Chairman and former **Senator Charles Percy**, the **Ripon Society**, **Committee for Responsible Government**, **Log Cabin Republicans**, **Mainstream**, **Republican Coalition for Choice**, **Republicans for Choice**, **Republicans for All Americans** and **WISH List** it was an overwhelming success. Over 250 people participated in the three days of lunches, speeches and break-out sessions. Conversations and debate centered around a single topic—how to attract more Americans to the Republican Party.

A particularly salient point was made by newly acquired GOP Cong. **Greg Laughlin** (R-TX) at a lunch that featured Ripon Chairman Senator **Nancy Landon Kassebaum**, Cong./former Ripon Chairman **Jim**

Leach (R-IA) and New York Lt. Governor **Betsy McCaughey** (pronounced McCoy). Laughlin spoke of a Democrat leadership in the House so controlled by the liberal elements of the party, it would not allow voices from the more centrist members to be heard. "I did not leave the Democrat party; the Democrat Party which I had known left me."

We at Ripon hope that our House leadership will take Cong. Laughlin's words of caution to heart.

WISH to Washington

The WISH List, a political action committee which supports Republican women for election to the House and Senate, recently moved their headquarters from Tinton Falls, NJ to Washington, DC. The PAC has tapped **Francine Levinson** as its new Executive Director. Francine succeeds **Lynn Shapiro**, who's staying in New Jersey to run a political consulting firm. Anyone wishing to contact WISH may call (202) 342-9111 or send a written note to: 3205 N Street, NW, Washington, DC 20007.

A Washington Wish List

Over the next few issues of the *Ripon Forum* we will be investigating how Republican public policy can transform America's cities. As a control we will use Washington, DC, our national model of "a city in trouble." Due to severe economic tribulations, its political upheavals and the ultimate supervision that a Republican-controlled Congress can put on our national Capital, the District's public practices are ripe for review. If you have any thoughts on solutions or areas we should investigate, please give us a call at our new offices. (Address change and numbers on page two.)

In Search of a Boogieman

As the budgetary process proceeds in the brave, new Congress, Republican leaders calling the tune are in perfect harmony with the majority of voters in most departments, but unnervingly dissonant when it comes to Defense. Polls show the American people can't understand why our military expenditures should increase in the wake of our Cold War victory, with no perceived foe on the horizon more ominous than North Korea. And who can blame them?

We currently spend over five percent of GNP on the military; the highest such proportion among the other major post-industrial nations is registered by France and the United Kingdom, with about four percent each. Were we to cut our military expenditures to the same proportion, we would still have a defense budget five times larger than any other nation. Why should we spend more?

The main reason for our continued high investments in Defense stems from the "Two-Front" grand strategy now governing the martial thinking of Congress. This theory insists that we should maintain the capability of fighting two major wars in two theaters simultaneously, with clear superiority in material over any perceived threat. Much of our retired military establishment contests this notion, saying that capacity for one full-fledged war in one theater—while fighting a holding action in another—is plenty readiness enough in the New World Order.

Even that more reasonable assessment is suspect. We only need such firepower—far beyond the capacity of any other nation in the world—if we have one of two intentions, one immoral and the other egotistically and foolishly indulgent: We can either lord it over the rest of the world in the fashion of ancient Rome, ruling for our own benefit through extortion and intimidation, or (more altruistically) become the world's police department. That is, of course, if we have intentions at all for our massive arsenal. If we do not, then let us suggest building

bridges, highways and mass transit as a comparable government make-work alternative that actually addresses a critical national need.

Assuming our tremendous military outlays have a moral objective, why should it be up to America to keep the peace of the world? That is a completely presumptuous notion that will eventually breed only contempt for us in the world community. Of our several military adventures since World War II, only the action in the Persian Gulf had sustained majority support among the American people, and for good reason: it was the only one in which our critical national interests were clearly at stake.

If there is to be an international police force, it should be under the aegis of the United Nations, with all countries contributing the same portion of their economies to the effort. The disposition of those forces should be determined by a two-thirds majority vote of the Security Council, with the represented nations casting ballots that are weighted, according to the size of their respective contributions and populations. Unless such an arrangement can be made, the business of each nation should be its own.

With the national debt spiraling to heights that will enslave our children, there can be no reasonable defense of our current levels of military expenditure. Beyond that, we are spending it in wastefully short-sighted ways, heavily favoring short-term readiness when the significant threat (if there is one) is only long-term. The effect of our current spending patterns will be to draw us into numerous actions of little consequence other than their cost in blood and treasure. Once we have paid to defend against the illusive boogieman of our nightmares, we will find him behind every bush. To do otherwise would be an admission of our stupidity.

Please send your views to:
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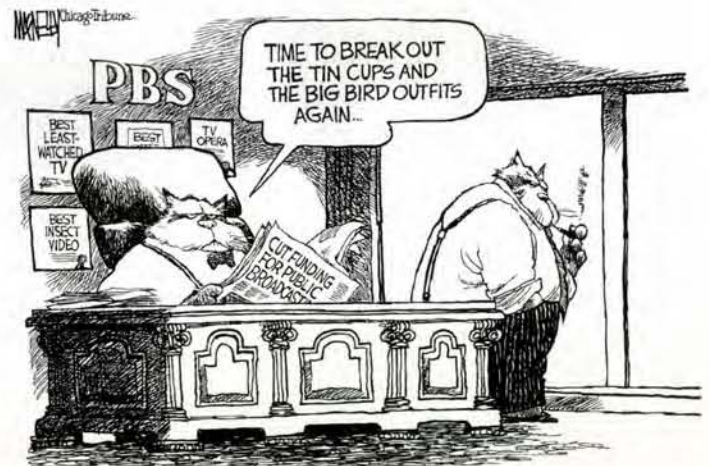
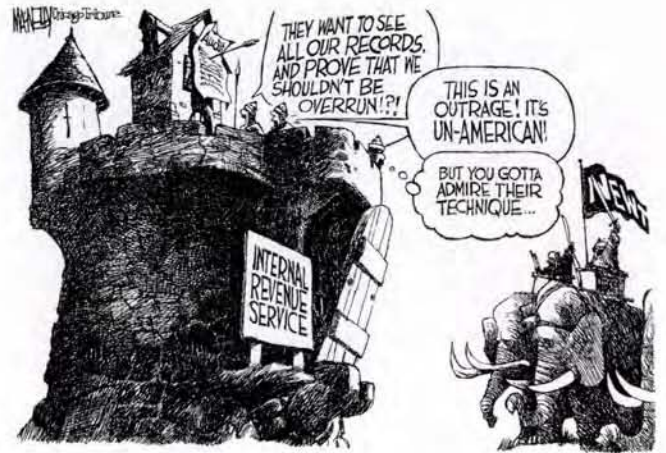
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CaPiTOL

COMIX

BY JEFF MACNELLY



MACNELLY Chicago Tribune

Balance



MACNELLY Chicago Tribune

Meanwhile at FORT CLINTON:



Going Against the Greens

Will the GOP's Push Against Takings and Red Tape Alienate the Green Vote?

by Andrew Branan

" At first blush, it sounds good...until the potential costs are considered...Even some Republicans aren't happy with this section of the GOP's Contract With America after reading the fine print."

—Gainesville [FL] Sun, February 29, 1995

Unlike its salience in the '92 presidential cycle, the issue of environmental protection seldom arose in the '94 mid-term election campaigns. Read a copy of the Contract with America; the word "environment" is never mentioned. And with good reason: The Republican leadership's quest to roll back environmental regulations is at odds with public opinion. Now "green" groups are vowing to raise voter awareness of that fact in 1996 with a mega-million dollar media offensive.

While Americans are not quite as concerned about the environment as they were three years ago—an April 17 Gallup poll showed a five-point drop—they still overwhelmingly believe the government is not doing enough to combat air and water pollution (see table). Republican or Democrat, no one relishes contaminated water or carbon monoxide.

True, most everyone agrees property rights need protecting too; but ask someone about federal and state regulatory takings, and their eyes almost invariably glaze over.

As the GOP gained control of Congress last Fall with a platform of reducing the federal government's regulatory reach, a takings measure was tucked away in a Contract provision entitled the Job Creation and Wage Enhancement Act. Environmentalists claim that proposal—repackaged and passed March 3 as H.R. 925, the "Private Property Protection Act"—will void a generation of progress in environmental protection. They are also bitterly critical of 17 riders the GOP House leadership attached to an appropriations bill in July which would gut funding for regulatory activities by the Environmental Protection Agency.

Although the apparent product of the November '94 mandate for change, the anti-green initiatives could well prove to be a political mis-
 cue; some GOP strategists fear those who support them could alienate key swing segments of the electorate. Such assessments helped convince 51

House Republicans to buck their party on the appropriations riders, which went down to defeat on July 28. The leadership managed to restore them on a tied reconsideration vote three days later, but not one of the defectors returned to the fold.

Taking the Fifth

Tacked on the tail of the U.S. Constitution's Fifth Amendment—commonly invoked against legal self incrimination—trails the "Takings

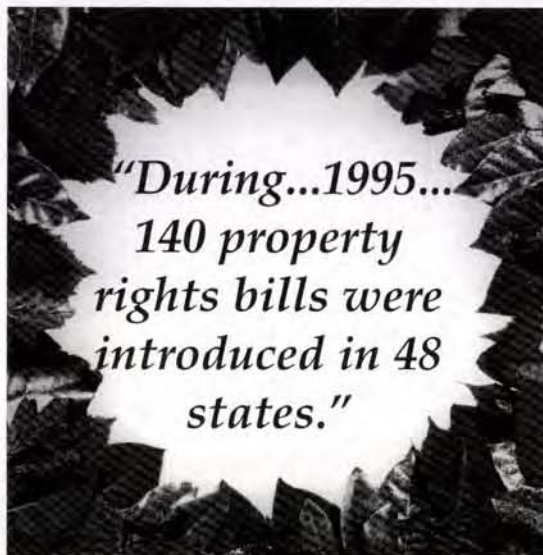
free use of their property, thereby rendering the property without value.

The concept of regulatory takings was first recognized by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Pennsylvania Coal v. Mahon* (1922). After 70 years of occasional revisitations, takings were finally codified by the Reagan Administration as Executive Order 12630, which requires all agencies to assess the impacts of their regulations on property owners. The Reagan Order (largely unenforced) has ironically never been rescinded by the Clinton Administration.

In a recent, definitive interpretation of the Takings Clause, the U.S. Supreme Court held in *Lucas v. South Carolina Coastal Council* (1992) that a regulatory taking occurred only after a total economic loss. Writing for the majority, Justice Antonin Scalia defined a taking as the situation where "the owner of real property has been called upon to sacrifice all economically beneficial uses in the name of the common good." This decision was viewed by environmentalists as a setback to recognition of the takings concept, and by property rights activists as a serious shortcoming.

The Court revisited the issue again this year in its June 29 decision *Babbitt v. Sweet Home Chapter of Communities for a Great Oregon*, where it upheld a government regulation of private land as "habitat" under the Endangered Species Act.

Though the Sweet Home decision was marked as a victory by environmentalists, the House had already set in motion its effort codify the Reagan executive order. Essentially, regulatory takings can be codified in one of two ways: 1) require a takings



Clause," to wit: "Private property [shall not] be taken for public use without just compensation." This text bite is simple in its premise regarding the physical occupation of private land by a government entity, commonly referred to as "eminent domain." However, over the course of this century the Clause has been interpreted—through a series of toothless U.S. Supreme Court decisions and Reagan-era regulatory shufflings—as requiring compensation when a government regulation inhibits a private owner's

Can't Be Too Clean

Do you think environmental laws and regulations for—

	Gone too far	Not far enough	Right balance
Fighting air pollution	10%	61%	26%
Fighting water pollution	5	70	21

Source: Roper Starch Worldwide poll for Times Mirror, conducted with 1,003 adults nationwide 3/23-4/4, 1995.

assessment analysis by all government agencies involved in the project, or 2) require compensation to be paid to a property owner for any reduction in value caused by an agency action. The latter, considered by most environmentalists as the more egregious, was the route taken by the House.

As authored by the House Judiciary Committee, H.R. 925 applies broadly to federal law, requiring compensation for land devalued by a fifth or more. A substitute version offered by Cong. Billy Tauzin (D-LA)—which specifically targets the Endangered Species Act, wetlands protections of the Clean Water Act, and federal riparian laws in the west—passed by a vote of 301 to 128. The final package (H.R. 9) combined H.R. 925 with H.R. 1022—a codification of the takings assessment philosophy.

Even though the H.R. 9 passed, a cadre of moderate Republicans broke ranks, insisting the bill went too far and would undermine the federal government's ability to regulate and enforce basic standards for health and safety that the public had come to expect.

In a February 14 letter to Judiciary Chair Henry Hyde (R-IL), fifteen GOP Members led by John Porter (IL) and Sherwood Boehlert (NY) applauded the effort at reducing the regulatory burden on small property owners, but declared H.R. 9 would effectively create an entitlement program that would increase federal bureaucracy and increase civil litigation. Above all, they warned of: "severe and unintended consequences [of H.R. 9] which could potentially harm, rather than help, the average American....if this legislation were to become law, the federal government could be required to compensate a landowner who is denied a permit to site a hazardous waste facility over an aquifer that supplies drinking water to a nearby community."

Republican opposition surfaced at committee hearings

from state officials as well. Representing the National Conference of State Legislatures, New Hampshire state Sen. Richard L. Russman (R) declared, "As a fiscal conservative and believer in limited government, compensation-type 'takings' bills represent expensive 'budget-busters.'" Russman also testified that "...the federal government, through H.R. 9, will find itself in the unenviable position of paying polluters not to pollute and paying individuals not to engage in conduct that could damage the health, safety or property values of others."

In the Senate, where a takings bill offered by Phil Gramm (R-TX) is still in committee, several Republicans have stood up to oppose any bill that contains a compensatory requirement. Among those speaking out are Maine Senators Bill Cohen and Olympia Snowe, John Chafee (RI), Mark Hatfield (OR), Jim Jeffords (VT), Ben

Campbell (CO), and presidential hopefuls Arlen Specter (PA) and Richard Lugar (IN). The Senate version (S. 605, "The Omnibus Property Rights Act") requires compensation when property is devalued by a third or more.

State Ballot Acid Tests

While the takings movement went nowhere in Congress until this year (Tauzin's previous repeated efforts never made it out of committee), such bills have been surfacing in state legislatures in increasing numbers since 1990, as the presence of the property rights movement has been felt to some degree in nearly every state legislature. During the 1995 state legislative season alone, 140 property rights bills were introduced in 48 states, Georgia and Kentucky taking exception. In this atmosphere, one might conclude there is a strong public demand for these bills. But looking at state ballot proposals for property rights laws, one discovers broad-based opposition to takings measures of the type now before Congress.

According to Roy Morgan—president of Americans for the Environment, advocates for environmental protection through the state initiative and referendum process—ballot proposition campaigns are providing a window on public sentiment regarding takings measures. "Of all the conservative initiatives at the state level," says Morgan, "takings is the acid test which has measured public opposition to environmental law rollbacks. Although takings proponents have introduced near 200 property rights bills in the various... legislatures, their win record has been held at 10 percent," including states where citizens cannot strike down a "bad" law through a statewide vote.

As far back as 1986, a measure **narrowing** the takings clause in the Rhode Island state constitution—nearly identical to the one in the federal constitution—was approved by Ocean State voters

Behind The Green Eight-Ball

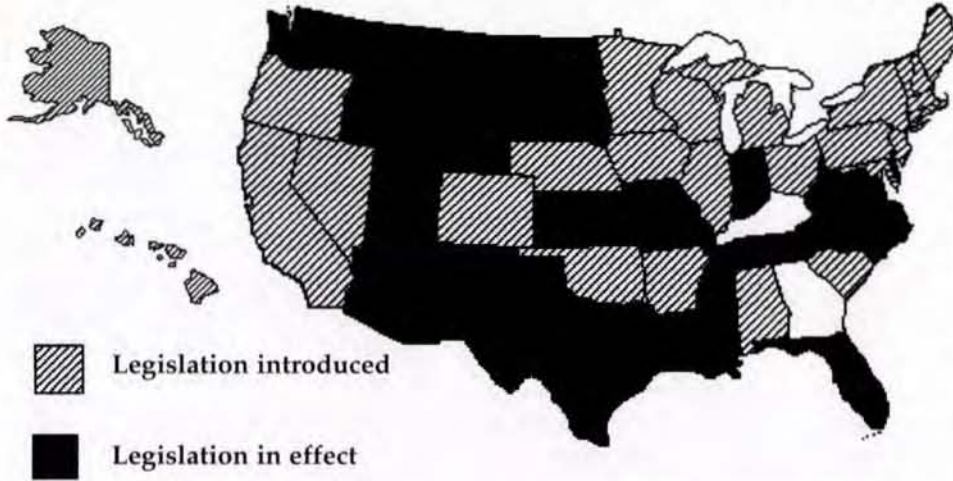
Environmental grassroots lobbying groups are still being coy about their '96 congressional hit lists, but enough key votes have been taken in the 104th House to give us a clear idea. The following have not been supportive of "green" positions, represent constituencies that are, and won only narrowly in 1994. (All are GOP freshmen except Cramer, a Democrat veteran. All districts but Seastrand's had a Democrat congressman in 1994.)

Name	District
Brian Billbray	CA-49
Jim Bunn	OR-05
Bud Cramer	AL-05
Frank Cremeans	OH-06
Jon Christensen	NE-02
Dick Chrysler	MI-08
Doc Hastings	WA-04
Fred Heineman	NC-04
Jack Metcalf	WA-02
Mark Neuman	WI-01
Frank Riggs	CA-01
Andrea Seastrand	CA-22
Linda Smith	WA-03
Randy Tate	WA-09
Dave Weldon	FL-15

Takings Legislation in the States

21 states have passed property rights legislation.
48 states have introduced over 140 property rights bills in 1995.

updated 6/19/95



Reprinted with permission from Defenders of Property Rights, Washington, DC.

by more than 2:1, the largest majority out of fourteen ballot questions offered that year.

The most widely noted state battle on the takings front was waged last cycle in arid Arizona, where voters nullified a takings assessment law (presented on the ballot as Proposition 300) by a 3:2 margin. Introduced in 1992 by state Rep. Mark Killian (R) and subsequently signed by Gov. Fyfe Symington (R), the law had implications for interests beyond the traditional scope of environmental concerns.

Property rights are a hot issue in Arizona, where only 13 percent of all land is privately owned; but the anti-Prop 300 campaign—led by local environmental organizations, including a wing of the Sierra Club—captured the mainstream of the electorate by emphasizing the havoc the measure created for the regulation of land use and health hazards. Presented with this threat, several neighborhood associations joined the effort to defeat 300 (see cover photo), and the measure drew editorial fire from nearly every Arizona newspaper. Even normally conservative sportsmen's groups came out in opposition when it was discovered that wildlife conservation funds were threatened by the enormous

costs of the takings measure. Ironically, the issues that sent 300 to defeat were conservative in tone: no more government spending, no new taxes, no new litigation.

Another takings referendum facing Washington State voters this November is already starting to draw the same broad-based opposition. Unlike the Arizona version, Washington's Initiative 164 is nearly identical to the federal takings bill in the Senate, and may provide a reading on public sentiment on the issue.

Vote margins in these state ballot campaigns are not the only indication of political liability in the Contract's takings philosophy. Grassroots opposition to the federal takings measure is beginning to surface at field hearings beyond the Beltway. According to Daniel J. Weiss, political director of the Sierra Club, "Field hearings in places where the proponents of these takings measures feel there is strong support are being overwhelmed by opponents." One hearing in Phoenix, Arizona, chaired by freshman John Shadeg (R-4th), drew an estimated 300 opponents of H.R. 9. A similar meeting held recently in Annapolis, MD, drew another 400 people.

Beware the Green Wave

Though numerous mainstream groups are now actively combating efforts to hamstring environmental regulations, the "green" community is still at the vanguard of public education on the issue. Because polls still show strong support for environmental protection, major conservation organizations are planning to devote substantial resources to the '96 congressional campaigns, bringing chickens home to roost for those who voted for H.R. 9 and the appropriations riders.

According to the League of Conservation Voters president Jim Maddy, LCV has set aside a large, yet undisclosed sum to target such Members. "Several million dollars will be spent on TV and radio time to highlight incumbents who voted to curtail regulations on food and water safety," Maddy promises, though he remains cagey about naming names. Totalling both directly political and educational outlays, Maddy expects the environmental community to spend over a billion dollars this cycle to educate voters on the issue of environmental protection.

"Though we are facing a tough road in '96, we are going to support what friends we have," says Chuck McGrady, a political operative for the Sierra Club. McGrady—a Georgian who formerly worked for House Speaker Newt Gingrich—insists that Republicans and Democrats alike are making a big mistake writing off the environmental vote. "We are not concerned with party affiliation," he says. "We just want a pro-environment majority in the House."

Cong. Sherwood Boehlert agrees that the issue needn't be a loser for the GOP, telling the *Washington Post*, "Republicans will be in power if they do two things: soften some of the hard edges and don't turn their backs on the environment."

Andrew Branan reports on state ballot initiative campaigns for *Campaigns & Elections* magazine.

Golden State Gloom

CNN/USA Today: 801 nat'l adults surveyed 7/7-9; by Gallup; margin of error +/-3.5%. 326 CA adults surveyed 7/7-9; +/-6%. Subsamples: 389 nat'l GOPers, +/-5%; 153 CA GOPers; +/-9% (CNN release, 7/11).

	National	CA
Clinton Job		
Approve	48%	47%
Disapprove	42	45

	National	CA
Congress Job		
Approve	35%	32%
Disapprove	55	58

The way things are going in your state		
Satisfied	50%	27%
Dissatisfied	46	69

GOP Presidential Primary (GOPers Only)

	National		CA
	Now	6/95	Now
Bob Dole	49%	51%	47%
Pete Wilson	8	6	19
Phil Gramm	7	13	6
Pat Buchanan	6	7	6
Lamar Alexander	4	2	3
Richard Lugar	3	2	1
Arlen Specter	3	4	2
Alan Keyes	2	1	2
Bob Dornan	1	2	2
DK/other	17	12	12

	U.S.	CA
'96 Cong. Elections		
Dem candidate	46%	42%
GOP candidate	46	49

What the GOP in Congress is doing		
Is politics as usual	68%	62%
Represents real change	27	33

General Election Matchups

	U.S.	CA
Dole	48%	46%
Clinton	47	48
Clinton	50%	56%
Wilson	38	38

In dealing w/tough choices involved both in cutting programs to reduce the deficit and still maintaining Fed. programs, which party's approach do you prefer?

	U.S.	CA
Republicans	44%	47%
Democrats	43	42

Should the U.S. establish normal relations with Vietman?

	U.S.	CA
Yes	61%	70%
No	29	23

Whose approach to affirmative action do you prefer?

	U.S.	CA
GOP in Congress	42%	39%
Clinton	38	37

Constitutional amendment to allow government to make flag burning illegal

	U.S.	CA
Favor	62%	58%
Oppose	36	39

Cong. GOP's Whitewater hearings are mostly...

	U.S.	CA
An attempt to hurt Clinton politically	63%	66%
A legitimate attempt to learn the truth	24	24

Concerning Clinton's Whitewater Role:

	U.S.
He is hiding something	51%
Not hiding something	41

Clinton is...

	U.S.	CA
New kind of Dem	44%	44%
Same as past Dems	51	51

Continued on page 12

GOP Alternatives

EPIC/MRA-MITCHELL: 1000 registered voters surveyed 6/21-26; margin of error +/-3.0%. Subsample: 442 GOPers; +/-4.5% (release, 7/6).

Should the Nat'l Republican Party keep the pro-life plank in their platform, or should it be removed?

	All	GOP	Pro-life	Born Again	Conservatives
Remove Plank	62%	52%	30%	47%	49%
Keep Plank	28	38	59	44	41
Change it (VOL)	2	2	2	2	2
Pro-choice (VOL)	1	0	0	1	0
DK	8	7	8	6	8

No group or individual should receive preferential treatment today because of past discrimination

Agree	75%
Disagree	20

General Election Matchups

Dole	41%	Clinton	44%
Clinton	38	Gingrich	29
Perot	15	Perot	17

Gov't is too big and inefficient and should have less influence in our daily lives

Agree	79%
Disagree	17

Should Newt Gingrich run for the GOP nomination for President?

Yes	18%	No	68%	Undecided	14%
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1995 Elections: Louisiana Governor

LOUISIANA GOV. ROEMER NOW LEADS IN RUNOFF MATCHUPS Shreveport Times poll, conducted by Mason-Dixon, surveyed 826 re. LA voters 7/6-8; margin of error +/-3.5%(release, 7/11).

	ALL	BLACK	Runoff Matchups	
Ex-Governor Buddy Roemer (R)	24%	6%	Roemer (R)	46%
Treasurer Mary Landrieu (D)	13	9	Schwegmann(D)	40
LG Melinda Schwegmann(D)	12	5	Undecided	14
Congressman Cleo Fields (D)	11	44		
Jefferson Parish Sheriff Harry Lee (D)	10	2	Roemer (R)	43%
Ex. State Representative David Duke (R)	5	*	Landrieu (D)	38
Ex.-Governor David Treen (R)	4	*	Undecided	19
State Senator Mike Foster (D)	3	1		
Congressman Bill Jefferson (D)	2	8	Roemer (R)	59%
State Representative Quentin Dastugue(R)	2	*	Fields(D)	24
Undecided	12	25	Undecided	17
Not tested: ex-LA Education Superintendent Tom Clausen (D) and state Senator Don Kelly (D).			Roemer (R)	53%
			Lee (D)	27
			Undecided	20



The Defense Issue In Retreat

The unexpected rout of Communism in the late 1980's brought profound changes to the former Soviet Union and other eastern European countries, but this dramatic re-ordering also created a worldview shift for Americans, the ramifications of which are now strongly evident.

In political terms, Republicans lost one of their defining principles: support for a strong military to counter the communist threat. Americans were no longer unified against one great enemy, but were threatened by many forces much more amorphous, and perhaps, therefore, more unsettling.

When things were simpler, voters were attracted to the Republican Party for generally one (or more) of three reasons: less government, lower taxes, or strong defense. We find in the 1990's that support for less government and lower taxes continue to powerfully draw voters to the GOP, but that conservative social issues have replaced military defense as the third magnet bringing voters to the party.

In fact, in the Republican Party (as the electorate as a whole) the theme of isolationism espoused by Pat Buchanan may win more converts than nostalgia for the strong military presence of the Reagan era. That is not yet the majority opinion, but Americans are becoming slightly more insular and more reluctant to support U.S. military action abroad. The chart in Figure 1 illustrates this sentiment.

There was a similar increase in isolationist mood at the close of the Vietnam War, faded significantly during the Reagan era. It remains to be seen if this sentiment is cyclical in nature or if the "new isolationism" is here to stay as part of the New World Order.

Surprisingly, there is little difference of opinion between

Republicans and Democrats on this issue, while independents are less likely than voters of either party to favor isolationism.

It is within this context that defense spending rates very low on America's priority list. In fact, on a recent US News survey, a majority (51%) of American voters interviewed were opposed to increasing defense spending while only 42% supported it. And on another recent sampling (The National Opinion Research Center's General Social Survey), voters ranked 16 other items ahead of defense spending as deserving of increased funding; among them: crime, education, the environment, transportation, health care, assisting blacks, assisting cities, and aiding the poor. Only space exploration, welfare, and foreign aid were seen as less deserving of more funds. Much the same ordering of priorities is evident in Table 1.

In keeping with the times, we find that the strong defense/military theme may no longer be an organizing principle for Republicans, but rather one toward which there

are discordant views. Certainly, there remains a committed element of Republican support (younger, mostly male, more affluent and quite conservative) that remains dedicated to a strong national defense and supportive of increasing funds for the military. However, within the Republican party, this voice does not carry the weight that it once did.

Christine Mathews is principal of CM Research in Alexandria, VA.

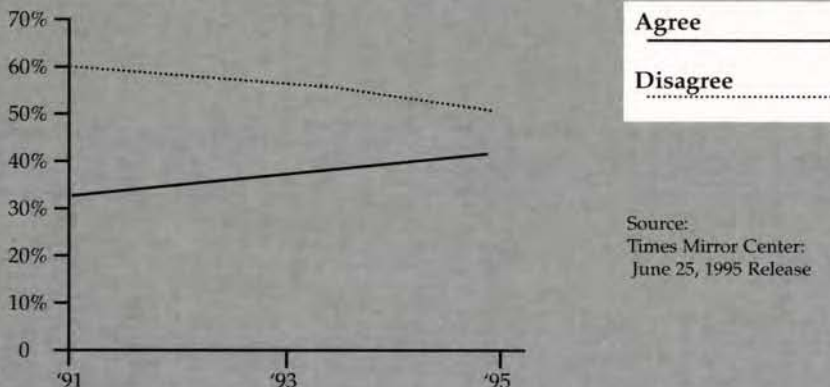
TABLE 1
An Ordering of Priorities for Budget Cuts

	Make Significant Cuts	Prevent Cuts
SOCIAL SECURITY	13%	84%
MEDICARE	16%	81%
STUDENT LOANS/ED.	20%	77%
VET HOSPITALS	22%	74%
MEDICAID	25%	71%
MASS TRANSIT	45%	48%
FARM SPENDING	46%	48%
DEFENSE SPENDING	54%	41%
PUBLIC TV/RADIO	54%	42%
WELFARE	65%	29%
FOREIGN AID	81%	16%

Source: Time/CNN Poll, May 1995.

FIGURE 1

U.S. Should Mind Its Own Business Internationally



Source: Times Mirror Center, June 25, 1995 Release



Return of the Terminators



It Was a Tough Spring for Term Limits: After Congress Tripped Them Up, the Supreme Court Knocked Them Down. But With Three-Quarters of the Public Behind Them, They're Back With a Vengeance.

by
**Norman
Leahy**

House Republicans were bound by their Contract with America to bring term limits to a vote on the House floor for the first time in its 206-year history. As expected, none of the four competing versions of term limits garnered the 290 votes necessary for passage of a constitutional amendment. House Speaker Newt Gingrich immediately blamed the Democrats, as more than 80 percent of them had voted against final passage. But the real reason term limits failed that day was Congress' institutional inability to curb its own power.

The same institutional obstacles which confronted turn-of-the-century suffragettes and populists stand in the way of today's term limit activists, a problem that has been compounded by the Supreme Court's May 22 ruling that states may not impose term limit or ballot access restrictions on their congressional delegations. Finding a way around the twin obstacles of congressional self-preservation and constitutionality has sent term limit supporters back to the drawing board. Most of the options under discussion have little or no reliance on congressional action, counting instead on the unflagging support for term limits ("TL") at the grassroots.

A House in Disrepute

Some congressional Republicans had been less than eager to include TL in the Contract with

America, and the House Republican Conference vote to do so was close and contentious. Cong. Dick Armey (R-TX) was able to overcome objections from colleagues Henry Hyde (R-IL) and Tom DeLay (R-TX) after polling data from Luntz Research showed TL enjoyed more support than any other proposal measured, and could swing as many as 15 House races in November—possibly enough to give Republicans control of the chamber for the first time in 40 years.

But once that historic event had come to pass, a rift soon developed over what constituted a meaningful term limit. Polls have consistently indicated a heavy majority of the American people prefer a three-term House cap (see below), and 16 of

the 23 states that had congressional term limit laws on the books had adopted that standard. This was not the case on Capitol Hill, where senior incumbents and organizations aligned with the conservative establishment were much more comfortable with much longer House limits than the voters seemed to have in mind.

Speaker-elect Newt Gingrich told the editorial board of the *Washington Post* that he was "deeply opposed" to a three-term House limit, a sentiment he reiterated at a January 11 news conference, declaring: "I am opposed to six years." When newly elected Republicans signed a petition calling for a three-term limit on the Speaker, Gingrich countered with an eight-year limit, which was adopted the first day of the 104th Congress. The *Wall Street Journal's* Jackie Calmes reports that the Speaker "backed a limit of a dozen years for House members in his first successful campaign—16 years ago.... In 1989, he told reporters he wanted 32 more years in the House."

Now-House Majority Leader Armey—who in the past has co-sponsored both three-term and six-term House limit bills—told *National Public Radio* in December that if the "Republicans can straighten out the House and make it work properly and efficiently and responsibly to the American people, then I think the nation's desire for term limits will be diminished." Armey retracted the statement after his office was

**Here's the Demand;
Where's the Supply?**

Do you support the general idea of term limits?

Yes	75%
No	16
Undecided/ Refused	9

(Asked of term limits supporters:) Should members of Congress be limited to three terms or six terms in office?

Three terms	82%
Six terms	14
Undecided/ Refused	4

Source: Luntz Research survey of 1,000 adults, conducted nationwide August 27-29, 1994.

deluged with calls chastising him for his apparent flip-flop.

When all was said and done in the House, only one of four considered options for a constitutional amendment to limit congressional terms garnered even a majority of the vote: a proposal by eight-term Cong. Bill McCollum (R-FL) for a 12-year cap on both House and Senate service—a limit considered too lax by TL groups and the general public. Moreover, the McCollum Amendment represented a TL retreat for the 16 states which had already enacted House limits of three terms, as it would have nullified those measures.

Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole has pledged to hold a vote on a constitutional amendment within the next few months, though most observers believe term limits of any sort are even less popular in the Senate than in the House. Sen. Hank Brown (R-CO) had proposed a statutory approach to the limits issue that would have required only a simple majority for passage, but the high court ruling had left that method inoperable.

Given the abundance of congressional waffling and gamesmanship on the issue, it is little wonder that most TL backers have decided the only way to enact an effective constitutional amendment is to cut politicians of both parties out of the loop as much as possible.

Strict Obstructionists

On May 22, a deeply divided Supreme Court struck down an Arkansas law that would have limited the ballot access of long-term congressional incumbents. The 5-4 ruling has been over-analyzed in the press for the amount of constitutional distance between the majority and the minority on the concept of state's rights; the bottom line is the only way left to effect congressional term limits is via the Article V amendment process.

The decision took away the one prominent source of outside pres-

sure on Congress to act on TL: the 23 state laws that would have started barring candidates from appearing on the ballot in 1998. Having those state laws on the books, with their clocks ticking, played a significant role in raising the TL issue to the high profile it achieved on Capitol Hill this year.

Initial congressional reaction



"Should Congress fail to pass this proposed amendment within 180 days of its submission, the convention process trigger will be pulled."

to the ruling spoke volumes on the role in which Congress sees itself on this issue: McCollum urged term limit advocates to rally their forces behind a single term limit amendment to maximize its chances for passage in the 105th Congress, adding that there would have to be more passion from the grassroots than was evident in March for any amendment to pass. Freshman Cong. Van Hilleary (R-TN)—sponsor of one of the four amendments voted on in March—retorted that the only reason passion was lacking from the people when the House voted was because McCollum's lax amendment didn't enjoy their support.

At a news conference across town, former House Speaker Tom Foley—defeated in 1994 largely due to his lawsuit against Washington state's TL law—pronounced the limits cause "dead," and predicted that Congress would never pass a constitutional

amendment. The only other substantive congressional comment on the issue was the retirement announcement of Arkansas Cong. Ray Thornton (D), the named party in the Supreme Court case. After three terms in the House, Thornton is leaving, perhaps to run for a position on the state's supreme court.

The most obvious strategy left for TL advocates is to keep pushing for a constitutional amendment in Congress. It is an avenue which offers some possibility of progress, as most new Members have supported the movement. But getting two-thirds of all Members to limit their own careers will be a challenge requiring a big stick: TL backers will have to augment any traditional lobbying campaign with an aggressive, bipartisan voter education program, initially targeted at vulnerable incumbents in the '96 elections.

Voter education (in this context, informing voters of the term limit stands of incumbents and challengers during the campaign) has proved itself an effective tool for changing the outlook of Congress on a variety of issues.

Such efforts on behalf of term limits played a role in last year's defeats of veteran Democrat powers Tom Foley, Dan Rostenkowski and Jack Brooks—TL opponents all, and all replaced by staunch TL advocates.

A concerted, nationwide effort highlighting the anti-TL positions of both Democrat and Republican incumbents (particularly those who won by small margins in 1994) will add considerable muscle to any lobbying campaign for a limiting amendment. But even if congressional opinion were to be changed on what type of amendment should be put forward, there is little chance it would pass in the near future.

(Un)conventional Warfare

Therefore, another kind of campaign is being readied to bypass Congress altogether: gathering the 34 state applications necessary to force Congress to

convene a constitutional convention specifically addressing term limits. South Dakota and Utah petitioned Congress to do just that in the 1980s; like all such applications, these will remain active until withdrawn.

The convention approach seems tailored to the strengths of today's TL movement, but its roots run deep. The nation's founders anticipated that when Congress was faced with an issue cutting directly against its own self-interest, it would be loathe to pursue an effective constitutional remedy. As Pennsylvania's George Bryan then observed: "We shall never find two-thirds of a Congress voting or proposing anything which shall derogate from their own authority and importance, or agreeing to give back to the people any part of those privileges which they have once parted with."

So long as political self-preservation remains a congressional instinct and prospects for enacting an amendment seem remote, the convention route will remain the battlefield of choice for TL backers, allowing them to keep fighting from their highest ground: the homefront. Other convention efforts—most notably for the balanced budget amendment—have failed because they exacted no political price on legislatures for either opposing or rescinding applications. TL activists are working to avoid this mistake by returning to their strongest implement: the initiative.

This latest wave of initiatives will be aimed directly at state legislatures: Once passed, they will require legislative ballots to carry a special designation alongside the name of each candidate, much like the party designation now present on general election ballots. The new designation will tell voters whether or not the candidate has signed a pledge to vote for the TL convention application; a similar plan was used with great success at the turn of the century on the issue of the direct election of U.S. Senators.

Even if entirely successful, this idea will leave supporters several states short of the required 34 needed to call a convention, since only about

half the states have an initiative process. Making up the difference will require concentrated lobbying efforts in the state legislatures, a process that will be bolstered with aggressive new voter education similar in scope and effect to that contemplated for congressional candidates. By exacting a political price for opposing a conven-

Terminator Targets

Led by U.S. Term Limits, activists seeking to limit congressional tenure have vowed to launch "voter education" campaigns in the districts of U.S. House Members who either opposed all term limit proposals this Spring, or who tried to water them down. The list is not yet official, but the following should not be surprised if their names appear near the top:

Vic Fazio (D-CA)
Martin Hoke (R-OH)
David Bonior (D-MI)
Pat Williams (D-MT)
John Kasich (R-OH)
John Hostetler (R-IN)
Dave Camp (R-MI)
Joe Knollenberg (R-MI)

tion, TL backers will translate their broad public support into considerable legislative leverage.

Another option being considered by activists in some states is to issue a convention application directly through the initiative process. Most states with such a process equate its legislative powers with those of the legislature; logically, the people of these states should be able to issue an application themselves. Should this novel approach survive an anticipated court challenge, it will liberate the application process from the straight-jacket of having to rely on politicians to reform themselves.

Once 34 applications are in hand, Congress will be asked to vote on and pass an amendment that will allow the states to set their own versions of congressional term limits—

essentially the Hilleary Amendment voted down last March. Its approval would not mean that—thus empowered—the states would set unreasonably generous limits; rather, it will allow state and local activists to once again shape the TL laws of their states by using the initiative process and grassroots lobbying, just as they did before the Supreme Court ruling.

Should Congress fail to pass this proposed amendment within 180 days of its submission, the convention process trigger will be pulled.

Postponing the Inevitable

While the Supreme Court has made getting congressional term limits more difficult in the short run, it has done little to dampen the public's enthusiasm for the concept. Proof of that came within days of the high court ruling, when the Louisiana legislature overwhelmingly approved a constitutional amendment limiting its own terms for the October 1995 ballot. This November, Mississippi voters will have their chance to limit state and local terms. Even in the majority opinion striking down state-imposed congressional TL, Justice John Paul Stevens concedes that "such limits may provide for the infusion of fresh ideas and new perspectives, and may decrease the likelihood that representatives will lose touch with their constituents."

This is the root of term limit support. So long as Members of Congress remain incapable of passing a constitutional amendment to limit their own tenure, the public will remain agitated by the frustration of its will. This is no longer a debate over whether limiting elective terms is a good idea; it is now a question of when and how congressional term limits become a part of the Constitution. It will happen, either through a Congress restructured until it better reflects the beliefs of the people, or through our first constitutional convention in two centuries.

Norman Leahy is Director of the Term Limits Institute, in Washington, D.C.

Labor's Last Ditch?

With "Competitiveness" in Vogue With the Nation's Lawmakers, the Weakened Trade Unions Are Mounting a Desperate Stand to Save Their Positions

BY JOHN F. PERSINOS

With its membership levels frozen for 40 years and its influence on the wane for at least 20, organized labor finds itself confronting a pro-business GOP Congress and many similarly inclined state legislatures and governors for the first time since its distant heyday. As this new majority embarks on a campaign to rollback a wide range of pro-labor legislation, the unions find their very survival at risk for the first time since the 1930s. Although their political and electoral clout is now widely discounted, labor leaders say they are gearing up their grassroots forces for a fierce counterstrike against their conservative nemeses in Congress.

A recent statement from the AFL-CIO's Executive Council reflects labor's beleaguerment and siege mentality: "[The GOP leadership's] broad legislative agenda would subvert workplace democracy and undermine virtually every social and economic gain the labor movement has ever achieved...The American labor movement...will vigorously oppose their efforts."

What exactly is this subversive agenda? What form will this "vigorous" opposition take? Will it really amount to much?

Protections at Risk

Business interests acknowledge they are seizing a rare opportunity to revamp New Deal legislation that's become burdensome and hopelessly antiquated. For unions, it seems like a long-feared nightmare has finally come true. The GOP congressional leadership is fighting for a long list of measures that labor abhors, notably to:

- overturn President Clinton's recent executive order to deny federal contracts to companies that permanently replace striking workers;
- amend the 1935 National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) to give management greater freedom to establish "employee involvement" committees that labor leaders condemn as little more than company unions; and
- repeal the 1931 Davis-Bacon Act and the 1965 Service Contract Act, which require contractors to pay the local prevailing wage to workers on federally financed projects.

The prognoses for these measures is quite favorable—at least as far as the legislative branch is concerned. With its Democrat allies no longer in charge of key congressional committees, labor faces a pronounced deterioration in its legal underpinnings. As one business lobbyist put it:



"The committee chairmen won't be checking with the AFL-CIO before they take action on workplace legislation."

The last time Republicans had the congressional clout and momentum they have today, the result was the Taft-Hartley Act (1947), an enormously influential piece of legislation that rolled back strike frequency and much of the sweeping legal standing labor had achieved during the Depression. Repeal of Section 14-B of Taft-Hartley (allowing states to outlaw closed shops with "right-to-work laws") has been the great labor rallying cry ever since.

The electoral results in November were profoundly traumatic for union leaders, says Victor Kamber, whose Washington-based public relations firm represents many labor unions. "At every level, there was at first tremendous shock and then bafflement about what to do," Kamber reports. "For 40 years, unions have always had at least one branch of Congress as a staunch friend.... There is no labor leader in power today who has served under this kind of environment."

As evidence of the present rancor between unions and business, Kamber notes that congressional Democrats recently stormed out of a subcommittee hearing *en masse*, to protest the Republican agenda for labor legislation.

This activity doesn't just apply to federal legislation; it is also occurring on the state and local levels. "From our standpoint, we're not only seeing activity directed against working people on the federal level, but in state legislatures, too," asserts Jim Grossfeld, spokesman for the United Mine Workers of America.

In 38 states, legislation has been introduced or is being drafted to weaken state worker's compensation or employment insurance laws. In 25 states, laws are under consideration to repeal prevailing wage rates—the so-called 'little Davis-Bacon' laws.

Friends in High Places

Unions hailed President Clinton's choice of Robert Reich as Secretary of Labor, and small wonder: Reich was a founding member of the Economic Policy Institute, a Washington

GOP Allies of Labor?

Republican members of Congress listed below voted with the AFL-CIO position on labor legislation at least a third of the time in the 103rd Congress. Their support will be critical in the battle shaping up this year to roll back labor laws that lend unions clout.



Hatfield



Snowe



Boehlert



Morella

	'93-'94 AFL-CIO <u>Support Totals</u>	'91-'92 Labor <u>Contributions</u>	
		\$	PAC %
Senate			
Ben N. Campbell (CO)	84%†	270,150	36%
Richard Shelby (AL)	78†	156,000	9
Mark Hatfield (OR)	54	117,927	11
Jim Jeffords (VT)	50	96,092	9
Olympia Snowe (ME)	49*	14,750	6
Alfonse D'Amato (NY)	44	124,400	9
Arlen Specter (PA)	42	254,900	13
Bob Packwood (OR)	37	94,000	7
Rick Santorum (PA)	36*	4,800	2
William Cohen (ME)	33	35,750	6
House			
Ben Gilman (NY)	86%	98,340	47%
Lincoln Diaz-Balart (FL)	81	31,000	30•
Sherry Boehlert (NY)	75	54,830	30
Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (FL)	71	5,590	4
Connie Morella (MD)	62	43,300	24
Christopher Smith (NJ)	62	30,390	33
Jack Quinn (NY)	62	0	0•
Greg Laughlin (TX)	57†	73,000	20
James Walsh (NY)	56	3,500	4
Peter Blute (MA)	53	0	0#
Hal Rogers (KY)	49	2,500	1
Joseph McDade (PA)	47	37,250	15
John McHugh (NY)	46	18,500	19•
Michael Bilirakis (FL)	45	12,000	4
Curt Weldon (PA)	44	182,050	29
Susan Molinari (NY)	43	16,300	7
Scott Klug (WI)	39	1,500	1
Gerald Solomon (NY)	39	59,460	21
Steve Gunderson (WI)	38	2,400	1
Peter Torkildsen (MA)	38	No PAC \$	
Nathan Deal (GA)	38†	16,000	11
Nancy Johnson (CT)	34	12,100	4

† Was a Democrat during the 103rd Congress.

* Freshman; percentage refers to House record.

Was a challenger in 1992

• Open seat in 1992.

think tank launched in 1985 by the AFL-CIO to give labor a stronger presence in public affairs television, congressional hearings and Georgetown salons—each a forum of growing influence over public policy. Reich's appointment was seen as a signal that organized labor would wield a lot of clout within the administration, but corroborating evidence is still sparse.

"Reich's help has been mixed," says Edward Potter, president of the Employment Policy Foundation—a pro-management think tank—and coauthor of *Keeping America Competitive*. "He doesn't come from a traditional trade union background, so he isn't focused on traditional trade union issues."

Nevertheless, the November 8 election defeat appears to have shifted the Clinton Administration's orientation. Reich's first strategy was to put off traditionally pro-union issues, such as striker replacement. But now, Democrats are painfully aware of their need to mobilize their traditional base. "White House pollsters are telling Clinton that he needs to shore up the left wing of the Democratic Party, so the administration is getting more directly involved in purely labor issues," Potter says.

The results have already been forthcoming. On March 8, President Clinton signed an executive order, denying federal contracts on projects topping \$100,000 to companies that hire permanent replacement workers for strikers. Clinton has also promised vetoes of proposals to repeal the Davis-Bacon and Service Contract Acts and other bills to amend labor laws in order to facilitate the formation of "employee-involvement committees." It's unlikely that Republican leadership will be able to override any vetoes of these bills.

But labor remains uneasy, particularly since the President unveiled his ten-year plan for a balanced budget. Given the Clinton track record of wavering between competitive "New Democrat" ideas and liberal "Old Democrat" traditions, union chiefs worry he cannot be relied upon to stem the pro-management tide. They also consider the spectre of heavy Republican congressional majorities combined with a new Republican president as a strong possibility for 1997.

Rousing the Rabble

In response to these threats, organized labor is falling back upon its own basic strength: grassroots organizing and electioneering. "We're not just a top-down hierarchy," insists AFL-CIO spokeswoman Sharolyn Rosier. "Each of our 83 affiliated unions have locals; each of those locals are run by officers who are elected by the members." Such a structure readily lends itself to the quick mobilization of activist armies.

Union chiefs believe they will be able to rally the troops these days because long-prevailing threats against the quality of life for the working class—such as the steady decline of "real" disposable wages, shrinking benefits, more tenuous job security and diminished job safety—are

now widely expected to magnify in the competitive new world economy. In efforts to shore up this electoral base, the Democrat Party has begun to achieve some success in portraying the GOP majorities in Congress as shills for the rich. This climate and structure—combined with ample financial resources—provides labor with the necessary tools for inciting the rank-and-file to action.

The total income of private sector organized labor is more than \$13 billion a year, over \$5 billion of which comes from mandatory union dues. The AFL-CIO spends \$45 million a year merely to maintain its lobbying operation in Washington. According to the Federal Election Commission, labor's political action committees (PACs) doled out a nearly \$42 million in 1993-1994 to federal can-

didates. During the same period, corporate PACs contributed \$70 million; trade associations \$53 million.

"Part of the political power that unions have is the massive treasury that they can put into politics," says Martin Fox, spokesman for the National Right to Work Committee. "They use that money not only for contributions but to build a structure to their organization: operatives, activists, organizers.... Unions are the dominant force in the Democrat Party.... As long as the money from union dues keeps coming in on an automatic basis, they will have clout."

As business lobbyists pursue legislation primarily in the Capitol, their labor counterparts are deploying their echelons back home: state federations, central labor councils, union locals and their rank-in-file.

"You can't beat the kind of structure that we already have in place," says Jeff Miller, spokesman for the Communications Workers of America. "We're naturally structured to operate in a grassroots manner. The CWA alone has 1,000 locals around the country. We pool members together for phone banking, letter writing, you name it."

This Spring, for example, the CWA brought union members from locals around the country into Washington, DC for a week-long conference on the GOP's agenda, then sent them home—"with raised consciousness," as Miller puts it—to lobby legislators from their respective districts.

"For an entire week, we had them listen to [former] chairs of congressional committees and get up to speed on specific bills," Miller says. "And we're cranking up cutting-edge stuff, too. We now have our own forum on CompuServe [an interactive option on the Internet] to let members know about fast-breaking events."

For the 200,000-member United Mine Workers, grassroots outreach is conducted on primarily rural terrain. Consciousness is raised through in-house publications—one for the leadership and another for the rank-and-file—with articles that exhort members to contact their representatives in Congress, providing the names and numbers of key committee members.

"What makes the difference is mobilization," assesses Grossfeld. "When a union member goes to a congressman's town meeting and stands up and says, 'Hey, look, this GOP 'Contract with America' is hurting working families,' that's more effective than any ad."

Kamber insists that among all grassroots weapons, personal visits are the most effective. "Nothing is better than making eye con-

Quiz Show

When Georgia Congressman Nathan Deal recently switched his allegiance to the Republican Party, labor operatives determined to make an example of him, discouraging the half-dozen other southern Democrats in the House who were rumored to be following on Deal's heels. The radio spot below got heavy play in Deal's district during May, and might be a harbinger of future labor tactics in constituencies with a strong union presence and a pro-business representative.

Title: "Re-Make a Deal"

Time: 60 Seconds

Producer: Politics, Inc. (David Heller)

Client: Int'l Brotherhood of Teamsters

(Game show music underneath.)

Male Announcer: Welcome back to Let's Re-make a Deal. You, sir. You can have what's behind the curtain if you know which north Georgia Congressman recently opposed a bill banning expensive gifts from lobbyists.

Man: Uh, Nathan Deal?

Announcer: That's right. You, ma'am. You can have what's in the box if you know which north Georgia Congressman voted for a bill that could rob senior citizens of their Social Security.

Younger woman: Nathan Deal did that?



Nathan Deal (R-GA)

Announcer: Correct. Now you can trade that box if you know which Congressman recently swore he was a Georgia Democrat, just like Sam Nunn, then he broke his promise and switched parties.

Younger woman: Nathan Deal lied to us?

Announcer: That's right!

Older man: Hold it!

(Game show music stops.)

No more games! In north Georgia, a man's word's supposed to be his bond. Nathan Deal lied to us. We need a straight deal. An honest deal.

(Music comes back.)

Announcer: So, we got ourselves a deal?

(Music abruptly out.)

Man: Next year, say no deal. Because nobody needs a Congressman like Nathan Deal.

Man: Paid for by DRIVE, the voice of 12,000 Georgia Teamsters.

tact," he details. "Contact becomes less effective as it becomes less individualized. Unions are very tight-knit and they're characterized by lots of very personal contact."

Typically, instead of mass-generated phone calls or postcards, personal letters are often written to union members by the officers of the respective union local, particularly to generate a strong union presence at high-profile public events.

For example, in late April, personalized letters mailed by the Service Employees International union to its rank-and-file exhorted members to demonstrate against a speech delivered in New Orleans by House Speaker Newt Gingrich to the Newspaper Association of America. About 500 unionists turned out, waving placards that tried to link the Speaker with the militia movement.

Management on the Move

From the vantage point of business, the current union stance amounts to shameless demagoguery: "Labor's response to the Contract is to try to foment class warfare," scolds business coalition operative Harold Coxson. "Unions thrive on discord and discontent. That's how they organize to begin with. They want to characterize the Contract as anti-worker, when in fact it's not. Unions are using scare tactics."

Coxson reveals that management, in turn, is mobilizing its grassroots. "We're communicating to members of the Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, the NFIB [the National Federation of Independent Business], and a host of smaller employers in general, letting them all know that finally, after many years, we have a rare window of opportunity to get reforms of outdated 1930s legislation," he elaborates. "In the past—because unions controlled the House and Senate labor committees—we couldn't even get hearings, let alone consideration of our agenda."

Business is well aware, however, that its task remains formidable.

"Organized labor has pulled out all the stops," warns Jeffrey McGuiness, president of the Labor Policy Association, representative of more than 200 of the nation's largest manufacturing and service companies. "... I've traveled from congressional office to office, and the members who have been targeted—those on the House and Senate labor committees—say they've been getting a steady stream of letters and phone calls from union locals."

But labor may not be the organizational juggernaut it once was. Unions now represent less than 12 percent of the nation's private sector workforce, compared to a high of about 35 percent in the mid-1950s. Moreover, the growing efficacy of grassroots lobbying has attracted business to the methods that were once labor's private preserve.

The grassroots work of corporate America still tends to encompass mass-produced form letters, postcards,

mailgrams, and congressional petitions. But grassroots specialists such as Washington's Bonner Associates are sometimes engaged by business interests to generate an immediate popular groundswell: using tested lists, a large professional phone bank is used to incite thousands of like-minded citizens to flood their congressman's phone lines with voting instructions on a particular issue.

Among small businesses, closer personal ties exist within the entrepreneurial culture. That's why groups such as NFIB are more adept at higher quality contacts than their big-business brethren, utilizing individualized letters, phone calls, and door-to-door canvassing—much the same toolchest utilized by unions.

Caught in the Middle

It has become clear that when any close vote is taken on the Hill—whether it be on labor issues or most anything else taken up by the 104th Congress—the balance of power will be held by a relatively small faction of moderate Republicans. The sidebar on page 18 lists the GOP's ten senators and 22 House members who voted the AFL-CIO position at least one third of the time on key labor issues before the 103rd Congress. It would be fair to say that if three-quarters of these can be swayed to labor's position on a critical vote in the 104th, such an attempt to curb union power



A recent AFL-CIO TV ad aired in Washington emphasized class conflict.

will likely fail.

Looking to crank up the pressure on such House Republicans and conservative Democrats, unions are putting their money into a "voter education" effort in about 20 swing congressional districts, dubbed the "95 Project." Ironically, this method will serve to punish not labor's worst congressional enemies, but rather several of its best friends on the Republican side of the aisle.

Over the decades of virtually unchallenged Democrat hegemony in the Congress, business lobbies were quick to reward powerful committee and subcommittee chairs with campaign contributions, honoraria and junkets, even though they represented the pro-labor/anti-management party. After master screw-turner Tony Coelho took charge of the DCCC in the early 1980s, business even began making substantial contributions to junior Democrat Members, often after a little prodding from higher-ups.

Hard-headed corporations knew they had to make the best of an unfavorable situation in the legislative branch. Will labor display the same savvy, now that the pro-business party holds the cards in Congress? The table of labor-friendly Republicans suggests otherwise. It shows many GOPers who have regularly bucked their party leadership to back the unions have had little to show for it in their campaign coffers. If the practice continues, union lobbyists may find it impossible to expand beyond their stranglehold on what is now a minority party.

More evidence of the need for a wake-up call: Labor reportedly is taking heart from the presence of Republican moderate Nancy Landon Kassebaum at the head of the Senate's Labor and Resources Committee. Such a notion is probably ill-founded. Kassebaum's support levels for the AFL-CIO's legislative positions has hovered in the teens, about average for Republicans. Any effort to pressure the daughter of FDR's 1936 GOP opponent would likely be counterproductive: although she is up for reelection next year, Kassebaum represents a right-to-work state (Kansas) and is extremely popular. Indeed, there is no solid evidence as yet that labor will be targeting any U.S. Senators for "voter education" programs, this year or next.

Initiative or Infighting?

Significantly, the ball for the "'95 Project" is being carried by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), whose boss—Gerald McEntee—has long agitated the AFL-CIO for more electoral and hi-tech applications of union strength. The rise of AFSCME and other public sector unions has made up for some of the reduced clout suffered by private sector labor: McEntee's union alone contributed \$2.5 million to federal candidates in the 1994 cycle, making it the second-largest contributor among all single special interest organizations.

Already pledging about more than a million dollars for the "'95 Project" are AFSCME and ten other major unions, including the postal workers, teamsters, mine workers, auto workers, machinists and steelworkers. The latter three trades merged into a single mega union in July. Also participating is Citizen Action, a liberal grassroots advocacy group. Efforts are being made to bring environmental, feminist, and other "progressive" groups on board for an extended campaign.

The existing budget will pay for a Washington-based staff of about six to coordinate the effort; and a field aide in each of the 20 targeted House districts, working out of union local offices this summer. Aide responsibilities will include setting up news conferences, conducting mailings, and mobilizing community activists to fight social service budget cuts and other congressional initiatives deemed "anti-worker." In some districts, the '95 Project is already putting radio ads on the airwaves (see pg. 19).

It's interesting to note that the Committee on Political Education (COPE), the political arm of the AFL-CIO, is not participating in the "'95 Project." Insiders say that this reflects bad blood over the ongoing leadership bat-

tle to replace Lane Kirkland as president of the federation. Aggressive union leaders—such as McEntee—are pushing for labor to adopt programs that are more cutting edge than COPE is accustomed to managing and are reluctant to rubber-stamp the election of Thomas R. Donahue, Kirkland's "old boy" choice as successor.

Whatever the internal politics, organized labor is certainly trying hard to disprove the common assumption

that it's become politically senile and toothless. Notably, the AFL-CIO recently spent about \$50,000 to produce a 30-second television spot that was designed as a broadside against the Contract with America. Produced by the media consultants to the '92 Clinton presidential campaign, the ad got mixed reviews from labor's allies.

"Too little, too late," reproves a Washington-based labor

lobbyist who requested anonymity. "Most union people feel it didn't have much impact: it wasn't a new message; it wasn't particularly compelling. Some people liked it; they said that labor has finally gotten off its ass and done something.... But the fact that it was only aired within the Beltway has caused some to suspect that it was a cynical exercise to shore up Kirkland."

So What?

In the end, will the latest labor counteroffensive staunch a forty-year slide in influence? Union leaders like the Electrical Workers' Rick Diegal are hopeful: "Democrats have finally stopped worrying about guns and gays in the military," he insists. "They're getting back to economic issues."

Less interested pros aren't so sure, contending that labor waited too long to counter the surging New Right and have lost the initiative. "Grassroots doesn't work if the timing is wrong, and unions simply waited too long to make their move," declares a consultant who specializes in grassroots work. "The GOP and business framed the issues before unions could."

One new fact of political life-or-death for unions is clear: If labor expects the key cohort of moderate Republicans to swing behind it in the coming legislative battles, it had better get over its phobia of helping any ballot entry on the GOP line.



John F. Persinos is managing editor of *Campaigns & Elections* magazine.

Pacing the Pack

With Swashbuckling Stuart Stevens Leading the Dole Air War, Don't Look For a Dull Campaign From the GOP Favorite.

Stuart Stevens may be the most romantic figure in campaign politics today. A young congressional staffer in the late 1970s, he went on to UCLA film school, produced a documentary about his breathtaking international tour of ski competitions, wrote two hip travelogues about remote corners of the earth, and helped script the highly acclaimed television serials *I'll Fly Away* and *Northern Exposure*. In between, he has become perhaps the most successful of Republican media consultants, guiding such clients as governors William Weld (MA) and Tom Ridge (PA), and U.S. Senators Dick Lugar (IN), Chuck Grassley (IA), Jon Kyl (AZ) and Dan Coates (IN) to victory.

Now he is performing the same duty for far-in-frontrunner Bob Dole's effort to capture the GOP presidential nomination next year. It is Stevens' highest profile assignment yet, and it has already landed him in the media cauldron for his recently published novel *Scorched Earth*, a political soap opera set in the Washington wilderness of ambitious politicians and Machiavellian consultants.

Stevens dropped by the new Ripon offices in late July—on the very day we moved—and provided a variety of helpful insights and observations on '96 strategies and the contemporary state of campaigns.

RIPON: *This somewhat racy novel of yours has been held up by the news media as some kind of hypocrisy in the wake of Bob Dole's attack on Hollywood values. Why isn't it relevant to the sincerity of the Dole campaign?*

STEVENS: This is a book which the *National Journal* called tame.

RIPON: *It reads like a TV movie—no offense intended.*

STEVENS: OK, a TV movie's fine. It's very much a kind of PG-13 film; it's a farce. I think that any effort to talk about that is totally demeaning to the public discourse, demeaning to the very important point Senator Dole is making about the debasement of culture, about the negative influence of these voices in our culture. To make an issue out of that book is to not understand or appreciate what Senator Dole is doing. Anyway, we know it's not that racy because I haven't gotten one call from Phil Gramm's brother-in-law about making it into a movie.

RIPON: *Pat Buchanan and Dole seem to be winning the expectations game thus far. Should Buchanan's nativist/protectionist/isolationist/moralist/populist brand of friendly fascism gain credence and a significant delegate bloc in the primaries, how should the Republican establishment respond?*

STEVENS: You paint that characterization of yours with a very broad brush. Pat Buchanan is a very intelligent, articulate person who has never had a problem finding an audience to appreciate him. The unexpected strength of his candidacy is primarily a strong indication of the weakness in the 'back pack' of this race.

RIPON: *You know the media are pulling for him. They would love to see him do well, figuring it will cause trouble for the Republicans at the convention. A lot of people hold to the theory he gravely wounded Bush with his strong presence at*



the '92 convention. You could very well wind up with a similar situation in '96.

STEVENS: I see no reason to believe that Pat Buchanan has intentions contrary to doing whatever he can to help elect a Republican president. That's what he says he'll do, and he's always been pretty good at going through with what he has said.

RIPON: *If Perot paves the way for a third party run by Colin Powell, how would your strategy change?*

STEVENS: I have a very scientific view of the situation. I believe—I choose to believe that Colin Powell is a Republican because—

RIPON: *He seems to be walking a tight rope right now.*

STEVENS: He's a popular figure who—like most Republicans—will end up being supportive of the Republican nominee.

RIPON: *You've got to be thinking about the possibility of his running as an Independent.*

STEVENS: There's plenty to think about with the field of candidates as it is now for the primaries. I'm not about to start spending my time thinking about hypotheticals for the general election.

RIPON: *We're not asking the question of you specifically in your role as Dole advisor—suggesting that you're overconfidently looking beyond the nomination—but rather as a Republican strategist looking at the possibility, regardless of who the nominee may be. If you've got Clinton one-on-one, your task is simple and fairly easy. With Powell in there as the third man, you've got tremendous complications. You haven't given that any thought?*

STEVENS: It's a hypothetical....I would hope that Colin Powell would be supportive of the Republican nominee. And I believe very strongly that it would be Bob Dole.

RIPON: *Are you going to [the United We Stand National Conference in] Dallas in August?*

STEVENS: No.

RIPON: *But Senator Dole is?*

STEVENS: Yes.

RIPON: *Here's a question you must get a lot: If Dole's nominated, he will be the oldest non-incumbent ever put forth for the presidency by a major party. How do you address the age issue?*

STEVENS: I think the "age issue" is not an issue at all, because of the tremendous vigor of Senator Dole. I run marathons; I'm not in terrible shape, but I had trouble keeping up with him the week I spent with him during the announcement tour; and if I had to spend another week with him, I would have ended up hospitalized. This man is the most vigorous, fit, focused, person imaginable. This is, I think, a non-issue.

RIPON: *There's a lot of speculation that he will be held to a stricter standard about*

any mental slip or any indication of physical infirmity.

STEVENS: I think that this race will be about very big things and this just doesn't work in that regard. I really don't worry about it.

RIPON: *What are Bill Clinton's greatest weaknesses?*



“Senator Dole has the qualities of courage, character, commitment, steadiness—things people long for in a president and haven't been getting.”

STEVENS: It's not just that he's a liberal who campaigned as more of a moderate—it's not just that he's proven to run an extraordinarily unfocused and undisciplined administration. Those are generous characterizations. It's that there are certain intangible qualities in people very much wanted in their president; and even if you are a supporter of Bill Clinton, you have to agree that he is lacking in those qualities. Whenever you see the White House changing parties, it usually goes to someone who is a sharp contrast with the person currently in the White House. That bodes very well for Senator Dole. He has the qualities of

courage, character, commitment, steadiness—things people long for in a president and haven't been getting. Like anything else, you miss it more when you don't have it... People were so accustomed to it [during the Bush years] they forgot to consider what it would be like not to have it, so it became less of an issue in '92. Next year it will be very much an issue, because we'll have had four years without it.

RIPON: *You've worked a good deal with Dick Morris [the Republican turned-Democrat consultant who reportedly will direct the Clinton re-election effort]. How will he change the Clinton campaign?*

STEVENS: Ultimately, no one person can have a very large influence over the conduct of his campaign. They don't have a situation like they had in '92, where they could take this blank canvas and paint it however they wanted. People now have a tremendous amount of information about Bill Clinton. They've seen the man under a myriad of circumstances. And on the whole, the country has found him lacking in essential qualities it expects in a president. It's the height of political consultant arrogance to think that a few commercials can change that.

RIPON: *Won't there be a considerable difference between a James Carville-crafted Clinton campaign and one that Morris directs?*

STEVENS: This race is going to be a referendum on Bill Clinton. Of course, there are so many sides to Bill Clinton: OK, we're going to show the Morris side of Bill Clinton, the Carville side of Bill Clinton, and we're going to show the Mandy Grunwald side of Clinton or the Stan Greenberg side, or sides from the dozens of pollsters they have over there. They can keep turning it, but it all comes back to Clinton, the man everyone knows already. So, in the final analysis, it won't make a difference.

RIPON: *Republicans are getting some*

credit from the voters for downsizing the government right now; but the Democrats are making headway with the charge that we are robbing the poor to give to the rich. Is that our greatest weakness going into '96. And if so, how do you minimize it?

STEVENS: The country has reached a point of critical mass of believing that we have to change the course of government growth. The greatest danger would have been if somehow Republicans had flinched from the mandate we'd been given. That hasn't happened.

RIPON: *Except for term limits, perhaps.*

STEVENS: Voters are very well-informed and are very good consumers of information about their political leaders and political parties. There is an American sense of fairness operating here; they're not going to say, "All right, you did nine out of 10 things we sent you to do, but I'm still going to vote for the other guys." I just don't think that will happen; it doesn't happen in life very often. Republicans are very well positioned for 1996—very well positioned.

RIPON: *Although the approval ratings for Congress are back into decisive negatives again.*

STEVENS: There has been a phenomenon in recent years of a negative viewpoint towards Congress as an institution and more positive ratings for individuals. I think 1994 was a very English election, in the sense you had people not getting re-elected even though they were personally popular with their constituents; they didn't get the votes because they belonged to the wrong party, an ideology that those constituents did not agree with. The problem the Democrats now have is that it is very difficult to say what the Democrat Party stands for. You can't say, "In the following sentence, I will tell you why there should be a Democrat Party and why you should put that party in power." You could fill in that sentence with a dozen dif-

ferent contradictory answers. What has saved the Democrat Party in the past were charismatic leaders emerging at critical moments or the occurrence of negative events, such as Watergate. Without leadership at the top to articulate the party, it is emanating a tremendous amount of confusing negative energy that suggests a basic



"What is most damaging about Clinton's lack of military background is its consistency with a defining pattern: wanting to have it all both ways."

realignment is occurring. The Democrats had been the majority party throughout our lives; we had forgotten that it could be the other way around. That was the genius of Newt. We both first came to Washington in '79; his ability to see a very different world—even then—has been an essential element in making that world come to be. Now it has occurred, there's no reason to think that the Republicans can't have a very long run.

RIPON: *How would you describe the optimum Republican candidate for Congress in '96?*

STEVENS: You really can't play that game. Look at the people who got elected in '94—a tremendously diverse group of Republicans...wildly different profiles.

RIPON: *Does it help to be a woman or pro choice?*

STEVENS: I've never looked at the world in those kind of broad categories. Ultimately it goes back to the individual and their comfort with who they are. Personal qualities of an individual mean a lot more than X attribute or Y attribute or Z attribute.

RIPON: *Although in terms of the president, it certainly helps to have a military background. That seemed to be part of what you were alluding to in the rundown of Clinton's weaknesses and failings.*

STEVENS: What is most damaging about Clinton's lack of military background is its consistency with a defining pattern that has extended throughout his career: wanting to have it all both ways. I've worked for a number of other of candidates that did not have a background in the military and it never became an issue for them. In Clinton's case, it's the larger question of what it says about an opportunistic nature that is troubling. Also—Bob Dole is an American hero. And it's a time in which this country very much would like a strong leader to step forward. Clarity and strength are most appreciated after suffering with confusing weakness. Those are qualities that Bob Dole has had throughout his life—a very consistent pattern. A young man in Russell, Kansas. It's an extraordinary story, a very compelling story.

RIPON: *Bob Dole has long been regarded the funniest guy in Congress. But after his wounding in World War II he was on his back for two years and he still doesn't have full use of his arm. Some speculate that's given him a bit of a chip on his shoulder that sometimes came out at the wrong time: the repeated "Democrat Wars" crack during the '76 vice-presidential debate;*

RIPON FORUM READER'S SURVEY

We want to know what Riponites are thinking—about presidential candidates, public policy, and the Forum itself. Just fill out the questionnaire, rip it out, fold and seal it as directed, and drop it in the mailbox. NO POSTAGE NECESSARY. The results will be published in the Forum's September issue. Those responding will be entered in a drawing for the following prizes:

First prize: The Best Political TV Advertising of 1994—a 52-minute video produced by Campaigns & Elections magazine (one prize awarded, a \$60 value).

Second prize: A two-year subscription to the Ripon FORUM (two prizes awarded, a \$40 value).

Third Prize: Ripon's 20-minute video Salute to Republican Women (five prizes awarded, each a \$10 value).

1) Of the following, who would you like to see nominated for President by the Republican Party in 1996?

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------|
| a. Lamar Alexander | g. Phil Gramm |
| b. Pat Buchanan | h. Alan Keyes |
| c. Bob Dole | i. Richard Lugar |
| d. Bob Dornan | j. Arlen Specter |
| e. Malcolm S. Forbes, Jr. | k. Pete Wilson |
| f. Arthur Fletcher | l. Undecided |

1-A) If Colin Powell were added to the list, would you prefer him?

- a. Yes b. No c. Undecided

2) Of the following, who would you like to see nominated for Vice-President by the Republican Party in 1996?

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------|
| a. Bill Bennett | h. Dan Lungren |
| b. Carroll Campbell | i. Connie Mack III |
| c. John Engler | j. Richard Riordan |
| d. Rudolph Giuliani | k. Tommy Thompson |
| e. Kay Bailey Hutchison | l. George Voinovich |
| f. Nancy Landon Kassebaum | m. William Weld |
| g. Jack Kemp | n. Christine Whitman |
| o. Undecided | |

2-A) If Colin Powell were added to the list, would you prefer him?

- a. Yes b. No c. Undecided

3) Should the 1996 Republican platform endorse, oppose or not mention abortion rights?

- | | |
|------------|----------------|
| a. Endorse | c. Not mention |
| b. Oppose | d. Undecided |

4) Who gets your vote for "Republican of the Century?"

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| a. Dwight Eisenhower | f. Nelson Rockefeller |
| b. Everett Dirksen | g. Ronald Reagan |
| c. Newt Gingrich | h. Theodore Roosevelt |
| d. Barry Goldwater | i. Robert A. Taft |
| e. Richard Nixon | j. Other: _____ |

5) Do you generally favor or oppose—

Favor Oppose

- Reducing federal funding for education?*
- Reducing the defense budget?*
- Reducing federal funding for Medicare?*
- Instituting means testing for Social Security?*
- Enacting term limits for members of Congress?*
- Providing public school vouchers?*
- The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)?*
- Repealing the ban on assault weapons enacted last year?*
- Prohibiting former members of Congress and presidential appointees from becoming lobbyists?*
- Immediate enactment of the line-item veto?*
- Denying government services to illegal aliens?*
- Elimination of the capital gains tax?*
- Government-mandated minority preferences in hiring?*
- Allowing gays to serve in military combat roles?*
- Allowing women to serve in military combat roles?*
- Deferring tax cuts until the budget is balanced?*

6) Which of the following systems would you prefer for the federal income tax?

- a) A flat tax of 17%, with no deductions or credits.
- b) A flat tax of 20%, with no credits or deductions other than interest on home mortgages of up to \$100,000 and charitable contributions up to a total of \$2,000.
- c) A graduated tax with indexed brackets—starting at one percent for every \$2,000 of gross income—up to a maximum rate of 33%; no credits or deductions other than a \$5,000 personal exemption and a \$3,000 deduction per dependent.
- d) The current system.
- e) Not sure.

7) What would you like to see more/less of in the Forum?

More Less The Same

- Op-ed columns*
- Letters to the Editor*
- Policy studies*
- Campaign stories*
- Editorials*
- News about the Society*
- DC political news*
- State/local political news*
- Investigative reporting*
- Featured interviews*
- Advertising*
- Public opinion studies*
- Personality profiles*
- Reviews of books & studies*

8) Ideologically, do you consider yourself a

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| a. Liberal | d. Populist |
| b. Moderate | e. Libertarian |
| c. Conservative | f. Not sure |

9) Which best describes your party affiliation?

- a. Lifelong Republican
- b. Converted Republican
- c. Republican-leaning Independent
- d. Not a Republican at all

Education

- a. No diploma
- b. High school
- c. Some college
- d. College graduate
- e. Some post-graduate study
- f. Post-graduate degree

Please fill out the following for statistical purposes only:

Sex/marital status

- a. Married male
- b. Married female
- c. Divorced/widowed/single male
- d. Divorced/widowed/single female

Age

- a. Under 30
- b. 30-44
- c. 45-59
- d. 60 and up

Annual family income

- a. Under \$25,000
- b. \$25,000-\$49,999
- c. \$50,000-\$74,999
- d. \$75,000-\$100,000
- e. Over \$100,000

To enter you in the prize drawing and to avoid ballot-stuffing, we require the following information:

Name: _____ Phone: _____

Address: _____

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Thank you for you input.

Be sure to look for the results in the next issue of the *RIPON FORUM!*

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telling George Bush via satellite to "stop lying about my record" the night he lost the '88 New Hampshire primary. At those times he seems to be very opposite of the witty man everyone knows in Washington; he comes across as a very bitter, dark character.

STEVENS: That's certainly not the Bob Dole that I see. I find him to be an extraordinarily appealing person; he has a combination of strength and gentleness that is tremendously attractive.

RIPON: Next year, what issues should Republicans emphasize?

STEVENS: Every candidate should talk about that which they feel passionately. That's going to vary according to the individual and to the state and to the situation. The most compelling, successful candidates are those who can personalize their message, talk clearly about something they truly believe in and do it from a perspective that's very different from any other background. Someone with a background in business may talk more about the need to balance the budget, to cut taxes. Someone with a background in education or religion may talk more about their own sense of a need for renewed commitment to basic values. People need to articulate why they are running, which must go to a very deep passion.

RIPON: You've been called the leading practitioner of Hollywood techniques in campaign media: the fast cuts, hand-held camera, dramatic angles, the jamming of all kinds of visual information into 30 seconds.

STEVENS: I could give you a long list of one-cut spots that I've done with candidates talking on camera. The formula is that there is no formula. You have to play to the specifics of the situation that you are in.... The hardest task any successful political consultant faces is to avoid imitating your success. You have to be able to learn and

articulate what is unique about this particular client and their current situation.

RIPON: You have a background in writing scripts as well. Should a voter be communicated with differently than a consumer or a moviegoer?



"Many future techniques of mainstream communications are being used today in commercials."

STEVENS: There aren't any rules here. I am not one to focus group every spot. You must remember the real world situation in which ads have to play, in which you will be competing for people's attention. Although very few people will be watching television for the purpose of seeing your ads, there are a lot of different ways to win that battle.... Commercials are a hotbed of creativity today, which was not true 10 or 15 years ago. Many future techniques of mainstream communications are being used today in commercials.

RIPON: Do you mean political ads?

STEVENS: No, all functions. People today are tremendously visually liter-

ate. The majority of voters have never known a world outside of television. That has a decided impact on the ways in which people absorb information.

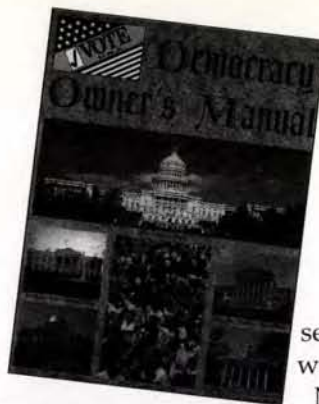
RIPON: You have said 30 seconds is an enormous amount of time to communicate something, yet so many others complain that it is impossible to communicate anything worthwhile under such constraints.

STEVENS: There's a certain clarity to 30 seconds, but it requires a certain discipline. The challenge is to be able to deal with complex issues in a greatly compressed time frame.

RIPON: You write well-received books and scripts, and probably would make more money if you stuck with those pursuits. Why do you do spend most of your time political consulting?

STEVENS: I love campaigns. I love helping to articulate a Republican vision for the future of this country, whenever I can. I love being part of the team. I find it deeply gratifying to see people in whom I have tremendous faith get an opportunity to express themselves and reach their full potential. You have Haley Barbour—for whom I worked in the '82 Senate campaign—who I've always believed in. Given a chance to do an extraordinary job of communicating a Republican vision for the country, he has done so, with historic results. You see someone like Tom Ridge—who is just the most genuine, wonderful fellow you'll ever meet in your life—go from 40 points behind in the primaries to being governor of Pennsylvania. It's uniquely gratifying.... I've always been a very political creature, having followed politics very closely as a kid in Mississippi, having worked in campaigns, calling in phone banks, driving candidates and voters. As a Republican in the Deep South, I had sense of being part of something that was new, growing, exciting—that would change the world as I knew it. That energy is still there. I love it.

Pumping Up the Populists



Democracy Owner's Manual
 Kerry Power, Editor
 Washington: Vote USA, Inc.
 1995, 186 pp.

When I got my first call from Kerry Power more than five years ago, I wasn't sure whether the voice on the other line belonged to a con man or a crackpot. Nevertheless, I heard him out—and have yet to hear the end of it. In this exposure, I am hardly alone among the cognoscenti of the national political scene. Power has slowly led a small legion of us from skepticism, to amusement, to intrigue, and, finally, to admiration. Along the way, we've even found our-

selves pushing his patriotic bandwagon, on occasion.

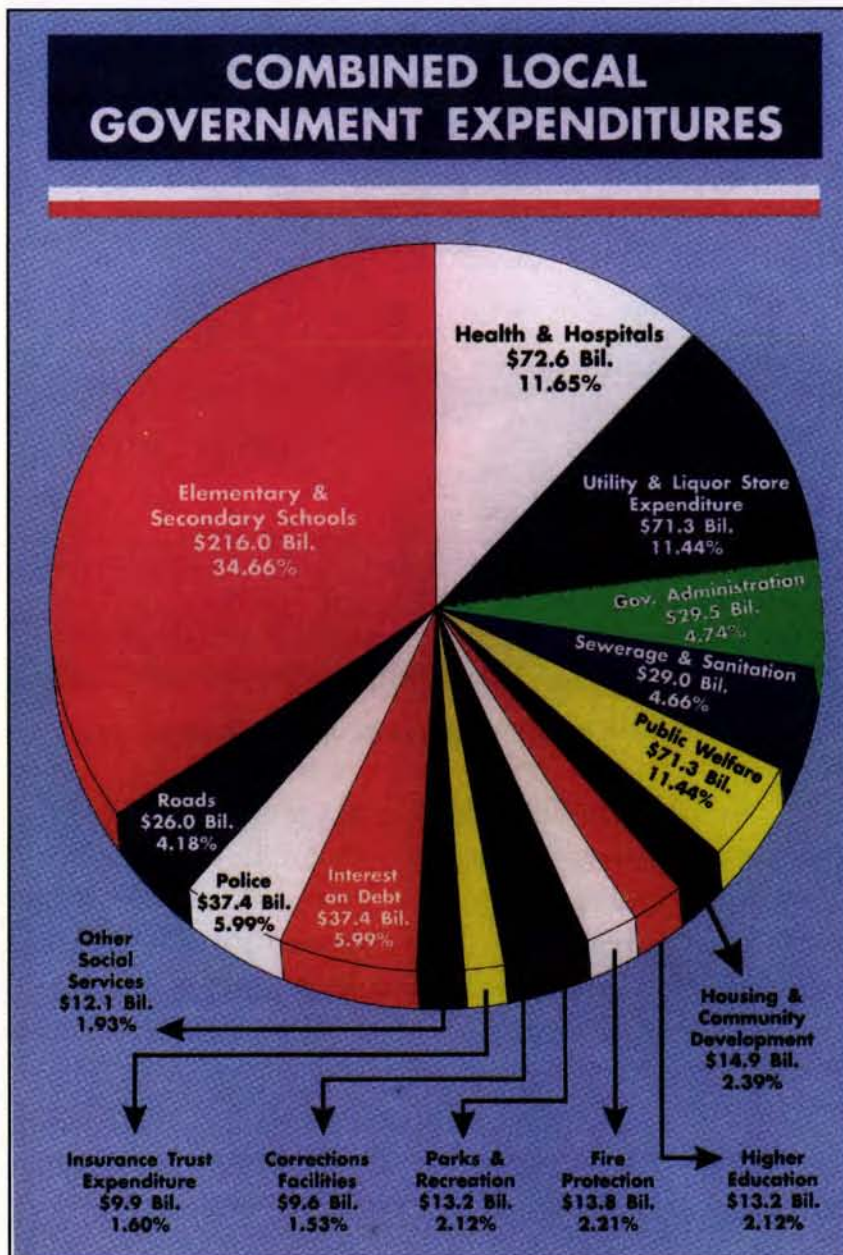
Now in his mid-thirties, Power was an apartment building contractor in Boston when—as the '90s dawned—he noticed virtually everyone he met was steamed up about the practices of government, and yet seemed powerless to do anything about it. He latched on to the idea of Vote USA, a non-partisan citizen's association, but not one following the usual pattern of representing the membership before Congress or marshalling it for collective action. This Information Age union would instead advise each member how to leverage their individual influence in the political arena and facilitate their independent course of action.

Over time, the Power approach to this task has drifted from an emphasis on marketing and recruitment to a reliance on letting the products make the sale. *Owner's Manual* is the first of the new line designed for that purpose, and it succeeds impressively.

Of course, one reason could well be I contributed a chapter to this production ("How the Election Process Works"), as did Heritage Foundation chief Edward Feulner ("Government Systems Defined"), U.S. House Counsel Cheryl Lau ("How State Government Works"), United We Stand's National Executive Director Russell Verney ("How the White House Works"), Republican mastermind Vin Weber ("The U.S. Constitution Defined"), economic theorist Ravi Batra ("Economic Systems Defined"), and best-selling revolutionary Martin Gross (foreword), among other luminaries. (If any of these contributions were other than gratis, my agent would like to know.)

And although its advice comes from experts, *Owner's Manual* utilizes easily grasped prose interspersed with torrents of colorful graphics, helpful tables, and paint-by-numbers sidebars, giving it the look and feel of a *Time-Life* how-to volume. The result is a resource that can be readily used by the average citizen, and even teach we so-called experts a thing or two beyond our narrow niche. Think of it as your high school civics text made current, interesting, frank and practical.

—David Beiler



From *Democracy Owner's Manual*

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CALIFORNIA

Moderate ex-congressman **Tom Campbell** (R)—narrow loser of a '92 U.S. Senate primary—is angling for another shot at the seat (now occupied by Demo **Barbara Boxer**). Campbell has recently been featured in weekly commentaries on a San Francisco radio station that have so far cost him \$20,000 in leftover campaign funds.



Campbell:
Rerun

GEORGIA

A late June Supreme Court decision struck down the GA congressional district map as racial gerrymandering, a violation of the Constitution's 14th Amendment. The ruling endangers the tenure of several GOP congressmen here; although Speaker **Newt Gingrich** is not among them, his '92 Democratic opponent—attorney **Tony Center** (42%)—has announced he will try again next year.... Speculation U.S. Sen. **Sam Nunn** (D) may retire next year has GOP congressmen **Jack Kingston**, **Mac Collins** and **John Linder** looking up the ladder. The latter two now hold tenuous seats as a result of the high court decision.

ILLINOIS

In the quest to replace retiring U.S. Sen. **Paul Simon** (D) with a Republican, state GOP leaders appear to be closing ranks behind Lt. Gov. **Bob Kustra**, a moderate ally of retiring Gov. **Jim Edgar** (R). He may not get the nomination without a tough fight, however: wealthy state Rep. **Al Salvi** recently formed an exploratory committee, declaring the need for another "conservative voice" in the Senate. Ironically, Kustra had arranged to resign last year to become a radio talk show host; he changed his mind when Edgar developed health problems.



Smith:
New Partner

IOWA

The presidential campaign of **Lamar Alexander** recently announced an

BEYOND THE BELTWAY

(Population 250 million)

impressive list of Hawkeye backers: ex-RNC chair **Mary Louise Smith** (who co-chaired with **Bob Dole** in the early 1970s), Lt. Gov. **Joy Corning**, House Speaker **Ron Corbett**, House Majority Leader **Brent Siegrist**, ex-Cong. **Cooper Evans**, and RNC Committee-woman **Gwen Bocke** (who is directing the Iowa Alexander effort along with prominent political operative **Dick Redman**).... **Dick Lugar's** handlers are touting the results of a straw poll taken at a Polk County GOP picnic in July. This despite the fact Lugar finished behind Dole and Gramm, and the tally was won by wheel manufacturer **Morry Taylor**, purchaser of 203 tickets—many for his own employees.



Weld:
Pickled Ambition?

LOUISIANA

A July Mason-Dixon poll puts **Bob Dole** at the top of presidential preferences among Pelican State GOPers with 35%, followed by **Phil Gramm** (21%) and **Pat Buchanan** (13%). Dole lead President **Clinton** 44-42% among all voters, but to a 35-26% deficit when **Colin Powell** (22%) was added as a third choice. MOTOR VOTER BACKFIRE: Figures are in from the first two weeks of registration under the federally-mandated motor voter law, the same Democrat officials who pushed it are turning red from frustration and embarrassment. Only 36% are signing up with the "party of the people"—about half the pre-existing proportion.

MASSACHUSETTS

Cong. **Joe Kennedy** (D) has moved his fundraising operation from DC to Boston and hired the longtime strategist of ex-Boston mayor **Ray Flynn**. Clear objective: the governorship in '98. Incumbent **William Weld** (R) has indi-

cated he will not run for a third term.... There is now speculation the popular **Weld** will challenge U.S. Sen. **John Kerry** (D) next year, if the presidential campaign of California Gov. **Pete Wilson** (in which **Weld** is heavily involved) falls flat. **Kerry** looks more formidable, however, after recently marrying the widow of the late U.S. Sen. **John Heinz** (R-PA) and her \$700 million fortune.

MISSISSIPPI

This year's governor's race may be a race after all. Sec. of State **Dick Molpus** (D) out-raised incumbent **Kirk Fordice** (R) during the first half of the year, \$712,504 to \$701,804, the governor having alienated some business folk with his light regard for public education and references to the U.S. as a "Christian nation." **Fordice** still maintained a healthy 54-36% lead in a late June Mason-Dixon poll.

MISSOURI

State House Minority Leader **Mark Richardson** (R) has been acquitted of DUI charges after he attributed his behavior to drinking three beers in four hours, chasing a cold remedy that he claimed skewed his blood alcohol reading. **Richardson** is on the short list of possible GOP challengers for Gov. **Mel Carnahan** (D) next year.... Meanwhile, ex-secretary of state **Roy Blunt** (R) has announced his gubernatorial candidacy, the first big GOP name officially in the field. **Blunt** lost the '92 gov primary to then-Atty. Gen. **William Webster**—he of high-court abortion decision fame. Embroiled in an influence-peddling scandal, **Webster** lost to **Carnahan** and was later convicted.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Massively popular Gov. **Steve Merrill** (R) had **Lamar Alexander** and his top staff over at the Governor's Mansion in mid-July for a pancake breakfast. Sporting **Alexander's** trademark uni-

form of a red-and-black checked flannel shirt, Merrill nevertheless indicated it was too early to commit himself to a presidential choice. He has been at loggerheads in the press with **Phil Gramm** over the Granite State's primacy as a clear first in the primary line, and he has not seemed to warm to Bob Dole.

NEW JERSEY

The national profile of Gov. **Christie Whitman** (R),—raised in January with her "Republican Response" to Pres.

Clinton's State Of the Union Address—has remained high and bright with Jersey's recent 30 percent income tax cut and her stewardship of *Larry King Live* on July 6, hosting network political reporters **Lesley Stahl**, **Lisa Myers** and **Jeff Greenfield**. Despite her pro-choice stand, "It wouldn't necessarily be impossible to put her on the ticket," pundit **Bill Schneider** recently declared on CNN. "...Putting Whitman on the ticket would be a way of showing that the Republicans are tolerant of different views without compromising their principles... that the nominee and the party are not under the control of the Religious Right".... Meanwhile, Whitman has endorsed Cong.

Dick Zimmer (a former Ripon chapter prez) for next year's GOP primary to pick a challenger for U.S. Sen. **Bill Bradley** (D).

NEW YORK

State Demo officials have changed their tune, and are now welcoming activist-for-anything-untoward **Al Sharpton** to their "Unity Retreat." Sharpton had threatened to crash the exclusive affair.

OHIO

After having bowed to the wishes of GOP poohbahs by deferring to then-Cleveland Mayor **George Voinovich** in the '90 gubernatorial primary, Secretary of State **Robert Taft IV** appears to be The Anointed One for '98. Now-Gov. Voinovich is term-lim-

ited, and while there are those in the party who would like to see black state Treasurer **Ken Blackwell** (R) lead the ticket, the Taft tradition and party backing make Bob-4 look like a lock for the nomination. Meanwhile, Voinovich is eyeing a Senate race in '98, whether incumbent **John Glenn** (D) retires or not.



Alexander:
Checkered
Repast

SOUTH CAROLINA

It's all but official: **Strom Thurmond** is bound and determined to be a US Senator at age 100. That's how old Thurmond will be at the close of his seventh term, for which he has begun campaigning in earnest. He's now hired a pollster (**Whit Ayres**) and a chief strategist (**Warren Tompkins**) to start putting his '96 campaign together, while fundraising for the old Dixiecrat has shifted into high gear. Virtually all party leaders and pundits in the state believe ex-Gov. **Carroll Campbell** would be a much stronger GOP entry, but neither he or any other well-known Republican is willing to take on the living legend in a primary. It appears the leading Democrat contender may be **Elliott Close**, a wealthy industrialist from a powerful family.



Whitman:
Larry's Leno?

TEXAS

By all reports, new Gov. **George W. Bush** has been a smashing success over his first six months in office, moving the most important parts of his ambitious program through the Democrat-controlled legislature and scoring big in the polls.

VIRGINIA

Moderate/conservative US Sen. **John Warner** raised more than \$1 million for his '96 re-election campaign through the second quarter. His right-wing challenger for the GOP nomination—ex-OMB chief **Jim Miller**—raised just over \$200,000. Warner led Miller by only three points in a late July poll, however.

In Memoriam

George Romney, Visionary

When death came for Michigan's 88-year-old "Mr. Republican" on June 28, it found him on his treadmill. George Romney was always headed uphill with a full head of steam: taking on the "Big Three" automakers, ushering a moribund Michigan GOP into a generation of state leadership, warning an unheeding nation of the perils of Vietnam, harkening a right-swerving national Republican Party back to its progressive roots.

Sometimes Romney reached the summit, blazing a trail for others behind him; other times he hit a sheer cliff and moved on in other directions. But the man wouldn't settle.

His successes were born of an astonishing vision. When Detroit was churning out the most inefficient cars conceived by man, he promoted the "Rambler," the prototypical compact economy model. When Democrats had won seven straight leases on Lansing's Governor's Mansion, he ousted the occupant, served eight years, then paved the way for 12 more by a protege. Once the favorite for the '68 presidential nomination, he was hooted out of the race before the first primary for insisting the Johnson Administration had "brainwashed" him about the Vietnam War. Nonetheless, he went to the convention and allowed his name to be entered in nomination for vice-president against Spiro Agnew—a man he thought unworthy of the calling.

President Nixon forgave Romney for opposing his choice of running mate, naming him to the cabinet, in which he served capably. Last year his son Mitt and former daughter-in-law Ronna both ran strong races for the U.S. Senate, testimony to the power of George Romney's positive influence and the high regard in which he was held by those who knew him. Especially at Ripon.

Veep Heap Ain't Steep: Lungren is Tops

The word is out on **Bob Dole's** preliminary first choice for a running mate: California Attorney General **Dan Lungren**. Known as an arch-conservative while a young congressman in the 1980s, Lungren appears to have moderated somewhat since becoming the state's top law enforcement officer: he opposed a broadly-worded school voucher initiative in 1993, and last year supported the anti-illegal alien Prop 187 only belatedly and with great reluctance.

A high-profile crime fighter, Lungren has become quite popular in California, winning re-election last year by 1.2 million votes. That stands in stark contrast with moderate GOP Gov. **Pete Wilson**, himself a presidential candidate, though Dole thrashes him in polls on his home ground. With California packing 52 electoral votes, the highest number in history for any state, it will behoove Dole—or whoever wins the top slot—to look to the aptly-named Golden State to complete the ticket.

But the options there are sparse: Wilson is unpopular with the conservative GOP mainstream and the voters of his own state; both of California's U.S. Senators are rich/liberal/Jewish/female Democrats from the San Francisco Bay area—hardly the type needed to appease the populist/Christian Right. That knocks you down to the House delegation and the state cabinet; Lungren has been a member of both. It also doesn't hurt that his brother Brian is a political consultant on the Dole campaign staff.

Fawning No Longer

Fawn Hall appeared to be every politico's fantasy of a secretary when she testified before the Senate's Iran-Contra hearings in 1987: striking, loyal, and adoring of her former boss, Lt. Col. **Oliver North**. Now North is a

syndicated radio talk show host, after making millions on the lecture circuit and almost ousting a U.S. Senator with a \$20 million campaign. But whatever happened to the devoted Ms. Hall?



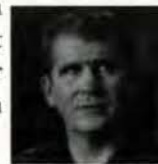
Lungren:
#1 for #2

In an interview published in the August issue of *Redbook* magazine, Hall filled fans in on her missing years and her new perspective on her role in history.

It seems that after her sudden rise as a national heartthrob, Fawn became a crack addict. Now in recovery—along with her new husband—Hall says "Ollie used me. I was like a piece of Kleenex to him." Her mate is even more heated toward North: "Your actions directly destroyed my wife's career and her life as she knew it, and you couldn't even pick up the phone and say, 'I'm sorry,' or 'Thanks.'"

Bulls Bash Burke

The long knives of the right are out for Dole chief-of-staff **Sheila Burke**, a self-confessed (yikes!) "moderate." The concern is that Burke is the frontrunner for the White House CoS post in a Dole administration, a leverage point from which she could (gasp!) pull policy toward the center. Prime exhibits for this theory are the moderating influences exerted on the Reagan Administration by **Jim Baker** and **Dick Darman**, and the rightward swerve pushed on **George Bush** by **John Sununu**. Burke's primary offense seems to have been being laudatory of **Hillary Clinton** and her health care efforts; she is also known to be an ardent feminist.



North:
Fawn a Pawn

Forbes Forges Ahead

It's no flight of fancy after all: **Malcolm "Steve" Forbes, Jr.** is taking off on a bid for the GOP presidential nomination—or at least taxiing down the runway. Forbes has hired Washington pollster **John**

McLaughlin to "test the waters" for him; since the mega-millionaire has virtually no name recognition, that means polls full of hypothetical matchups between "Candidate X, Y, Z" descriptions. Such samplings almost always render their sponsor the next FDR on the horizon. Expect Forbes to announce shortly after Labor Day.

But hold the chuckles: this guy could outspend Bob Dole 10:1 in key primary states, and probably will. He will become the first candidate in 16 years to refuse federal matching funds, which means he will not be bound to the Spartan spending limits restraining his competitors. Are there limits to the power of money in electoral politics? We're about to find out.

Forbes says he'll run because of the lack of a true supply-sider in the field. Maybe so, but frustrated family ambition may also be at work: Steve's publishing legend father ran for governor of New Jersey in the 1950s, and lost after an election eve ploy by Democratic opponent **Bob Meyner**. Both candidates had half-hour programs scheduled that night on the state's only TV station, with the Forbes program following the Meyner broadcast. Meyner finished his slot with the national anthem, followed by a test pattern. Anyone still tuned in by the time Forbes hit the air must have been fast asleep.

Clash of the Right'uns

The jockeying for the far right lane in the GOP presidential sweepstakes is already getting the whip. "**Phil Gramm** has been a lifelong ward of the federal government or state government," bellowed **Pat Buchanan** in mid-July. "He should try the private sector before he describes how it works." Gramm's response? "I never duel with unarmed men. What Pat Buchanan knows about economics and agriculture, for that matter, you could fit into a thimble."



Forbes:
Budget Buster?

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