THE RIPON FORUM
VOICE OF THE REPUBLICAN MAINSTREAM Vol. XXXI, No. 1, February 1996 / $3.95

THE MODERATE MANIFESTO

New Directions Toward a Republican Super-Majority

The Ripon Society

presents its video sale of

A Salute to Republican Women Leadership

FEATURING:

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Senator
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The Ripon Society's ***Salute to Republican Women Leadership*** video is a 20-minute program honoring the strides made by women in the Republican Party. This video makes it clear, that for all the rhetoric of the Democrat Party, it is the Republicans who actually have promoted and elected Congressional women to leadership positions throughout history.

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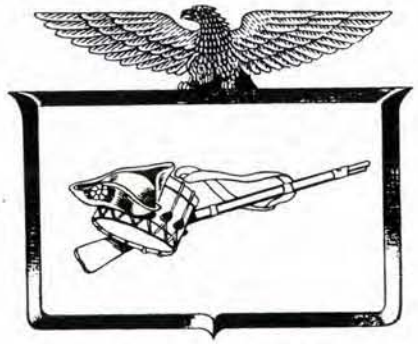
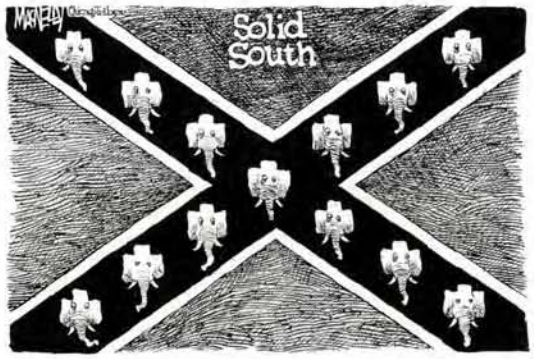
The Ripon Forum

January/February 1996 Volume XXXI, No. 1

Policy on Parade

Features





Departments

UNDER THE BIG TENT

Buchanan Busters Blast Intolerance

The Ripon Society recently joined other moderate Republican groups in a press conference to denounce the politics of prejudice and intolerance as practiced by **Pat Buchanan**'s presidential campaign. Following the lead of elected officials such as Cong. **Steve Gunderson** (R-WI) and House Speaker **Newt Gingrich**, Ripon joined Log Cabin Republicans, the Republican Coalition for Choice, the Council of 100 and the Republican Mainstream Committee in expressing displeasure with the divisive nature of the Buchanan Brigades. Echoing the words of Ripon Vice-President **Milton Bins**, Executive Director **Michael Dubke** declared, "If the Republican Party is to be the majority party for the next generation, it cannot 'stand Pat.' We cannot allow ourselves to be marginalized by the fear and hatred Pat Buchanan inspires in the hearts of many Americans."

Gunderson had zeroed in on the heart of the matter in an earlier press release, warning: "When the political center stays home, we turn the party's future over to a small segment on the far right. The concept of Pat Buchanan becoming a viable force in this party's nomination process should scare everyone within the party who wants to win in November. No one did more to defeat George Bush in 1992 than Pat Buchanan with his convention speech. No one advocates the politics of prejudice, intolerance, and hatred more than Pat Buchanan. No one will drive moderates, women, minorities and the young away from our party more than Buchanan....It's time to reclaim our party, and a role for America's great political center before it's too late."

"Rough Riders" Repast Racks Up Record Return

Almost a century after they charged to glory in Cuba, the Rough Riders ride again.

The Ripon Society inaugurated its annual **Rough Rider Awards** on March 12, honoring those members of Congress who best evoke the spirit of daring and innovative reform established by our 26th president, **Theodore Roosevelt**. The award's title refers to cavalry unit T.R. led in the Spanish-American War, whose dash and determination set the tone for their commander's fabled career in the public arena. Recipients have boldly tackled the difficult problems confronting our nation, standing up to special interest pressure to advance public policy that benefits common Americans.

Those being honored include: Sen. **John Chafee** (RI), for his continuing fight for health care reform; Sen. **Olympia Snowe** (ME), for her work in protecting student loans and improving the technology in our schools; Cong. **Sherwood Boehlert** (NY), for his efforts in protecting our natural resources; Cong. **Michael Oxley** (OH), for achieving competition-generating reforms in telecommunications law; and Cong. **Marge Roukema** (NJ), for her authorship of the Family and Medical Leave Act.

These honorees also had to persevere against public apathy and partisan political infighting to achieve their goals. But—much as Teddy Roosevelt brought together cowboys from the wild West and polo players from the eastern establishment to form the Rough Riders—these Republican officials reached out to Democrats and Independents to pass legislation that will benefit all Americans. They are prime examples of elected officials who can make Washington work.

Apart from heralding such worthy heroics, the Rough Rider Dinner was an enormous financial success, netting over $100,000 for the Ripon coffers, the most for a single event in five years.

Big Apple Accolades

The New York Metropolitan chapter of the Ripon Society recently held two events to honor Riponites who have made a difference. The first, biz exec/ex-congressional nominee **Mike Murphy**, was recognized for his fearless, energetic and persistent effort to open up the GOP by reforming the delegate selection process for the national convention.

The second honoree, **Lugenia Gordon**, was presented with a lifetime achievement award for her work with the "Abolitionists' Honor Roll" and as a founder of the Freedom Republicans. The hard-charging, feisty 74-year old has been a key Ripon figure for 30 years, and is continuing her fight for a more broad-based, inclusive GOP. She remains an honorary chairperson of Ripon's New York chapter.

Moderates On The Warpath

Quite expectedly, we raised some hackles with our editorial "Reveille for the General" (Oct. 1995). "It's comments about some of the Republican presidential candidates are in direct conflict with Ripon's Big Tent policy," complained one reader. "The last thing the magazine should be doing is including such snide remarks about them."

The purpose of the editorial was to call on General Colin Powell to enter the race, an event that—by all evidence—would have resulted in the rejuvenation of the GOP's seemingly dormant moderate wing. We realized, however, that a rationale for a Powell candidacy would have to be predicated upon the deficiencies of the already crowded candidate field. Although there is a fine line between critical review and uncivility, we believe we were forceful, but fair.

The combative, even caustic tone objected to was intended. We often hear complaints that while moderates are just as numerous among rank-in-file Republicans as rightists, we are habitually ignored by the media and party leadership because our moderation extends to our demeanor: we simply do not raise as much of a fuss. Where are our Limbaughs, our Weyrichs, our Gingriches? Where is our Will?

There is no proverb more appropriate to American politics than "the squeaky wheel gets the grease." We are not ruled by the majority, but rather by a majority of those who care enough about an issue to bring their concern to the attention of those in power. That means being memorable, quotable in your communications. That means being cleverly emphatic, as well as logically persuasive. The fact Republican moderates have chosen to remain above the rough-and-tumble has not only left us "out of the loop" at decision time, it has enhanced our image as out-of-touch elitists—a key obstacle to the expansion of our base.

America is at a critical crossroads: the moderate, middle-income majority is thoroughly fed up with having its interests routinely submerged by both parties. Democrat paternalism and profligacy has been thoroughly rejected, and the last chance for the two-party American democracy is now squarely in the GOP court. We must quickly embrace the young and the middle class if we are to become a long-term, ruling majority. If we fail to accomplish this mission by the new millennium, burgeoning factionalism and disregard of authority will drive our society into class warfare and chaos.

Ripon is uniquely positioned to guide the party toward this vital mission. The FORUM editorial board determined in mid-September that a presidential bid by General Powell would provide the best available vehicle for accomplishing the goals of the Society. It was decided that the October issue would trumpet that prospect, short of the explicit endorsement prohibited by our charter.

As our entreaties and numerous others like it were unsuccessful, a different course must now be taken to achieve representation of moderate Republicans that is to commensurate to our numbers. This is especially critical at this juncture, as the other moderate GOP presidential contenders quickly dropped from the race and many key congressional moderates—Republican and Democrat—are retiring this year. That suggests there will be more gridlock than ever in Washington next year unless centrists assert themselves in this year's elections.

Fortunately, there are encouraging signs that it might. Moderate Tom Campbell (R-CA) was returned to the House in a special December election by a landslide majority in a marginal district; and popular Massachusetts Gov. Bill Weld—a leading light of the GOP's progressive wing—has launched an ambitious campaign to unseat Sen. John "Married Mega-Millions" Kerry. But where is the national infrastructure to support a Weld challenge? There are scores of right-wing political action committees supporting like-minded candidates from the early stages of primary campaigns forward; there are even a couple of PACs designed to help pro-choice women Republicans. But where can a generally moderate GOP candidate turn, particularly if he is a male?

In the coming weeks, some Ripon members will be spearheading an effort to establish just such a committee, with emphasis on candidate recruitment, campaign training and hi-tech voter ID. To join them in this endeavor. Write: **Bullmoose Brigade/ 501 Capitol Court, NE, Suite 301/ Washington, DC 20002.**

The majority will be silent no longer.

THE **RIPON FORUM**

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FAYE ANDERSON

Television Broadcasters: The New Welfare Kings

Everywhere you look in Washington these days, you'll find someone who is out to end welfare as we know it. Problem is, the welfare programs they want to reform tend to include just Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), the safety net for mothers and children who are living at or below the poverty level. Well, there's a far more expensive and egregious AFDC program about which we hear precious little—Aid For Dependent Corporations.

The new welfare kings don't live in America's depressed urban and rural areas, and you won't see them at the bus stop. No, these welfare kings wear a spit-shine on their polished wing-tips and whisk from one steel-and-glass tower to the next in chauffeur-driven limousines. And here's the kicker: The new welfare kings are about to pull off their biggest scam yet—a $100 billion rip-off of additional broadcast spectrum in which the unwitting dupes are the American taxpayers who own the spectrum.

The story began a few years ago when the Federal Communications Commission embarked on a misguided industrial policy to promote a new kind of television that would offer crisper, more detailed pictures. Known as high definition television or HDTV, this television for the 21st century will require new receivers so anyone who wants to watch it will have to buy a new television set that will cost around $2500.

To ease the transition for the nation's "struggling" broadcasters (the four major networks—ABC, CBS, NBC and Fox—posted profits totaling $3.41 billion in 1994 according to an Aug. 1, 1995, report in the Wall Street Journal), the FCC decided to give them a second chunk of broadcast spectrum equal in size to the spectrum they already have. The plan was to continue to use the old spectrum to broadcast with traditional analog technology while making the transition to HDTV.

We all know the line about the best laid plans of mice and men (no, I'm not referring to the Disney/ABC deal because there's nothing mickey-mouse about this giveaway). As it often does, technology overtook public policy and rendered obsolete the FCC plan for HDTV. With the advent of digital compression technology, broadcasters discovered that they could use the new spectrum for purposes other than HDTV. Instead of sending out a single HDTV signal, they could use the spectrum to transmit up to six channels of digitally-compressed broadcast or non-broadcast services (read: six new revenue streams), or as many as 72 channels of CD-quality radio. So even though the original plan has been cancelled, the broadcasters are stalking the halls of Congress saying, "I want my HDTV spectrum."

With the federal coffers bare and Congress calling for shared sacrifice to balance the budget by 2002, it defies common sense that the public interest will somehow be served by giving away a public resource estimated to be worth between $11 billion and $100 billion to subsidize some corporate fat cats.

Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole has led the fight to roll back this corporate welfare program which, if implemented, would rip off American taxpayers, and establish a new federal bureaucracy to micromanage the nascent advanced television services industry. Indeed, Dole threatened to hold up passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 unless the broadcast spectrum provision was stripped from the legislation. After receiving written assurances from all five FCC commissioners that no award of initial licenses or construction permits for advanced television services will be made until Congress has examined the issue in the light of day with input from the American people, Congress put the spectrum issue on pause and on Feb. 1, passed the Act by a vote of 414 to 16 in the House and 91 to 5 in the Senate. President Clinton signed the bill into law on Feb. 8 at a multimedia ceremony at the Library of Congress.

Sen. Larry Pressler (R-SD), chairman of the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation, has announced he will hold four spectrum hearings beginning in April "to make sure the interests of the American taxpayer are protected." Sen. Dole has been invited to be the lead-off witness. If at the conclusion of the hearings television broadcasters are not forced to ante up their fair share, they will reap an unfair and unearned advantage over small businesses, and women and minority-owned businesses who last year paid hundreds of millions of dollars for licenses to provide interactive and wireless communications services. Indeed, the FCC is currently auctioning licenses for personal communications services that have been set aside for bidding exclusively by small businesses. As of Feb. 6, the so-called "C-Block" auction has raised $5.3 billion (since 1994, the FCC has raised $15.2 billion in total auction revenues). With a gift of new spectrum, broadcasters will be able to compete against the auction winners with no upfront payment to the U.S. Treasury.

The Republican Congress must protect the public interest and pull the plug on this sweetheart deal, thereby, ending the reign of the new welfare kings. They must heed the clear message that voters sent in the 1994 mid-term elections to end business as usual in Washington. Otherwise, all the talk about welfare reform comes down to this: The only welfare recipients the Republican "revolutionaries" want to get out of the wagon are those who don't have an army of lawyers and lobbyists demanding their turn at the federal pork barrel at the expense of the American taxpayer.

Faye M. Anderson *is president of the Douglass Policy Institute, a research organization based in Washington, D.C.*

Who Invited You to This Party?

A friendly reminder from our buddies in the Intolerant Right who would blackball Genghis Khan for his radical ideas. Nice logo guys.

Multnomah County Republican Party
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(503) 777-0919

November 6, 1995

Dear friend,

I want to share some very good news with you. **The Democratic party is in deep trouble!** Indeed, with the historic 1994 Republican landslide and the continuing retirement and exodus of Democrats, It appears Republicans are poised to achieve "veto proof" majorities in Congress in 1996.

As happy as this prospect is, however, it is tempered here in the Multnomah County Republicans Party by the sad fact that there remain some folks who apparently still haven't "got the message" American voters delivered in 1994 elections. *There are a number of Republicans favoring abortion rights and concessions to homosexuals who are organizing right now to take control of our local party!*

Very recently, a small minority of these liberals in our party, naming themselves the "Oregon Mainstream Republican Committee", launched an full-scale attack against existing pro-life/pro-family majority here in Multnomah County through two separate, misleading mailings to all the current precinct committeepersons.

The bottom line is: These Liberals intent to ***remove the Pro-Life plank*** from the Oregon Republican Party platform, and to support candidates who turn their backs on the watershed social issues of our state and national platforms. **Friends, we've worked too long and too hard in defense of the unborn and strong family values to allow this travesty to happen!**

IT IS VITAL THAT WE KEEP CONTROL OF THIS PARTY.

Because the **majority** of Republican leaders and voters across the country favor traditional family values, we have had a surge of some of the finest pro-family candidates seen in years. Indeed, it is more than likely that you were one of the millions of voters who helped elect pro-family candidates in 1994, and you now have the opportunity to repeat this victory.

...rd again! The law states that only duly elected precinct ... local and state party leadership positions. **You can help ...-family** by signing up as a precinct committee-person ... for the Multnomah County Republican Party.

...EPERSON, THE MOST IMPORTANT MEETING ...TEND IS OUR RE-ORGANIZATION MEETING ...LY CANDIDATES. Of course, there are many other precinct commiteeperson, and you are encouraged ... desire.

...the candidate form enclosed and mail back right ... spring election and other Republicans in your ... to cast their vote for you. (This is just a ... to be elected and the vast majority of everyone ...!

Bill Casey

Bill Casey,
Vice Chairman

...d Presidential poll, and please don't ...**you!**

Pentagon is Palace of Pork

To the editor:

Your excellent editorial "In Search of a Bogeyman" (July, 1995) is 100 percent right-on! We agree with every point you made.

There is a further aspect to military planning which, though second-order, reinforces your point. That is that many members of the Armed Services never intend to fight. Look at the Persian Gulf War: Several soldiers had spouses who were also soldiers, plus small children... what heartless wretch could expect that both parents would go off to war and dump the kids? This was also true of single parents. It's ludicrous to have service personnel who can't be deployed when they're needed.

We hope that you keep up the pressure, for the "Two-Front" strategy is designed to generate congressional pork projects, NOT to meet the real needs of the country.

Margaret S. Hart
David F. Hart
Santa Barbara, California

Readers' Survey Sweepstakes Winners

The following lucky Riponites won the prize drawing for those who participated in our Readers' Survey last year:

Grand Prize—"Best Political TV Advertising of '94" video ($60 value):
Nancy Glerum of Portland, OR.

Second Prize—two-year subscription to *The Ripon Forum* ($35 value):
E.J. Hols of Duluth, MN

Third Prize—"A Salute to Republican Women Leadership" video ($20 value):
Richard Miller of New York, NY
Frank Richiazzi of Laguna Beach, CA
Marlene Johnsen of Grd. Junction, CO

THE MODERATE MANIFESTO

An Issue Primer, Policy Platform and Campaign Plan for the New Millennium

Hear the mournful news media and social commentators lament:

"Where are the moderates when we need them? With government gripped in gridlock, begging for someone to broker compromises, there they go riding off into the sunset. So long, Kassebaum, Hatfield and Cohen. Adios Simpson, Brown and Nunn. Vaya con dios Clinger, Gunderson and Meyers. Too bad there's no room left in politics for people who simply want to see government stay out of our private lives, but still accomplish the things people have a right to expect of it. If only you guys had been more organized, more focused, more aggressive, taking the initiative, not just reacting to the extremes and trying to split the difference. If only you weren't so, well, squishy. Did you even have a program of your own?"

Such reports of the extinction of the centrist species are greatly exaggerated, but we *are* an endangered breed on Capitol Hill. The time is long overdue for us to get in the game from the first whistle, to start advocating the interests of that backbone, bedrock, bulk of America—the unrepresented middle class. For the middle class too is endangered.

Our support infrastructure is woefully inadequate for the task: moderate Republicans have only one think tank (the tiny Ripon Society) and no political action committees whatever. That is about to change. Soon, Ripon members and other mainstream-oriented Republican groups will be unveiling a new political action committee which will recruit and train moderate Republican candidates for federal office and bundle funds for their campaigns.

The following document will provide some ideological cohesion to this movement. It is unlikely anyone will agree with all its observations and proposals, and no one will be expected to adhere to any particular section of it. Rather, this Moderate Manifesto can provide a template for the basic ideological underpinnings of a successful centrist campaign, and a flexible blueprint for effective government once centrists take their rightful majoritarian place in Congress and the Executive Branch.

The Manifesto is unlike any political treatise ever published, being at once an educational, ideological and strategic document that provides a practical framework for majority rule. It is designed to attract the same radical-center, middle-class voter that has been recently attracted to Ross Perot and Patrick Buchanan, offering thoughtful, reasoned solutions to those conditions and trends that so agitate them. At the same time, the complete program addresses the concerns of such smaller interest groups as racial minorities, environmentalists, feminists, Religious Rightists, and mainstream gays with sufficient deference to keep them within the pool of persuadable voters. With much of these disparate segments and the entire disaffected middle-class harnessed full-time to the Republican coalition, we will at last have the super-majority necessary for the institution of what James Pinkerton has called "The New Paradigm"—a different context for government that ensures efficiency and fairness while keeping our society up to the challenges of a rapidly changing world.

Preamble

Grave dissatisfaction with our political institutions has become the rule among the American electorate, and no wonder—

- Over the last generation, the average American wage has declined 14 percent, even as the economy has expanded and the fortunes of the richest in society have skyrocketed.

- In the vast majority of families, both mothers and fathers must hold down jobs to make ends meet; single-parent households are increasing exponentially; children are growing up without sufficient parental involvement, leading to sociological chaos when they mature. The moral foundations of our society are rotting away, eroded by ever-spreading government paternalism that saps initiative and infested by unscrupulous businesses that make a fast buck brainwashing children and pandering to base instincts.

- Well-heeled or well-organized special interests with professional lobbyists routinely get their way with government, often at the expense of the general public. Radicals of the left and right are carefully heeded in the halls of power, while the moderate majority—too busy keeping this nation afloat to engage in day-to-day political infighting—often sees its values and interests ignored.

Neither major political party has consistently served the interests of this moderate majority in recent times. The American people have thoroughly rejected the paternalistic and profligate Democrat theory of government. They now turn to Republicans for one last look at the two party system. If the Republican Party succeeds in subordinating the agenda of the radical right and embracing the moderate middle-class, it will become the ruling majority for the next political age. If it fails in that endeavor, American democracy will give way to factionalism, class warfare and chaos within the decade.

We dedicate ourselves to seeing it does NOT fail, by pursuing the following political course of action and policy program.

Economic Policy

The Federal Budget Deficit & the National Debt

PROBLEM/CONFLICT: Ruinous debt policies over the past 15 years have put us on line to a federal budget that will have no room for anything but entitlements and debt service within the next 15 years. This theft from future generations promises to enslave our children and grandchildren to confiscatory taxation. If current trends and practices continue, a child born today will pay 82 percent of its lifetime earnings in taxes. Even if the GOP budget package had passed unscathed, that percentage would decline only nine points.

POLITICS: The remarkable showing of Ross Perot in the 1992 presidential race is a strong indicator that voters are vitally concerned about the deficit and impending entitlement meltdown; the swing element of the electorate is demanding that the federal government sober up from its vote-buying binge. While the AARP continues to wield enormous influence and the retired sector of adults will continue to grow by leaps and bounds over the next 30 years, younger voters are finally becoming outraged over the squandering of their birthright. The political costs of cleaning up Washington's budget act are short-term and shallow, its rewards long-term and deep.

SOLUTION: The budget deficit should be eliminated over a six-year period—the length of a Senate term—utilizing roughly equal reductions in entitlement, military, and other discretionary spending: each about $50-60 billion below 1996 levels in constant dollars. (See respective sections for details.)

Ideally, the federal government should have the flexibility to run budget deficits in slow economic times, as long as it then has the responsibility to run surpluses when the economy is booming. Unfortunately, Congress and the Executive Branch have proven themselves incapable of such discipline, and a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget must be ratified at the earliest possible date.

Additionally, giving the President the line-item appropriations veto will go a long way toward eliminating wasteful "pork" projects which serve no efficient purpose other than to buy votes for their sponsors. It should be passed immediately, no matter who occupies the White House.

STRATEGY: Democrats have carefully aimed at the GOP's congenital Achilles heel in the budget debate, casting Republicans as heartless henchmen for the rich who want to throw ailing oldsters out onto the snow. The tactic has gained some traction, in part because the large tax cut proposed by the GOP leadership disproportionately benefits higher incomes. For this reason, limit tax cuts this year to the $500 per child credit, a move that would also help us achieve a balanced budget sooner, while making social spending cuts less draconian and providing for much-needed investments in workfare, education and infrastructure. Next year, overhaul the tax code completely, to wit:

Tax Structure

PROBLEM/CONFLICT: The tax code remains as convoluted as ever, wasting valuable resources on a paper chase with few rewards. The middle-class super-majority is convinced—with some justification—that they alone are carrying the crushing burden of a welfare state, while the wealthy get off scot-free, thanks to preferential tax breaks artfully exploited by lawyers and accountants.

POLITICS: Given these conditions, it is an irony that the progressive income tax—pushed to fruition by Theodore Roosevelt in the early 20th century on the theory that levies should be based on ability to pay—has been greatly flattened in recent years and seemed on the verge of collapse just last year. The simplicity of a virtually unadulterated flat tax has great appeal, as most people find it is reassuring to know the rich will at least be paying at the same rate as everyone else. But middle-class voters begin to demur once they are exposed to the particulars and bottom lines of most flat tax proposals, notably that of Steve Forbes in early 1996.

For starters, the Forbes scheme comes up nearly $200 billion short of current revenues. It clearly was conceived from the perspective of someone who inherited several hundred million dollars, as it would shaft the middle class from all directions. Dividends, interest and capital gains—major sources of upper-class income—would not be taxed at all. Inheritances would not be taxed either, no matter how large. The wealthier the taxpayer, the greater the proportion of eliminated taxes. The mortgage interest deduction—the only substantial investment tax break most taxpayers get, without which millions of them would be denied home ownership—would be scrapped. More of the tax burden would shift to business, to be passed on to consumers through higher prices, and to workers through reduced wages and benefits.

By leaning on business taxes and doubling the deficit, the Forbes plan is able to claim it reduces taxes for virtually all individuals, making it appear attractive to the casual middle-class observer. But closer scrutiny quickly reveals this to be a rich man's plan that would make J.P. Morgan blush with its brazen bias against middle incomes. Generous personal exemptions and child deductions leave little doubt who will be picking up the tab. A system already skewed for society's non-producers—wards of the welfare state at one end and the idle rich at the other—will only be made far more so. Our fading meritocracy will finally give way to a stagnating aristocracy.

The threatened middle class recognizes this; they are not as stupid as Wall Street and K Street seem to believe. They will not buy into the fantasy that if they will only shoulder a heavier share of the tax burden and let the ever-wealthier idle rich off scot-free, manna will fall from heaven in the form of exploding economic growth. Anyone who tries to sell it to them will suffer the same fate that befell Forbes in the Iowa caucus and New Hampshire primary. And those were Republican voters.

SOLUTION: The simple flat tax concept is far from a panacea; in any of its various forms, it will lighten the load on the wealthy and greatly reduce the government's ability to manage the economy. Laissez-faire economists argue that such effects will actually be beneficial, boosting investment and reducing counter-productive government meddling, but the only obvious benefits of the flat tax scheme will be the tremendous reduction in paperwork and the attendant unemployment increase in the legal, lobbying and accounting industries.

But graduated income taxes and tax code simplification are not mutually exclusive. Like a basic flat tax, the current five-bracket system could be complied with on a postcard, if virtually all deductions and credits were done away with. Here's tax reform that will do just that, and really get the Atlas burden off the backs of the middle class: Raise the personal exemption to $8,000 and the dependent deduction to $4,000; maintain the deductibility of interest on the first $150,000 of a home mortgage; and limit charitable deductions to $2,000; eliminate all other deductions and credits and cut all tax rates by one-third. The top bracket (for those making more than $253,000) will thus be reduced from 39.6 percent to 26.4 percent. Require two-thirds majorities to alter this new tax code in any way; otherwise the Congress will merely begin auctioning off tax breaks to special interests all over again.

Such a reform would be roughly revenue neutral.

STRATEGY: A "postcard" tax system that retains indexed brackets but reduces all of them by a third will be enormously appealing to middle-class voters; embracing it will immediately liberate Republicans from the widespread assumption that we are merely shills for the rich. And what if we instead back a basic flat tax system that would double the deficit, nurture financial dynasties, eliminate the only major middle-class tax break, and sock hardhats for a fifth of their income while exempting the idle rich? The Democrats and their media allies will soon succeed in hanging us with our own rope, ushering in a new age of Democrat domination.

Labor

PROBLEM/CONFLICT: Although the raw numbers of union members have remained static for 40 years, their share of the workforce over that time has been cut in half. Exploiting the vote sensitivity of public officeholders, public sector unions have continued to gradually increase their clout, but those in the private sector have steadily weakened, and now appear to be largely irrelevant. This phenomenon may have much bearing on the fact the average worker's wages have declined 14 percent in the past 25 years. After-tax income has declined even more precipitously, benefits have begun to decline in recent years, and the minimum wage stands at a 40-year low in purchasing power. Meanwhile, CEO compensation at America's largest corporations has quadrupled relative to their workforce.

It appears labor relations may be out of balance in the private sector, with management now wielding dominant power in the determination of workers' compensation. Quite the opposite is true in the public sector, where increasingly lucrative wages, ever more generous benefits, and heightened job security have been the rule—a key reason why government is widely seen as steadily more inefficient, vis-a-vis the private sector.

POLITICS: The election of the first solid Republican congressional majorities in almost half a century has sounded a piercing alarm in the halls of organized labor. The last

time the GOP had the legislative power they now possess, the result was the Taft-Hartley Act (1947), a profoundly influential law that dramatically cut strike frequency and effectively rolled back much of the sweeping legal standing labor had achieved during the Depression. Today, the Republican leadership in Congress and the legislatures are attempting to gain further advantage for management on several fronts:

- Repeal of the Davis-Bacon Act (1931) and the Service Contract Act (1965), which require contractors to pay the local "prevailing wage" to workers on federally-funded projects. Repeal of "little Davis-Bacon Acts" is under consideration in 25 states.

- Amend the National Labor Relations Act (1935) to give management greater freedom to establish "employee involvement" committees—a device condemned by union leaders as de-facto company unions.

- Relax provisions of the Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSHA), and slash funding for the agency charged with enforcing it.

- Weaken worker's compensation or employment insurance laws—action now being considered in 38 states.

GOP congressional leaders had also targeted an executive order issued by President Clinton's that denied federal contracts to firms that permanently replace striking workers, but the decree was recently struck down by the courts. The issue is bound for the campaign trail this year, however, in constituencies with sizable union influence.

In fact, all these labor issues—and others closely related, such as health care—will take center stage in the campaigns, thanks to aggressive new leadership at the AFL-CIO. John Sweeney—a longtime advocate of fierce labor activism—succeeded in deposing the labor federation's Old Guard at last summer's convention, defeating their heir apparent for the presidency. Consequently, the AFL-CIO now plans to target 75 congressmen—virtually all Republicans—with a $35 million effort that will include canvassing, phone banks, and negative advertising.

SOLUTION: Bring the high-flying public sector unions back to earth by injecting competition into their bailiwicks, using privatization proposals and public school vouchers. Improve private sector union clout by getting tough with our Most Favored Nations (MFN) trade designation, yanking it when other countries make little progress in alleviating their political rights abuses or predatory labor practices. Require the portability of employer-provided health care insurance, along the guidelines provided by the Kassebaum-Kennedy bill awaiting consideration in Congress (see "Health Care"). Raising personal exemptions to $8,000 and dependent deductions to $4,000 (as indicated earlier) will take the poor off the tax rolls, relieving the need to raise the minimum wage. "Working poor" ought to be an oxymoron in this country, a phenomenon on its way out, not on the rise.

STRATEGY: Along with its actions to curtail environmental regulations, the GOP stands to be hurt most at the polls this year by the declining fortunes of the middle-class. True, family income is slightly up over a generation ago, but only because working mothers are now the rule, rather than the exception. Child care has become a draining, but unavoidable expense for most families, and our society will eventually pay a dear price for today's insufficient parental bonding. The middle-class is keenly aware of all this, and increasingly restive because of it. The more this lion's share of the vote feels an economic pinch, the more it will turn toward the Democrats, given historical stereotypes. It is not in the interest of the Republican Party—or the nation as a whole—to let a Dickensian atmosphere take hold of our economy.

GOVERNMENT REFORM

Term Limits

PROBLEM/CONFLICT: The socio-political atmosphere in the nation's capital—and most state capitals—has increasingly diverged from that of the rest of the country in recent decades. Special interest lobbies have become adept at procuring what they want from government, and legislators—with incomes in the top two percent of Americans—now live an existence which bears little resemblance or relationship to lives led by their constituents. The "sweeping" results of the last congressional election notwithstanding, advantages afforded to incumbents by our electoral and media systems are enormous. Seat shifts of 1994's magnitude used to be common course corrections; today, it takes nearly universal voter outrage to effect them.

POLITICS: Reforms aimed at making representatives more representative of their constituents have been understandably unpopular with those in power, who typically wish to secure their perks, prerogatives, rarified salaries and tenure. Electorates in 18 of the 19 states that have put congressional term limits on the ballot have approved the measure, but the House rejected three of four term limit amendments offered in 1995, and failed to give the fourth the required two-thirds majority. The Senate has yet to consider such a measure. This in the face of a 3:1 pro-term limit majority consistently revealed by polls of the American electorate.

SOLUTION: The presidency and the great majority of governorships are term-limited as a precaution against a stagnating executive branch and the stockpiling of

too much entrenched power. Many of our legislative bodies—Congress most particularly—have become professionalized to the point that they present those same dangers. The citizen-legislator went out with the whistle-stop tour, and can be brought back to dominance only through term limits. Speaker Gingrich has a point when he suggests that it takes two terms to learn one's way to the Members' washroom, but it seems clear that after five terms, representatives inevitably become more creatures of Washington culture than one of the folks back home. With the president limited to eight years service, confine House members to ten, and show the door to Senators—with their longer terms and greater intended insularity—after twelve. Apply the same limits on to the careers of staffers, to keep Congress from falling under their sway. Those who contend this would put lobbyists at an advantage needn't fear: no one will be in Congress long enough to learn that lobbyists are supposed to be in charge.

Still more will be needed to get Congress well-grounded. As David Brinkley has observed, the growth of intrusive federal mischief can be traced to the advent of air conditioning in the wake of World War II. No longer eager to escape George Washington's infilled swamp, Congress steadily extended its sessions, staff and reach. Member wailings to the contrary, the people's business can be properly tended to in six months of the year; the other six are invitations to the Devil's workshop. Following the advice of ex-Senate majority leader Howard Baker, limit sessions to six months per year—about a one-third trimming—and set congressional pay at five times the average wage (i.e. about $105,000 per year at current levels, a cut of about 20 percent). Offer Congress a ten percent bonus every year they manage to balance the budget.

STRATEGY: Obviously, pushing these reforms is a one-way ticket to unpopularity with congressional veterans, but the voters not only support such measures, they are beginning to demand them. The key Perotista "swing" element is particularly exorcised over such issues. Keeping the electorate lathered up over the "gold-plated, special interest-driven Congress" should soon put the fear of God into enough Members to get these populist precautions passed.

Lobby Reform

PROBLEM/CONFLICT: Represented by an army of nearly 100,000 lobbyists and their support personnel, special interests have come to rule the roost in Washington, frustrating the public will at most every turn. They have done so by a variety of means: 1) maintaining a "revolving door" recruitment of former members of Congress, congressional staffers, and high government officials into lucrative lobbying slots; 2) lavishing favors, perks and gifts on Members and their staffs; and most importantly, 3) providing most of incumbents' campaign treasuries. The result has been a long series of policies that sell out taxpayers, consumers, the environment and the middle-class. One such consequence are government favors for special interests that Labor Secretary Robert Reich—speaking independently of the Administration— has called "corporate welfare." Estimates of the annual cost of such favors range from $86 billion by the libertarian Cato Institute, to $167 billion by Essential Information, a research organization affiliated with Ralph Nader.

POLITICS: As investments in lobbying have burgeoned in recent years, so has special interest influence on Capitol Hill. Consequently, while lobby reform has been the object of much grandstanding, little substantive action was taken by Congress until last year. Public awareness of this scandal has grown as well, and lobby reform was used effectively as an issue by many successful GOP challengers in 1994. "[The GOP's '94 mandate] has to do with reform issues," says Fred Thompson, himself a phenomenally successful Senate candidate. "It has to do with the way Washington operates, particularly in regard to special interests."

SOLUTION: The GOP-controlled Congress can be justly proud of its record on these issues: the federal lobby reform bill it enacted in late 1995 was a rare victory for popular rule. But while it promises to halt many of the worst practices of Washington influence peddling and to pour cleansing sunshine on the shady pluralistic process, the new law also contains loopholes and oversights that must be corrected. With no scrutiny whatever, special interests can still spend whatever they want on so-called "grassroots" lobbying: generating letters, telegrams, phone calls and faxes to Congress from people who favor their legislative agenda. Members can still borrow the private aircraft of lobbyists and reimburse them only for the equivalence of a first-class commercial fare. Rules are still far too lax regarding expense-paid junkets provided to Members by special interests. And "friends" of Members remain exempt from most restrictions on gifts. What constitutes a lawmaker's friend? "Anyone who gives over a hundred dollars," an old-time Tammany pol once opined. All of these loopholes should be plugged immediately.

The "revolving door"—the most pervasive form of corruption fostered by the lobby system—remains in spin, with very few restrictions. Two reforms are desperately needed here:

1) Enforce a "cooling off period" between the time a Member or congressional staffer leaves public service and begins lobbying the federal government for any purpose. This period should equal half the duration of the individual's tenure in Congress or its employ. This simple device will ensure the early exit of those who enter public service with the intent of cashing in with special interests later, preventing them from amassing much influence.

2) Bar anyone who has served in Congress or on its staff from ever serving as a lobbyist for foreign interests.

STRATEGY: More than any other issue, the curbing of special interest influence propels the swing element that has backed Ross Perot. As Sen. Thompson observes, "If we can take the lead on reforming ourselves, thereby putting us in a position to move outward, then we're going to have much more success enacting [other] substantive programs."

Congressional opposition to these reforms will be

formidable, as they will cut the fringe benefits and future income prospects of Members and their staff. But the news media are becoming increasingly active in their quest to reduce the "stranglehold" of special interests with embarrassing exposés, and the public mood is becoming increasingly intolerant of the congressional influence game. Moreover, the 105th Congress will be composed primarily of members in their first five years of service, with a commitment to reform still burning brightly within most. If substantial lobby reform cannot be enacted under those conditions, it likely never will be.

Campaign Finance Reform

PROBLEM/CONFLICT: Our current system of financing campaigns greatly enhances the power and influence wielded by special interest lobbies. It is far easier for incumbents to raise funds from the thousands of DC-based political action committees (PACs) and bundling bigwigs than to scratch for individual donations back home. Individual donors are difficult to identify, and are restricted to $1,000 contributions. Lobbyists frequently solicit, gather and deliver $1,000 checks for an incumbent's campaign from fellow interest group members. Known as bundling, the practice is the target of some legal restrictions, but these are easily circumvented. PACs can contribute at $5,000 a pop, and wealthy favor-seekers can give party committees as much as they want, with no disclosure requirement, as long as this so-called "soft" money is used for "party-building activities" at the "grassroots." The end result is that incumbents are provided with at-the-ready cash cows for their re-election campaigns that leave them beholden to special interests.

POLITICS: In addition to their mail franking privileges and easy access to media coverage, congressional incumbents typically start their campaigns with huge financial advantages that often intimidate qualified competition from even filing for the ballot. Quite understandably, Congress is therefore reluctant to enact reforms that would submerge the role special interests play in financing elections, as Members derive by far the greatest benefit from that role. Also, the political parties invariably try to take advantage of popular sentiment by pushing "reforms" that have been carefully tailored to provide them with a partisan advantage. That leads to widespread paranoia, gamesmanship and grandstanding in the legislative process, a series of spectacles that have succeeded in dooming any cleanup of the campaign finance system for the past 20 years.

SOLUTION: The problem is not how much we spend on elections: we spend more selling dog food than we spend promoting candidates. ("May the best substance win," responds one wag.) The problem is where most of that money comes from: special interests looking for favors. The solution is not so much to repress the lobby-generated contributions (which would probably be unconstitutional), but to submerge them with an influx of disinterested cash and cheap sources of campaign communications. This can be advanced down a variety of avenues:

1) Raise the limit on individual donations to $3,000 per election (in effect, an inflation adjustment from the time the $1,000 limit was enacted in 1974), and lower the PAC limit to a like amount. Index the $3,000 cap for inflation every two years thereafter.

2) Mandate non-preemptible TV and radio airtime at the lowest unit rate (LUR) for candidates who pledge to raise the majority of their campaign receipts from the first $1000 of in-state individual donations, and classify such donations as "charitable" for income tax purposes. Also provide these complying candidates with first-class delivery postage at the lowest bulk rate. [See: Social Issues—Broadcast Licensing.]

3) Limit "soft" money donations to $25,000 per two-year election cycle.

4) Close bundling loopholes.

5) Boost fines for election law violations; raise the enforcement budget of the Federal Elections Commission.

STRATEGY: As these measures balance partisan advantages and concerns, they should be politically feasible if—once again—pressure in their behalf is maintained by the electorate and editorialists. Their common denominator is the promotion of electoral competition at the expense of special interest influence. Voters will strongly support reforms that are demonstrably in the public interest.

Defense & Foreign Policy

Scope of Our Military Structure

PROBLEM/CONFLICT: Currently, the scope of our defensive capabilities is based on the notion that we stand ready to fight two full-scale conventional wars in two different theaters, simultaneously, with clear superiority in military might over any potential foe. Given the very limited capabilities of our remaining adversaries and their lack of coordination, such a notion is plainly excessive, requiring unnecessary expenditures we can ill-afford at this time and exposing Americans to unwarranted sacrifices of life. When Eisenhower used his farewell address to warn us about the priority-warping influence of "the military industrial complex," he could have little imagined the power that sector holds over legislation today, or the enormous budget deficits it now fuels.

POLITICS: In addition to the war industry lobby on Capitol Hill, we also face pressure from multinational financial giants and CNN cameras to serve as the 911 number to the world. Domestic public opinion, however, has turned sharply in favor of scaling back our military expenditures since our triumph in the Cold War.

SOLUTION: A more realistic goal for our military capabilities is to maintain the ability to fight one full-scale war in one theater, and a holding action in a second, possessing clear superiority in one theater and rough equivalency in another. That would enable us to reduce our defense expenditure from about 4 3/4 percent of GDP to four percent—the same proportion expended by the other post-war keepers of world peace, France and Britain. Although such a reduction would amount to a savings of about $50 billion per year, it would leave us with a military budget five times larger than that of any other country in the world.

The remaining economic giants of the world, Germany and Japan, spend significantly lower proportions on defense, due in part to restrictions on their military activity imposed after World War II—a precaution against a renewal of their previous belligerency. Such a danger has obviously passed, and these two countries should be pressured toward assuming the same four percent of GDP burden toward the maintenance of world security.

STRATEGY: To those who insist on throwing hundreds of billions at an elusive bogeyman, may we ask: "Just who are you afraid of? North Korea? Cuba? Klingons?" North Koreans gave us a bit of a scrap 45 years ago, but only after they were bailed out by China, now one of our biggest trading partners. Cuba is an economic basket case, ferried about in a few cannibalized Studebakers. And Klingons? Well, maybe we need SDI after all.

The American people will not stand for a military structure that stands as a gold-plated monument to pork, or that seeks validation by putting young Americans into every line of fire that erupts around the globe. Curtailed armament industries should receive federal assistance in their transition to civilian productivity, but maintaining jobs is a ludicrous excuse for purchasing useless hardware, and voters know it.

Prerequisites for Commitment of Force

PROBLEM/CONFLICT: As the undisputed 800-pound gorilla on the block, the temptation to throw our military might around the world stage is great, but it will become the bane of our existence if we do not use it sparingly, and with great caution. It is not our divine mission to be the world's enforcer of peace, jumping to the rescue whenever CNN sends a camera crew to some remote corner of the globe where the fur is flying. While such "big brother" meddling may reap kudos from international financiers, it will eventually earn us the enmity of the world's peoples and cost us dearly in casualties and much-needed funds.

POLITICS: Despite a string of internationalist presidents going back to Franklin Roosevelt, a large number of the American people remain almost reflexively nationalistic and isolationist. As long as international communism remained a threat, they were willing to subdue those tendencies and allow America to operate aggressively on the world's political stage, but that threat is gone. Even while the Bush Administration was setting the stage for the Gulf War—with the blessing of the world community in its pocket and America's vital interests directly at stake—the American public was initially divided on the issue of fighting for the liberation of Kuwait. If their treasure is to be consumed and the lives of their young put jeopardy, Americans demand to know why and be satisfied with the answer.

SOLUTION: Recent history tells us such interventions must involve careful selection, comprehensive planning, and unflinching commitment if they are to succeed. The following factors must be in place if American might is to be employed wisely:

1) Our vital national interests must be at stake.

2) Clear military and political objectives have been established.

3) The intended action has been thoroughly explained to the American people, and a clear majority of them support it.

4) All other practical means of resolving the crisis have proven ineffective.

5) The resources required for victory will be committed at the outset.

Under these criteria, our misadventures in Bosnia, Lebanon and Somalia would not qualify; our actions against Saddam's invasion of Kuwait and Noriega's drug-running regime in Panama would. Any incursion into the Americas by a foreign power would meet with force, consistent with the Monroe Doctrine.

STRATEGY: The employment of the above test in American foreign policy will not be well received by other foreign powers or international corporations, for obvious reasons: they want free police protection. Their agents and allies in the U.S. can be expected to react accordingly. But such an opinionmaker-aimed PR strategy cannot succeed on the campaign trail; there is no interest more basic than the preservation of one's young.

Gays & Women in the Military

PROBLEM/CONFLICT—Military authorities have legitimate concerns about admitting openly gay recruits into their ranks; quite apart from the obvious privacy issues involved in barracks life, they do not want to be saddled with the added entanglements of romantic relationships in combat situations. Much the same argument is made about women in combat roles, and with the exception of fighter pilots (who fly alone), the point is well taken. But it is a fact of military life that combat duty is nearly a prerequisite to advancement up the ranks; moreover, gay rights and women's groups look to combat service as the ultimate affirmation of citizenship: how could equal standing be denied someone on the basis of gender or sexual orientation after they have been shot at in the defense of their country? As evidence, they point to the movement that won equal rights for blacks in the 1950s and 60s, which had its genesis in the integration of the armed forces in the late 1940s.

POLITICS—Bill Clinton clearly made a grave strategical error when he attempted to lift the ban against gays serving in the armed forces as one of his first presi-

dential acts. The move solidified a public perception of him as a counter-culture liberal, and began a deepening estrangement with the Perot bloc. Although most voters oppose discrimination against gays in principal, they are not prepared to accept openly homosexual recruits into their military; perhaps because it is the ultimate symbol of machismo, perhaps because they are fearful the close quarter/same sex atmosphere will quickly transform it into a gay subculture.

SOLUTION—The Pentagon currently follows a temporary "don't ask, don't tell" policy toward gays: recruits are no longer asked about their sexual orientation, and homosexuals may remain in the service as long as they limit their relations to off-base venues and do not let their passions affect their professional performance. Given the merit of conflicting concerns on this issue, that would appear to be a good, if somewhat oblique resolution that should be made permanent.

Segregation of the sexes is not much of a logistical obstacle in the Navy or Air Force. As for women in infantry combat: all standards for such units—including physical capabilities—should be uniform, regardless of sex; women who pass these standards should be assigned to their own combat units.

STRATEGY—These solutions may not be celebrated by the "PC Patrol" of elite opinionmakers, but the voters will not stand for more liberal policies, nor is it clear they should. Such a tack provides an opportunity to appear tolerant, yet traditional, and avoids attracting the undying enmity of single-issue activists on either side.

Immigration

PROBLEM/CONFLICT: As trade with underdeveloped countries has increased, the economic pressure to hold down our bottom-rung wages has intensified. That has led to a stagnant minimum wage; many welfare recipients are now reluctant to surrender their benefits for a $4.25/hr. job. Consequently, there is a strong demand for low-wage labor in this country which is satisfied by illegal immigrants, largely from Latin America. The flow of such people has reached a floodtide—more than a half-million per year, mostly from Mexico—exerting yet another downward pressure on U.S. wages. Until recently, very little has been done to stem the flood of illegals, perhaps the result of pressure from employers who require a cheap labor source.

POLITICS: Public patience on this count is wearing thin. In 1994, California was offered an initiative that would deny state services to illegals: it passed by a decisive margin, despite the opposition of most Democrat state leaders and much of the news media. With working class Americans increasingly anxious about their economic futures, demand for extraordinary action to halt illegal immigration may soon become politically irresistible.

SOLUTION: It is completely illogical to provide government services to people who are known to be in the country illegally. If anyone—government official or private citizen—knows the identity and location of an illegal alien, it is their legal duty to report that information to federal authorities; it is the federal government's legal duty to act on such information by promptly apprehending and deporting those same illegals.

All necessary action should be taken to secure our borders from significant illegal traffic, or arrest and deportation becomes a fruitless exercise. Employers knowingly hiring illegals should be sent to jail; those hiring them unknowingly should be heavily fined. We should be able to cut the flow of illegal immigrants by 90 percent; if it takes the employment of the army to do so—do so.

Some on the national stage have suggested a moratorium on all immigration for as long as five years. That would be an overreaction harmful to our economy and should be rejected. There would be no immigration problem if our existing laws were simply enforced.

STRATEGY: Although the liberal media PC Patrol can be expected to depict any efforts to enforce our immigration laws as bigoted, the swing middle-class segment of the electorate will respond favorably.

Trade

PROBLEM/CONFLICT—In recent years, we have gone a long way toward establishing a "New World Order" of global community, one that is virtually secure against nuclear conflagration or even massive armed conflict. Such relative tranquility lends itself to the institution of international free trade, the optimum economic condition for worldwide prosperity. Pacts such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) go a long way toward achieving that ideal, but we must ensure that such arrangements do not export the lowest denominator of life quality and freedom in the name of competition and the bottom line.

America became the world's economic colossus and beacon of liberty for four primary reasons:

1) We were blessed with an abundance of virtually all raw materials critical to cutting edge economic development.

2) We attracted the most ambitious of the world's peoples, willing to leave family, home and heritage behind in exchange for the opportunity to make the most of themselves.

3) Our society was based on meritocracy: who or what a person was didn't matter; what they accomplished did.

4) Free horizons of opportunity were maintained, first by the the presence of the frontier. When that was gone, progressive legislation took its place, making sure the economically powerful did not dominate and corrupt the free enterprise system for their own narrow and selfish purposes.

Unfortunately, many of the world's nations have not followed such a course. Some have allowed a small oligarchy of the wealthy and powerful to rule unchallenged over impoverished masses for their own benefit, using predatory labor and environmental practices to lower production costs. Others have chosen to refuse just rewards for individual accomplishment and suppressed the free exchange of ideas in search of a classless society. Still other nations have economic and political systems patterned after

ours, but insist on maintaining unfair barriers to free trade.

America did not recreate the aristocratic, totalitarian systems our people had come here to escape. Instead it nurtured a dominant middle-class, making sure industrious labor and fruitful innovation went properly rewarded. The result was the world's great economic colossus, but one which can be undermined if the bulk of its people are expected to compete for the bottom line with repressed populations and plundered environments. Such "blind trade" will greatly enrich the top five percent of Americans, but the rest will continue falling further behind as our society slowly begins to emulate the systems of socialism or unbridled capitalism that generate the greatest possible return for those at the apex of the pyramid.

POLITICS—The Washington elites—media personalities, bureaucrats and lobbyists—are overwhelmingly supportive of most any measure that promotes free trade. One reason may be personal perspective: their jobs are not threatened. Beltway powers also tend to follow the advice of professional economists, most of whom favor a laissez-faire trade policy. However, the credibility of many of these free-market devotees is strained by the source of their funding. Middle-class voters, on the other hand, tend to be far more skeptical about free trade, though a substantial number are nudged along by opinion-makers when showdowns arise, as with the NAFTA debate. At least half of the electorate, however, is receptive to appeals of economic nationalism, including contentions that blind trade with economically depressed countries will mean a net loss of high-paying American jobs.

SOLUTION—Our first course of action must be to break down trade barriers with our fellow post-industrialized nations. Favoring free-trade is like favoring world peace: it is an admirable and lofty goal, but you are bound to be trampled underfoot if you insist on practicing pacificism. We must answer protectionism from one of these trading partners with equivalent retaliatory action. Also, we must base our trade relationships with depressed, oligarchic or socialistic economies on commitments from those nations to gradually open their economic and political systems and protect the environment. If ambitious targets are not met, free trade with these countries should be curtailed.

This could be accomplished with the equivalent of a bond rating: a developing country with an open, democratic political system, that gives workers full recourse to collective bargaining and is making good progress on the environmental and worker safety (i.e. Costa Rica, Chile, Poland) should be given an "A" rating—no tariffs whatever—regardless of the level of wages. Another trading partner that has an ostensibly democratic system directed by an oligarchy, greatly constrained collective bargaining, and a minimal environmental and workplace standards with little progress on either front (Taiwan, Singapore) would draw a "B" rating—a ten percent general tariff. A totalitarian country that utilizes slave labor, gives workers no free agency and pays little heed to environmental concerns (China) would earn a "C" rating—a 25 percent general tariff. This system could be even more precise: South Korea and the Philippines would probably earn an A- or B+ rating—about a five percent general tariff.

All other existing barriers to trade (including special protection for certain industries) would be dropped, though nations which heavily subsidize certain industries would be subjected to quotas on that particular product.

This plan would let the benefits of an international free market system flow through a filter that would greatly reduce its poisonous side effects. Developing nations would be much more motivated to clean up their acts, and in doing so, would achieve prosperity more quickly—not to mention a more fair society. The world environment—a direct concern of everyone—would be much improved.

STRATEGY: The presidential bid of Patrick Buchanan has ironically been a blessing to the GOP establishment, serving notice that the middle class recognizes its quality of life has deteriorated over the past generation while those at the top of the economic scale rocketed to unprecedented heights of prosperity. If class warfare erupts again, the first casualties will be Republican officeholders, just as they were in the 1930s. As the "lords and barons" slay the annoying messenger with his own politically incorrect rhetoric and repulsive social agenda, they must avoid the temptation to bury the message with him.

As indicated in the "tax reform" section, blather about "growing" out of this problem has no credibility: we have seen reasonable overall growth in recent years while the middle class has started sinking out of sight. And do not try to tell them its all in their head: family income is slightly up only because working mothers are now the rule rather than the exception; job growth has usually remained strong because people are taking lower-paying posts—sometimes more than one.

There are three substantial reasons for the decline of middle incomes: automation, the changing economic realities of America's growing service economy and the unyielding pressure of a blind trade policy. The voters know this almost instinctively, even if the Beltway Barons are coming to the realization only now. If we do not address these trade inequities with the precision they deserve, we will soon witness in terror the swinging meat axe of the next, more marketable Buchanan.

NEXT ISSUE—PART II: SOCIAL ISSUES AND SOCIAL PROGRAMS

by Christine Matthews

What's Behind the Voter Revolt?

Anyone who has ever been in a relationship knows that it can be quite tricky to accurately read another person. You have to listen and watch carefully to detect what that person really means, which is often quite different from what they say. Nuances are all-important.

The same is true with public opinion polling. It is not enough to simply look at polling data. One must also strive for an intuitive understanding of the current social and cultural climate in order to make connections that may not be obvious at the time.

A brilliant example of the synthesis of polling data with an intuitive understanding of the Zeitgeist was performed by the 1991 campaign of Harris Wofford (D) for a U.S. Senate seat from Pennsylvania. Wofford started his race against ex-governor/U.S. Attorney General Dick Thornburgh at a huge disadvantage in money and recognition. According to most early polling, the health care issue was not even a blip on the public's radar screen. A literal interpretation of the numbers would have eliminated health care as a vehicle for the campaign's message.

Skippered by the perceptive James Carville, the Wofford camp understood that there was a profound sense of economic insecurity in the "swing" electorate, along with a widespread feeling that the privileged had much, while most worked hard for little—and that even this very little could be taken away at any time. Connecting the dots, they were able to use the health care issue not only in winning the Senate race, but also in shifting the focus of national attention for the next several years.

It is in this spirit of "connecting the dots" that we should take a fresh look at the economic and cultural context that is giving rise to so much discontent in today's electorate.

America Enters the Third Phase

Noted public opinion researcher Daniel Yankelovich has identified three stages of evolution for industrialized democracies since World War II. Each are characterized by the people's perception of their country's economic situation—a phenomenon Yankelovich calls the "affluence effect."

America's first stage (World War II until the late 1960s) was marked by a depression mentality—fear and insecurity—and the belief that economic instability was just around the corner. Yankelovich contends that America's second stage—marked by an increased sense of economic security, a rising level of individualism, a "live for today" attitude and an avoidance of sacrifice—lasted until the 1992 election.

Since then, America has been in its somber third phase, akin to waking up with a giant hangover. It is in this context of renewed economic insecurity that Americans increasingly see others as competitors for scarce resources. As one moves down a few notches on Maslow's ladder, the more noble instinct to care for the less fortunate is placed in direct conflict with the need for care for oneself.

Today, there are two distinct occupational groups that we see expressing their economic dissatisfaction by their increasing political independence. The first group consists of those who fear they will be left behind by the Information Age; the second is composed of those who are leading it.

The first group is comprised of high school graduates who may have some vocational or specialized training. Jobs that have typically sustained them are disappearing; they discover they do not have the skills for a "high tech" world; they find it increasingly difficult to support their families. Consider this: fifteen years ago, college educated males made 49% more than their counterparts with high school educations: today they make 83% more. (U.S. News & World Report). In 1994 exit polls, 43% of voters said they were working harder, but earning less.

Many are beginning to believe that as we shift from the Industrial to the Information Age, we are moving into a caste system in which the "American Dream" will become but a memory, and power and money will be in the hands of the few.

In contrast, the second group would seem to have it made. They are typically younger, college-educated and well-equipped with technical skills. But this group is also increasingly individualistic, with little institutional loyalty. The attitudes they share in common with the first group are 1) a lack of faith in job security, and 2) the belief that government is a hindrance, not a help, in achieving the American Dream.

At almost all places along the economic continuum, both parents must work to maintain an acceptable standard of living for the family. Few mothers feel they have an economic option to stay at home with their children, a condition that is deeply upsetting to them. As noted by Robert Wright in a recent Time magazine arti-

cle, "finding a middle ground enabling women to be workers and mothers is one of the great social challenges of our day."

While economic conditions play quite a significant role in citizen discontent, other factors are contributing to increasing voter volatility and dealignment:

1) Ideological polarization.

The "inside-the-beltway" notion that most Americans are ideological is fundamentally mistaken. Americans have few ideological moorings, at least not in the academic sense. That is why the GOP revolution in Congress can thrive alongside support and respect for Colin Powell. In a purely ideological reading, such concurrent attitudes constitute something of a paradox. However, what Americans want above all from government is effective leadership. They crave pragmatic action, and agree on more things than most politicos realize.

In fact, the views of most Americans are probably reflected in Colin Powell's assessment of the extremes: "I am troubled by the political passion of those on the extreme right who seem to claim divine wisdom on political as well as spiritual matters. I am disturbed by the class and racial undertones beneath the surface of their rhetoric. On the other side of the spectrum, I am put off by patronizing liberals who claim to know what is best for society but devote little thought to who will eventually pay the bills."

2) The increasing politicization of policymaking.

Imagine for a moment an issue you care about desperately. Something that matters so much to you that to think about it turning out badly makes you physically ill. (The actual issues differ, as do individuals, but the reactions are the same.)

Now imagine those you have elected to office playing political football with this issue. Imagine that they cut a deal with someone or some special interest in deciding their vote on this issue. What a mockery they make of your most heart-felt values!

This is how many, many Americans feel about politicians and the political system. Of the policy-making process, veteran political reporter Hedrick Smith describes an "iron triangle" which consists of lobbyists, senior legislative staffers, and executive branch officials. There is no room for citizen involvement in this triangle, and the public now knows it.

Conditions in This Country	Satisfied	Unsatisfied
Jobs and the economy	42%	55%
Political system	25	72
Moral values	21	76
Safety from violent crime	18	80

December 1995 Wall Street Journal/*NBC poll of 2007 adults by Hart & Teeter, margin of error 2.2%.*

3) The increasing irrelevance of average citizens in the political process.

On a 1994 Time Mirror study of nearly 4000 adults nationwide, 66% completely agreed that "I feel it's my duty as a citizen to always vote." In this same survey, however, just 24% completely agreed that "voting gives people like me some say about how the government runs things." While our upbringing tells us that voting is important, we do not see much benefit from actually performing this duty as individuals.

Certainly, far fewer of us are active stakeholders in the political process. While campaigns in the past relied heavily on volunteers and one-on-one contact, today's campaigns largely reach voters through the impersonal and expensive medium of television, fueled by networks of fundraisers, further widening the gap between leaders and their constituents.

4) A steadily more individualistic culture.

Americans are becoming more and more isolated from one another. Our ties to community and to each other are breaking down. In his telling essay "Bowling Alone," Robert Putnam marks the dramatic decline in civic ties and participation: "We're simply not joining; we're opting out and going our own way."

And, in an ethnic sense, our melting pot is beginning to boil over. Ethnicity and ethnic nationalism have come to be the primary source of identification for many, sentiment painfully in evidence at the conclusion of the O.J. Simpson trial.

At risk, many believe, is our collective identity as Americans.

5) The disintegration of society.

This is at the root of a great deal of discontent and is truly all-encompassing. Polls tell us, for example, that crime is a top concern of most Americans. Indeed it is. Politicians talk of building more prisons and getting tough on criminals—good solutions that most people support. However, what is often missed is the nuance: Americans are far more threatened by the pervasiveness of violence than actual crime. The violence that Americans so fear is evident on television, at the movies, in children's computer games, in song lyrics, in the gestures humans make to one another in their cars, and in the angry language that is often used to express hate and intolerance.

On this same track, people are very concerned about the breakdown of the family unit and all the pressures aimed at tearing people apart, not keeping them together. They are worried that young children are growing up too fast and that it is increasingly difficult as parents to provide a wholesome environment for a child.

In nearly every area, there is a cry for more personal responsibility: make deadbeat dads pay; work for a living; parents—get involved in your child's life.

With all these pressures and problems, it is not surprising that many Americans are desperate for new political models and solutions. In the next issue, we will examine how Republicans can reach out to disillusioned voters.

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

Clinton Clobbers GOP with Indies

National survey of 858 registered voters surveyed 2/21-22 by Yankelovich Partners, margin of error +/- 3%.

General Election Matchups

	ALL	GOP	IND	DEM
Clinton	52%	17%	55%	84%
Dole	39	73	35	12
Clinton	53	23	54	81
Alexander	35	61	33	14
Clinton	54	27	55	81
Buchanan	35	58	32	15

Is *He* too Extreme or is *He* too Old?

A survey by CBS/NY Times taken on 2/22-24 with 1,223 adults and a margin of error of +/- 3%.

Is Buchanan too extreme?

	ALL	GOP	IND	DEM
Yes	54%	46%	55%	60%
No	32	40	31	26

Dole's Age

Will help him	4	5	4	3
Be an obstacle	36	25	33	48
Won't matter	59	69	60	48

The Final Four

By Princeton Research Survey of 566 GOP primary voters released on 2/25, margin of error +/- 4%.

GOP primary	NOW	1/96	Men	Wmn	Choice #2
Dole	37%	43%	37%	37%	19%
Buchanan	21	8	21	22	19
Alexander	14	4	15	12	17
Forbes	8	17	9	6	8
DK/Other	20	28	18	23	25

Bill, Ross & Newt

A national survey of 1,002 adults by CNN/USA Today/Gallop, margin of error +/- 3%.

Clinton Job

Approve	53%
Disapprove	40

If Ross Perot Runs

Vote for	23
Won't vote for	74

Generic House Vote

Dem candidate	48
GOP candidate	46

Exit Polls, Exit Polls

The Edison Poll surveyed 1,788 NH GOP primary voters.

Which issue should be the first priority of the President-elect?

Reduce deficit	29%
Reform tax code	19
Creating Jobs	10
Education	7
Medicare	6
Welfare Reform	6
Fight Crime	5
Health Care	5
Ban Abortion	4
Strong Military	3
Other	5

Wherefore Art Thou, Colin?

Survey of 526 GOP and GOP-leaning indies 2/21-22 by Yankelovich Partners, margin of error +/- 4%.

Are you satisfied with the Republican candidates?

Satisfied	40%
Like to see someone else	54

Would you like to see Colin Powell run for President?

Yes	54%
No	39

Of the GOP candidates running, who:

	Dole	Buchanan	Alexander
Has vision to be president	47%	28%	16%
Will provide economic leadership	47	20	16
Has experience to be president	73	10	7
Best understands average Americans	29	29	23
Will provide moral leadership	43	33	10

And Even Yet Another NH Exit Poll for Those Who Haven't Had Enough

The Edison Poll.

Should GOP Platform Ban Abortion?

Yes	28%
No	72

Are You a Born-Again Christian?

Yes	22%
No	78

Should Dole Drop Out?

Princeton Survey Research

After NH, Dole should ...

Drop out now	22%
Stay & fight	72

Patriots or Paranoids?

The Modern Militia Movement Claims Constitutional Legitimacy Through the Second Amendment. But Are They the "Well-Regulated" Units the Founders Had in Mind?

BY ANDREW BRANAN

When word got out that Terry Nichols had once attended a local "militia" meeting with his brother in Michigan, America turned with wary curiosity to examine an apparently new and widespread movement: collectives of gun-owning men and women, drilling in paramilitary fashion, unified and armed to protect their privacy, their land—and above all, their guns—from what they believed to be an overreaching federal government. As reports surfaced on the extent of this new anti-government movement, estimates of the number of these groups seemed lost in America's rural vastness, limited only by the number of hamlets therein.

Suddenly, the word "militia" became a euphemism for an anarchist threat to our national security and local police authority. Many called for a crackdown on these gatherings. The question raised in public debate was whether militia members had a constitutional right to own certain weapons (semi-automatics, etc.); the idea they might have a right to band together in preparation for possible insurrection was not entertained. Nor was the question why they might want to, for that matter.

Fears that fuel these groups—ATF aggression as evidenced at Ruby Ridge and Waco, the federal assault weapon ban as a prelude to a coming banana republic, the new assertiveness at the United Nations as a threat to American sovereignty, even the growing regulation of real property as the first step toward communism—may be largely based on unreasonable paranoia. But underneath the widespread concern over the emergence of freelance citizen mini-armies burns the question: since the militia concept was recognized by our founding fathers as a legitimate check on the national government and military structure, at what point did the notion of an organized collective of gun-owning, non-felon citizens become so alien? Just how different are these groups from those over which our Founding Fathers agonized and argued at the original thirteen constitutional ratification conventions?

A well-regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

—The Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution

God forbid we should ever be twenty years without such a rebellion...And what country can preserve its liberties, if its rulers are not warned from time to time, that this people preserve the spirit of resistance? Let them take arms.

—Thomas Jefferson, 1787

Notwithstanding the military establishments in the several kingdoms of Europe, which are carried as far as the public resources will bear, the governments are afraid to trust the people with arms.

—James Madison,
The Federalist, No. 46

The linkage between these new paramilitary organizations and the militia tradition protected under the Second Amendment may have been obscured by their presumed connection to the tragedy at Oklahoma City. While most constitutional experts tend to agree that the modern militia movement only vaguely resembles the groups for which the amendment was tailored, they are less certain about its eligibility for constitutional protections, including right to assembly. According to Stephen Halbrook, a Fairfax, Virginia attorney and Second Amendment expert, "Words don't make reality. These groups have justified the use of the term 'militia' with an ideology based on paranoia that takes them outside a traditional militia concept." He admits, however, "The term 'well-regulated militia' was intended to be fluid."

What follows is a brief history of American militias, how their independence was eventually usurped and their power commandeered by the very federal structure they had been expected to check. Here we will find that the tradition upon which the Second Amendment is based is not far removed from the abstract concept of the current militia movement. No

attempt will be made to assess the reasonableness of the concerns that have inspired these new groups, nor will we examine the contention that the Second Amendment is now antiquated and should be liberally interpreted if not repealed. Our concern is with constitutional context and precedent.

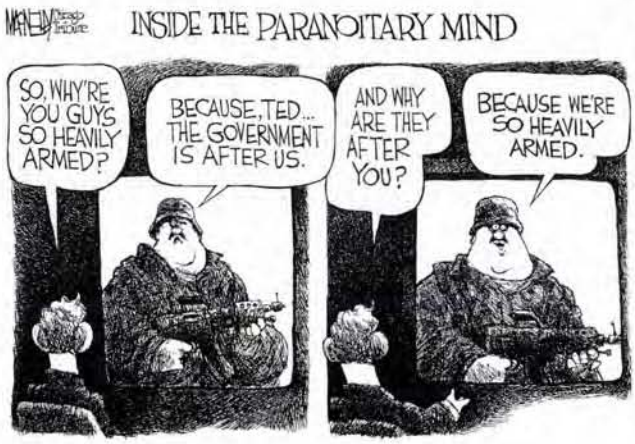
A Heritage of Distrust

Pre-nineteenth century statesmen regarded the militia as a check on the power of the central authority, which they pragmatically called the "standing army." As envisioned by the drafters of the U.S. Constitution—evidenced by the factions that formed within the ratification conventions regarding a "bill of rights"—the militia would be an instrument of state authority sustained by the individual "right" to bear arms. But like most new militias, the ones that helped win our independence from England were private affairs. The fears that spawned each differ surprisingly little.

History traces the militia concept to the medieval English Assize of Arms (1181) which called for every able-bodied freeman to self-arm and periodically train to fight when called upon. Dating from seventeenth century England, fear has been the unifying factor behind militia organizing. The concept of militia as check on a standing-army developed in protest against King James II's practice of filling the leading ranks of his Restoration army with Catholics, while simultaneously disarming local Protestant militias (controlled by local Protestant landed gentry), as part of his campaign to return England to the papal fold. As an influx of Irish Catholic recruits swelled James' army to nearly 30,000 just prior to the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688, the King began a practice later emulated by George III: he quartered troops in Protestant homes.

With the ascension of William and Mary following the Revolution and James' subsequent exile, Parliament used its increased powers to enact an English "bill of rights," which—in addition to a declaration that no peacetime standing army would be raised without the consent of Parliament—stated that "the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defense suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law." Though this embryonic right to bear arms was hardly universal, it codified and gave deep roots to a standard of distrust in standing armies, a core belief that crown subjects would carry to America.

On this continent, the colonial frontier lifestyle bolstered the idea of organized self-armament for protection. In settlements along the Atlantic coast, necessity dictated that those capable of fighting have weapons to protect their homes from hostiles in their new environment. Without a budget or manpower for a permanent protective unit, everyday yeoman bore the responsibility for the protection of their families and those of their neighbors; safety in numbers against real (or perceived) threats became the basis for that protection. This base—combined with the traditional Protestant distrust of disarmament under standing army tyranny—refined the American militia tradition as the rift with mother England approached, and "redcoats" began arriving in greater numbers.



Through the early 18th century, groups of armed British colonists—organized initially at the local level—fought England's American battles against the French. By the 1740s, every colony save Pennsylvania had developed a colony-wide military structure. American militia involvement in the French and Indian War—the American theater of Europe's Seven Years War—would propel a 22-year old militia colonel named George Washington to some fame for covering the retreat of the British regular army after General Edward Braddock's crushing 1755 defeat while approaching Ft. Duquesne (Pittsburgh). A British rebuff of Washington hubris—a demand for equal ranking with British regular officers—led to his resignation shortly thereafter.

With the permanent stationing of British troops in Boston and New York during the 1760s, the same philosophical argument that had been made against James II's army began to outline colonial resentment of the redcoats. Once again, bad behavior by the standing army unified gun-owning yeomen, who increasingly viewed their militia organizations as their last line of defense. Throughout the colonies, according to Anderson, "pamphleteers and orators used historical examples to illustrate how despotic rulers had used standing, professional armies to subvert the liberties of the people." One James Lowell wrote in 1771: "The true strength and safety of every commonwealth or limited monarchy, is the bravery of its freeholders, its militia."

Fourteen Armies

It has been often said that the American Revolution was fought and won by fourteen armies: the Continental Army and thirteen colonial militias, which by 1774 had begun regular drills as the redcoat presence developed into an armed occupation. In Virginia, George Washington and George Mason organized the Fairfax Independent Militia Company out of their own pockets in 1775. Throughout the colonies, quick militia response to reports of an impending British crackdown hastened an open military confrontation.

When British General Thomas Gage dispatched regular troops to seize a cache of powder in the Massachusetts countryside, a false rumor spread that the British were shelling Boston, stirring an estimated 20,000 armed colonists into action. Elsewhere as well, news of British regular army movements caused militiamen to assemble. Though they had never seemed to mind the fact these colonists had guns, the British were understandably spooked when these same men confronted them in armed assembly. When the redcoats encoun-

tered such a gathering on the village green at Lexington, they shot at it.

Following the engagements at Lexington and Concord, with open insurrection in full flower, the Second Continental Congress faced a problem: how to create a standing army without organizing a permanent military. The result was the creation of the Continental Army, whose enlistees were required to serve only the duration of the war and whose commander (Washington) was a congressional appointee. Traditional militia tactics—such as firing at-will and in loose formation behind cover—gave way to the more traditional European battle tactics of firing in close formation.

With a body resembling (if not in fact) a standing army in place during the constitutional debates of the 1780s, each former colony's ratification convention wrestled with the relative merits and roles to be played by a national standing army versus the traditional reliance on militias (which, at that point, had evolved into instruments of the states, and had by and large fought as such during the Revolution.) As these militias were now recognized as falling under a larger, though still decentralized control (i.e. individual states), the debate emphasis shifted away from an individual's right to defend toward whether individual citizen-soldiers could be depended upon to defend effectively.

In examination of the thirteen state debates that led to the ratification of the federal Constitution, a linguistic preference for an individual's right to bear arms and ally with others into a militia became submerged by a debate over the extent of federal control over the militia. Thus arose the anti-federalist concern: disarm the citizenry and you are left to the yoke and whip of central control.

At first, delegate blocs which favored amending the Constitution to include the right to bear arms were in the minority. For example: when Pennsylvania approved the federal constitution without a "declaration of rights," dissenting delegates tied the right to bear arms not only to militia organizing, but to hunting and self-defense of property as well. Writing in the *Valparaiso Law Review*,, Halbrook observed "Pennsylvanians were very familiar with British laws which disarmed the people under the guise of game laws." In their minority proposal, the dissenters called for a separate amendment dealing specifically with state organization of militias, stating: "Firstly, the personal liberty of every man from sixteen to sixty years of age may be destroyed by the power Congress has in organizing and governing of the militia...The absolute command of Congress over the militia may be destructive of public liberty; for under the guidance of an arbitrary government, they may be made the unwilling instruments of tyranny."

In New Hampshire, a majority of the delegates called for a bill of rights to protect armed formation. The convention added an important exception to this protection against federal government disarmament of citizens: "actual insurgents" were fair game (a legacy of the Shay's Rebellion.)

Eventually, a federal bill of rights was tacked to the Constitution in the form of ten amendments. But, if the Second Amendment protected the right of every citizen to bear arms, Congress took it a step further and mandated it with the Militia Act of 1792, which required every "free and able-bodied" white male citizen aged eighteen to forty-five to arm himself with musket, bayonet, and ammunition. Those skilled with horses were to own a pair of pistols and a sabre. Like Parliament a century before, a practical Congress had simultaneously granted a right, then placed it under federal jurisdiction with a law mandating it be exercised.

One by one, each state passed its own militia law to bring their regulation in sync with those of the federal government. These laws—combined with a new federal statute that vested the President with the authority to summon militias—enabled President Washington to quell western Pennsylvania's "Whiskey Rebellion" (1794) with 15,000 quickly gathered militiamen he himself led into action.

But that same year, federal troops were faced down by the Georgia militia in a dispute over treatment of Creek and Cherokee Indians. In 1798, when federal troops attempted enforcement of the Alien and Sedition Acts (later declared unconstitutional), they came to a similar standoff with the militia in Virginia. It seemed the check on centralized power was working.

A Century of Divestment

Local militias continued to flourish in the years leading up to the Civil War, sometimes being employed in disputes between localities and beyond. Resplendent in a magnificent military uniform, Mormon Church "prophet" Joseph Smith often reviewed a church army of hundreds of well-trained and well-equipped troops in his capital at Nauvoo, Illinois. After Smith's subsequent assassination and the westward migration of his flock, the Mormon militia battled the U.S. Army in the mountains and deserts of Utah in the 1850s. During Reconstruction, black militias were organized by the U.S. government throughout the South. Following a tradition of black freemen that dated back to the 1840s, these new units were intended to provide self-protection of recently gained rights.

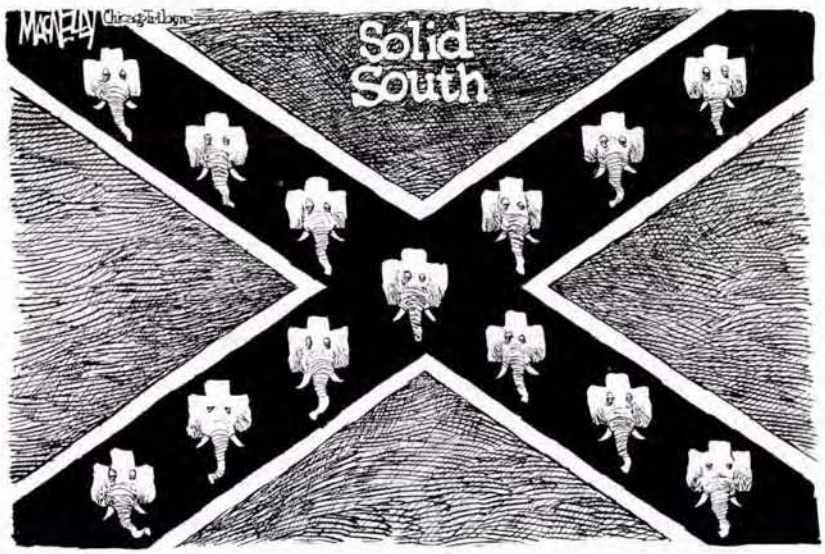
But the submersion of states' rights over the last century and the rapidly closing frontier began to leave militias without an obvious mission. As the 19th century progressed, says historian Robert J. Spitzer, the history of state militias as a fighting force "is one of total abandonment, disorganization and degeneration." Any common reference to "militia" came to mean the "select" militia: regularly trained state units which became the basis of the National Guard.

Effectively established by the Dick Act (passed in 1903, the same year the Militia Act was repealed), the National Guard had absorbed all the state units into a federal framework by the close of World War I. However, notes Spitzer, "The idea of universal militia service would persist...as part of the political symbolism surrounding the Second Amendment."

Finally, Americans may reasonably ask: In today's atmosphere of overintrusive federal government, is the practical application of the Second Amendment so unthinkable? Such questions beg after the excessive force used by federal agents at Waco and Ruby Ridge. Today's militia movement may not be precisely what the founding fathers had in mind, but we may want to consider resurrecting the spirit of "well-regulated" in order to allay desperate fears that are now only barely below the surface for some.

Andrew Branan *covers referenda for* Campaigns & Elections *magazine*

The Dixification of the GOP



Signing on Conservatives in the South and Social Rightists Everywhere, the Expanding Republican Party is Shifting Its Historic Orientation

By Rhodes Cook

As the GOP presidential candidates of 1996 turned their attention to the GOP primary and caucus voters this winter, they found them even more numerous than ever before. Since Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas last ran for president eight years ago, the number of registered Republicans has grown dramatically, particularly across the Sun Belt. They have increased by more than 1 million in Florida, by more than 600,000 in California, by nearly 450,000 in North Carolina and by almost 230,000 in Arizona.

Viewed in terms of the rate of increase, the figures are even more striking. The number of registered Republicans has more than doubled over the last eight years in Nevada, jumped by at least 50 percent in Florida, Louisiana and North Carolina, and increased by roughly one-third or more in Arizona and New Mexico.

Righteous Movement

With growth comes change, of course. But just how this growth will change the Republican Party is less clear. The GOP is a "bigger, broader, more diverse" party than it was a decade or two ago, says Republican National Committee (RNC) Chairman Haley Barbour.

But its ideological diversity is open to question. It is becoming the "big tent" that the late RNC Chairman Lee Atwater trumpeted a few years ago? Or is it growing more because it is becoming the consensus home of the nation's conservatives, attracting rural and small-town Democrats across the South and social conservatives everywhere?

Each viewpoint has its champions, and the results of the 1996 nominating events will be pored over by both sides. Yet what is indisputable is that the Republican Party is growing larger, and that this growth could affect the outcome of the nominating process and the November election as well.

More than just population growth is involved, because Democratic Party registrations are not keeping pace. Altogether, 28 states register voters by party (or independent status) and tabulate the totals on a statewide basis. (The rest either do not compile a statewide total or do not require voters to register by party at all.)

In virtually all of these states, the surge in Republicans registrations has easily surpassed the increase on the Democratic side. In the aggregate, the GOP numbers have grown by about 4.2 million, the Democratic numbers by just 1.4 million since early 1988.

In several Southern states, the disparity has been enormous. The North Carolina GOP, for instance, has grown from 850,000 registered voters to nearly 1.3 million since 1988, while the number of registered Democrats has remained fairly static, increasing from slightly more than 2.1 million voters eight years ago to slightly less than 2.2 million now.

Barbour sees much of the GOP's recent growth as a legacy of Ronald Reagan, who made the Republican Party attractive to three large, previously Democratic constituencies: young voters; ethnic, blue-collar Catholics; and Southerners. As a result, says Barbour, "We're the conservative party of the United States and the Democrats are the liberal party."

Confederate Consolidation

That certainly appears to be at hand in the South. From the piney woods of north Florida to the bayous of Louisiana, GOP officials see the party expanding its appeal into historically Democratic rural areas.

"The growth has come all over [Louisiana]," says Ryan Booth, a spokesman for the state GOP, "but especially in rural conservative areas where people used to be Democrats but were always conservative."

In the past eight years, the number of registered Republican voters in Louisiana has surged upward from barely 300,000 to nearly 500,000. At the same time, the number of Louisiana Democrats has declined from nearly 1.7 million to just over 1.6 million.

Yet even with the GOP's recent registration gains, voter registration has tended to be a lagging indicator of the party's strength in the South. Democrats still hold a clear-cut registration edge in the five Southern states that have party registration, although Republicans now control most of the region's governorships and congressional seats.

That includes Louisiana, where Republican Mike Foster captured the governorship last year and party switches by Congressmen W.J. "Billy" Tauzin and Jimmy Hayes in 1995 gave Republicans a 5-to-2 edge in the House delegation. Tauzin has been encouraging Louisiana voters to switch to the GOP. Late in 1995 his campaign office sent 5,000 change-of-party forms to friends and supporters, and joined with the state GOP in sending 10,000 change-of-party forms to voters statewide.

Only six percent of likely Republican primary voters viewed the abortion issue as their prime concern in supporting a candidate.

While Republican parties across the South were generally conservative to begin with, Iowa GOP Chairman Brian Kennedy sees a Republican Party in his state that has moved to the right as it has grown larger. Gov. Terry E. Branstad and Sen. Charles E. Grassley, says Kennedy, were both in the vanguard of a conservative insurgency within the Iowa GOP in the 1970s, yet now are considered to be "at the heart of the party."

The number of registered Republicans in Iowa has swelled by 100,000 in the last eight years, from barely 480,000 in early 1988 to more than 580,000 now. Many of the newcomers were independents and Democrats who re-registered to participate in the heated Republican gubernatorial primary in 1994 between Branstad and then-Cong. Fred Grandy.

Kennedy expects many of the Grandy supporters to exit the party, but anticipates more lasting gains from new GOP voters in Iowa's suburbs and fringe cities, as well as social conservatives across the state, who Kennedy says have coalesced in the Republican Party.

Generally Undoctinaire

Yet the strength of retired Gen. Colin L. Powell's potential candidacy last fall when he leapt to parity with Dole in some polls despite his views on some issues raises questions about the important of ideological purity. At a minimum, orthodoxy would appear less important to Republican primary and caucus voters than it is to the party's highly courted activists such as the social conservatives of Iowa.

"Philosophically, the party is wider than you might expect just from listening to the ordinary rhetoric," Powell said in an interview last summer with Time magazine. Some surveys in the months that followed indicated that Powell's moderate views on social issues were much less offensive to GOP primary voters than they were to the more vocal elements of the party's conservative core.

A late September Gallup/CNN /USA Today Poll found the Republican voters were more likely to support Powell—not less—after being told that he favored many affirmative actions programs, supported a five-day waiting period for a gun purchase, refused to rule out a tax increase and was supportive of abortion rights. The results tended to dovetail with a New York Times/CBS News Poll in late October that indicated only six percent of likely Republican primary voters viewed the abortion issue as their prime concern in supporting a candidate.

"I don't think that people vote that issue (abortion) as much as the media thinks." says Charles Arlinghaus, the executive director of the New Hampshire Republican Party. When asked what moved GOP voters in New Hampshire, Arlinghaus responded: "fiscal issues, period."

In the last two GOP presidential races, the candidates with the strongest ideological appeals and the clearest commitment to social issues were Pat Robertson in 1988 and Patrick J. Buchanan in 1992. Neither won a single primary.

Buchanan ran best in New Hampshire, racked at the time by recession, where he benefitted from a

Rebels Rule the Roost

One little-noted reason for the Republican Party's recent rightward drift can be found in the GOP's top leadership. Of the seven most powerful posts in Congress—plus the national party chair—six are held by residents of the Old Confederacy; the other two hail from border states.

Post	Officer	State
Senate Majority Leader	Bob Dole	Kansas
House Speaker	Newt Gingrich	Georgia
Senate Majority Whip	Trent Lott	Mississippi
House Majority Leader	Dick Armey	Texas
Senate Finance Cmte. Chair	William Roth	Delaware
House Appropriations Cmte. Chair	Bob Livingston	Louisiana
House Ways & Means Cmte. Chair	Bill Archer	Texas
Republican Nat. Cmte. Chair	Haley Barbour	Mississippi

vote of economic protest against Bush. Yet Buchanan's 37 percent share of the New Hampshire vote fell well short of victory.

Meanwhile Robertson's greatest success in 1988 was in caucus states, including Iowa, where his well-organized cadre of supporters could dominate. But caucuses are relatively few in number and over the last decade or two have wielded relatively little influence in the nominating process. Caucuses, and the even more exclusive backroom meetings that preceded them, have been replaced by primaries as the dominant method of delegate selection.

Primary Colors

Since Dwight D. Eisenhower and Sen. Robert A. Taft of Ohio dueled for the GOP nomination in 1952, the Republicans have consistently had smaller primary turnouts than the Democrats.

Since the presidential primaries became the mandatory route to the nomination a quarter century ago, the lowest number of ballots cast in the Democratic primaries (16 million in 1972) has been greater than the highest number cast in the Republican (12.7 million in 1992).

That can be expected to change in 1996. President Clinton has only token opposition on the Democratic side, so Democrats and independents may cross over and participate in the Republican contests in states where that is permissible.

But beyond that, Republicans can expect to draw more because they have a much larger pool of their own voters to draw upon. Whether that vote establishes the GOP as the party of the "big tent" or as the clear voice of social and fiscal conservatism will be one of the more intriguing elements of the 1996 primary season.

Another version of this article previously appeared in Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report

STUDIES

The Primary That Wasn't

Buried in the exit poll information generated by the New Hampshire presidential primary was a statistic that—under close study—reveals volumes of little-known information about the Republican Party. Fully 38 percent of primary voters said they would have voted for Colin Powell had he been in the race.

Some pundits might call that figure inflated, pointing out that Powell had not been subjected to critical media scrutiny or been the target of a constant barrage of negative ads from his rivals—conditions the active contenders had been subjected to. True, though as a minority and war hero popular with the press, it is unlikely Powell would have been roughed up as thoroughly as his rivals. Consider too the fact that 38 percent did not include those undecided on whether or not they would have supported Powell; thousands more of the General's supporters may have stayed home. By reasonable speculation, 38 percent probably understates what the vote for Powell would have been.

Although the exit polls did not report the full results of a New Hampshire primary featuring Powell, those figures can be computed by deducting from the totals of the other candidates their portions of the would-be Powell vote, which was reported. The results of this "what if?" primary:

Powell	**38.0%**
Buchanan	**20.6**
Dole	**17.5**
Alexander	**10.3**
Forbes	**7.7**
Lugar	**3.3**
Keyes	**1.2**
Others	**1.4**

Anyone who thinks moderates cannot succeed within the GOP should consider those figures carefully. So should Gen. Powell.

General Powell: *The GOP Wants You*

BOOKS

Dissatisfied? It's All In Your Mind

***The Good Life and Its Discontents:* How The American Dream Became a Fantasy, 1945-1995**

BY ROBERT J. SAMUELSON

Random House: 1996; 275 pp.

The deeply sour mood of the American electorate in the 1990s was only slowly recognized by the ruling elite, who still haven't figured out what's behind it all. Theories abound, however: the globalization of the world economy having weakened the leverage of labor, the capture of Washington by self-serving special interests, the loss of threatening-but-unifying enemy with the collapse of communism.

Samuelson cites all of these and concedes each has a limited point, bit then insists none is responsible for the national distemper President Clinton has labeled a "funk." The real culprit, says Samuelson, is us: we're just a bunch of spoiled brats.

More precisely, those of us who grew up in the economically heady 1950s and 60s—when the standard of living was on a rocket ride—got conditioned to the notion that the ever bigger and better good times would never end, that they were a future to which we were entitled.

An essayist for *Newsweek* and the *Washington Post*, Samuelson is usually one of the more thoughtful and insightful pundits covering economic politics, which makes this schtick as a simplistic national scold particularly disappointing.

CaPiTOL COMIX

BY JEFF MACNELLY

FOR LEASE: 1600 Pa. Ave.

From the first, it was clear the presidential candidacy of **Malcolm Forbes, Jr.** would test the electoral limits of money, and the initial results were disturbing. With very little in the way of political experience, communicative powers or charisma—and only a single issue, gimmick-driven platform—Forbes vaulted to the forefront of the pack of presidential wannabees plodding after **Bob Dole**. What the publishing heir *did* have was a bottomless war chest to spend against opponents who were legally limited to modest budgets.

Forbes: *Prez consumer*

This inequity was made possible by the Federal Election Campaign Act, which matches contributions of up to $250 made to candidates for major party presidential nominations—provided the campaign agrees to spending limits that can only be described as draconian for such disproportionately influential states as Iowa and New Hampshire. Forbes came to the race prepared to outspend any competitor at 4:1 in the early, crucial contests, drawing on his inherited fortune of half a billion dollars.

As country philosopher **Tom T. Hall** once observed, "With that kind of money, you could get McGovern elected." Well, almost.

Fortunately, Forbes did not spend wisely. By bashing his rivals before establishing his identity in the minds of the voters, he defined himself as a mudslinger. Voters eventually recognized his one-plank platforms was tailor-made to worsen the gravest errors of federal economic policy: too much deficit spending and too much tax burden on middle incomes.

But what if the next mega-millionaire with a yen for the White House has decent communication skills and a plausible program? The sudden political success of Steve Forbes can only cast severe doubts on the fairness of our campaign finance system.

Labor Unlimbers

Confirming a strategy the FORUM first revealed last July, the AFL-CIO announced it will commit some $35 million toward influencing 75 House races this year. The campaign will take the form of independent expenditure media campaigns and direct voter contact through grassroots organizations.

The vast majority of these efforts will be directed for the benefit of Democrat candidates, with Republican freshman making up most of the targeted incumbents.

The ambitious move has been motivated by congressional reform attempts and the pronounced and sudden shift in the direction of PAC money away from Demos and towards GOPers.

The election of the aggressive **John Sweeney** as president last year has also proven to be a prelude to the labor federation's moving onto the warpath. Sweeney won the post with by pledging to launch a $20 million campaign to boost membership by one million, but that strategy has been put on hold in favor of the electoral approach.

WISH Lists Stars

Women in the Senate and House (WISH) List has endorsed ten pro-choice women Republicans for election this year—

Ailes: *Rupe makes it right*

For governor: Lt. Gov. **Barbara Snelling** (VT); for U.S. Senate: Atty. Gen. **Gale Norton** (CO), state Treasurer **Nancy Mayer** (RI), and state Sen. **Maggie Tinsman** (IA); for U.S. House: ex-state Rep. **Virginia Blankenship** (IN-10), ex-NJ/NY Port Authority chair **Kathleen Donivan** (NJ-9), county Cmsr. **Karen Martynick** (PA-16), state Sen. **Susan Sweetser** (VT-At Large), state Sen. **Jane Swift** (MA-1), and ex-Rancho Palos Verdes mayor/'94 nominee **Susan Brooks** (CA-36).

Snelling would oppose popular Gov. **Howard Dean** (D) in November, Tinsman faces U.S. Sen. **Tom Harkin** (D), Sweetser challenges Socialist Cong. **Bernie Sanders**, Swift targets Cong. **John Olver** (D), and Brooks seeks a rematch with Cong. **Jane Harman** (D). The others are running for open seats.

WISH bundles donations from members and delivers them in large chunks to the candidate committees, funnelling more than $600,000 since its founding in 1992.

Run Ralph, Run!

Famed consumer advocate **Ralph Nader** will appear on this year's California ballot as the presidential nominee of the Green Party, and is in the process of gaining ballot entry in several other states receptive to a neo-populist message. Such a third ballot option could cost President Clinton large numbers of electoral votes by draining leftish votes in key states.

What Ails Roger?

Roger Ailes has resigned as president/CEO of the CNBC and America's Talking cable TV channels. Although the former Reagan and Bush media advisor had succeeded in boosting the ratings of CNBC by increasing its political content, he was infuriated by a recent decision by NBC to turn America's Talking into a news channel intent on competing with CNN, a venture in which it will be joined by **Bill Gates**' Microsoft Corp. Ironically, Ailes will now head a similar all-news cable channel being launched by billionaire tycoon **Rupert Murdoch**. The reformed political consultant took command of CNBC in August 1993 and launched his innovative all-talk show channel a little more than a year ago.

BEYOND THE BELTWAY

(Population 250 million)

ALABAMA— Mindful of the '94 elections—which saw a Republican sweep across the statewide ballot—ten Birmingham judges announced their mass defection to the GOP in January.

ALASKA—Wealthy banker **David Cuddy** has launched a well-financed primary challenge against five-term U.S. Sen. **Ted Stevens** (R), calling the veteran conservative a "Clinton Republican." A "movement" conservative, the 43-year-old Cuddy claims Stevens' moderate positions are out of touch with Alaska. Although Stevens is expected to become Appropriations chair in the 105th Congress, this threat to his tenure is very serious, for two reasons: 1) the scion of a powerful banking family, Cuddy will likely outspend the incumbent; and 2) the primary will be restricted to registered GOPers for the first time in three decades, giving rightists a leg up.

Johnson: *Combat duty*

CALIFORNIA—Assembly Speaker **Brian Setencich**—a freshman GOPer handed the gavel in yet another masterful display of political gamesmanship by Democrat ex-Speaker **Willie Brown**—has finally been deposed by a Republican majority that was diverted from taking control of the chamber for nearly a year. ¶ While being interviewed by *The Advocate*—lesbian daughter **Chastity** in tow—Cong. **Sonny Bono** (R-CA) declared gay marriage "seems fine, if that's what they want to do." Asked by Chastity if he and Speaker **Newt Gingrich** ever discussed the fact they both had lesbians in their immediate families, the singer-turned-pol reported "never." ¶ State government goals for hiring minority and women contractors for transportation projects have been halved from 20% to 10%. Instituted by Gov. **Pete Wilson** (R), the action was made over the strenuous objections of the U.S. Department of Transportation and will likely cost the state millions of dollars in federal funding.

CONNECTICUT—Moderate state Rep. **Lonny Winkler** (R) seemed ready to take on vulnerable Cong. **Sam Gejdensen** (D) this year, and her prospects looked good. "She would have been a formidable candidate," ex-GOP chair **Richard Arnold** told the New London Day. "I've received a lot of favorable feedback about her." But Winkler assessed things differently, declaring "I am reluctant to throw my hat into the ring because of the Republican position coming out of Washington." According to Winkler, the policy of slashing social spending while providing tax relief for the wealthy—a strategy widely identified with unpopular Speaker **Newt Gingrich**—will cost GOPers "big time" at the polls this year, making it an "uphill battle for anyone who decides to run." ¶ Cong. **Nancy Johnson** (R) is finding her chairmanship of the House Ethics Committee has a hot seat. A late December poll by Political Media Research shows Johnson is still popular with her constituents (54% favorable/17% unfavorable), but her handling of the case against Speaker Gingrich has made only eight percent more likely to vote for her, 18% less likely.

IOWA—Centrist state Sen. **Maggie Tinsman** leads the polls for the GOP nomination to face U.S. Sen. **Tom Harkin** (D) in November. A mid-January Mason-Dixon survey put Tinsman's support at 19%, to 17% for state Rep. **Steve Grubbs** and seven percent for newspaper publisher **Leroy Corey**, with a whopping 61% still undecided. ¶ It's beginning to look like **Terry Branstad** (R) will finally step down after 16 years as governor, attempting a job swap with U.S. Sen. **Chuck Grassley** (R) in '98. Although centrist **Fred Grandy** nearly upended him in the '94 primary, Branstad appears to be positioning to run as a social conservative.

Branstad: *Musical Chairs*

MAINE—The unexpected retirement announcement of moderate U.S. Sen. **Bill Cohen** (R) elicited an immediate Ripon press release, calling on ex-Gov. **John R. McKernan**, Jr. to get in the race and warning of severe consequences that may arise from the recent exodus of six GOP moderates from the Senate. "All of these Senators have expressed exasperation with a system that rewards partisan infighting and penalizes people for trying to govern," complained Ripon President **Bill Frenzel**. "If the two major parties continue driving out their moderates...we will soon see a third party on the horizon, along with more gridlock." McKernan's wife is U.S. Sen. Olympia Snowe. ¶ It appears that **Ross Perot**'s Reform Party has failed in its effort to gain a ballot line here. Sec. of State **Bill Diamond** (D) announced the Reformers had fallen 515 short of the required 25,565 valid signatures of registered voters. The blow is especially telling as Maine was Perot's strongest state in 1992 and had elected an Independent governor in 1994. However, according to an investigative report by the *Maine Sunday Telegraph*, local election officials committed "widespread errors" in the processing of the Reform Party petitions. A spot check of nine of the state's 400 towns and cities by the newspaper revealed more than 300 signatures that had been mistakenly rejected. Diamond nevertheless insists he is powerless to reverse the local actions. Stay tuned. ¶ In yet another manifestation of Maine's maverick political ways, the state House has fallen into a 75-75 partisan tie as Democrat state Rep. **Belinda Gerry** switched her allegiance to Independent. In a letter announcing her action, Gerry declared Democrat Party efforts to overturn a term limits initiative—approved 2:1 by Maine voters—"reveal the true anti-democratic and elitist attitude of the Democratic Party hierarchy."

MINNESOTA—Calling himself an alternative for the "passionate center," state Sen. **Roy Terwilliger** has entered the fight for the GOP nod to take on leftist U.S. Sen. Paul Wellstone this November. A pro-choicer who voted for Minnesota's gay rights law, Terwilliger first must hurdle ex-state Commerce Cmsr. **Bert McKasy** and conservative ex-Sen. **Rudy Boschwitz**, who lost the seat to Wellstone in 1990. Terwilliger admits he has little chance of capturing the endorsement of the state GOP organization—which is dominated by social right-wingers—but plans to take his case directly to Republican voters in the primary. ¶ Incidentally, the state GOP—known for a generation as the "Independent Republican Party"—recently dropped the "Independent" part from its moniker. Some suggest the impetus came from DFLers who claimed the "IR" designation now stood for "Intolerant Rightists."

Voinovich: *Veep Quest?*

NEW HAMPSHIRE—A January American Research Group poll indicates rightist U.S. Sen. **Bob Smith** (R) is in big trouble. Ex-Cong. **Dick Swett** (D)—turned out of office in '94—ran only five points behind Smith, while Gov. **Steve Merrill** thrashed the Gramm-backing Senator by better than 3:1 among GOPers. Merrill reportedly considered a challenge, but has decided against it.

NORTH CAROLINA—The field appears to have shaken out for GOP gubernatorial primary leaving moderate Charlotte Mayor **Richard Vinroot** facing state Rep. **Robin Hayes**, an Intolerant Rightist. Hayes has co-authored a book that advises sexually active teenage girls to swab their genitals with Lysol.

OHIO—Gov. **George Voinovich** (R) has endorsed Sec. of State **Bob Taft** as his successor in what some observers see as a payback for Taft's forebearance in staying out of the 1990 gubernatorial race. Taft may yet see stiff opposition in the '98 GOP primary from black state Treasurer **Ken Blackwell** or LG **Nancy Hollister**. ¶ Taft may not have endeared himself to Perot voters with his declaration that the Reform Party had fallen 2,438 valid signatures short in its bid to gain a Buckeye ballot line. At last report, however, Taft had let the Perotistas review the sigs rejected by his office and a reversal seemed possible. ¶ Meanwhile, Voinovich appears to be running for vice-president, having made campaign appearances for Bob Dole in Iowa and New Hampshire and releasing a slick, resume-style videotape to GOP activists and the national press.

OKLAHOMA—After polling nearly a quarter of the '94 vote for governor as an Independent, centrist ex-Cong. **Wes Watkins** is running for his old House seat as a Republican. Watkins gave up the seat for a 1990 gubernatorial bid as a Democrat.

OREGON—The vote-by-mail contest for the U.S. Senate between state Senate Pres. **Gordon Smith** (R) and Cong. **Ron Wyden** (D) drew the participation of two-thirds of the state's registered voters, a unheard of proportion for a special election. It was the first postal election for federal office in American history. Wyden prevailed by little more than a percentage point after eschewing negative ads through the 20-day window when ballots were being returned. In the judgement of professionals engaged in the race, the rich, telegenic Smith lost the race in the Portland suburbs, where his anti-green, pro-life record did not play well among GOP-leaning voters.

Davis: *Chip off the block*

UTAH—Embattled Cong. **Enid Greene Waldholtz** has made yet another damaging admission: She owes $50-130K in back state and federal taxes, a condition she blames on her estrange husband. Waldholtz has decided not to run for re-election: this decision made on the heels of a Dan Jones poll which showed her losing by better than 3:1 to Demo challenger **Jim McConkie**.

VIRGINIA—The radical right-dominated state GOP has abandoned its legal challenge of Sen. **John Warner**'s legislated right to call a primary to decide the Republican nomination for his seat. The moderately conservative Warner is facing a fierce intraparty challenge from ex-OMB director **Jim Miller**, who is backed by rightists.

WEST VIRGINIA—Moderate ex-Gov. **Cecil Underwood** (R) has surprised state operatives by launching an exploration of the governor's race. Although the 74-year-old Underwood began his political career 50 years ago and was first elected governor in 1956, he is given an excellent chance of winning the nomination over ex-state party chair **David McKinley** and ex-astronaut **Jon McBride**. A mid-January independent survey had it Underwood 21%, McBride 20%, McKinley 11%, with almost half of GOP primary voters undecided. Underwood ran best of the three in November matchups. Democrats are expected to nominate ex-state Sen. **Charlotte Pritt**, a controversial labor-backed liberal who once rode a Harley onto the floor of the state Senate. Pritt alienated partisans of Gov. **Gaston Caperton** (D) by running a write-in effort against him in the '92 general election, after losing the primary.

WISCONSIN—Superior Court Judge **Mac Davis** (R)—a former state Senator and son of the longtime Cong. **Glenn Davis** (R)—has kicked off a campaign to unseat Cong. **Gerald Kleczka** (D) in suburban Milwaukee's 4th District. A strong fiscal conservative with tolerant social views, Davis is thought to have an even chance against the seven-term incumbent, who registered his second DWI arrest last May.

JAMES PINKERTON

A Deal Between Mutually Regarded Devils

The off-year election results suggest the GOP's window of opportunity for ushering in a new paradigm for government may be slamming shut, pushed by rejuvenated images of Republicans as henchmen for the rich who want to throw ailing oldsters onto the icy streets. Party leaders had better wake up fast to the reality that sweeping changes are effected only by super-majorities. The modest edges Republicans now hold in Congress are not nearly enough, and expanding upon them in a significant way will require a broadening of the GOP coalition.

Much as FDR had commies and Klansmen pulling in the same harness to topple the Depression and fascism, Republicans are now faced with a ripe opportunity for uniting disparate elements in the crusade against intrusive, ineffective government. Elements as disparate as the Christian Coalition and Log Cabin Republicans.

One such new alliance issue is school choice. For a decade, we have been "reforming" bureaucratic, monopolistic education, and the results are in: we spend more on education than any country in the world, and yet our students are sixth, or sixteenth, on various standardized tests. If you want to know the quickest way to get to the Blade Runner-like future of rampant crime and squalor, it's with kids who can't compete in the age of quicksilver capital. The best solution to this problem is a market that would permit altruists and capitalists, the sacramental and the secular, to compete for the right to educate the next generation.

Conservative Christians find their children have to go to schools controlled by teachers unions and academic bureaucrats who are generally hostile to their values and viewpoints; they frequently cannot afford to send their children to the school of their choice. And so we come to the alliance opportunity.

Freedom—including freedom of choice—is indivisible. Freedom for you means freedom for them equals freedom for all of us. That was the lesson of the original log cabin Republican: a nation cannot exist only half free. The world will know that Log Cabin Republicans are serious about expanding choice and empowerment for all when they take a strong stand in favor of full school choice—including public, private, and religious schools—for all America's children.

Such a principled stand would be good politics, both within the GOP and the country at large. But alliances must be based on mutual advantage. As the New Deal experience demonstrated, it's not so much that factions must like each other. Rather, they must need each other. This is politics: I help you, you help me, and soon we have a pyramid of alliance that transcends that which once divided us. If conservative Christians want school choice, and suddenly find that they have powerful allies among Log Cabin Republicans, what should Log Cabin ask for in return?

Let me offer a suggestion: gay marriage. Andrew Sullivan argues in his new book, *Virtually Normal*, that gays should seek public equality before the law, and stop there. As he writes, "We need nothing from you, but we have much to give back to you. Protect us from nothing; but treat us as you would any heterosexual." To Sullivan, good government is small government, committed to equal treatment for all. And that means, he believes, that the state would no longer distinguish between heterosexual and homosexual marriage.

The heart of Sullivan's argument for gay marriage—marriage for all—is that since gays and lesbians are born, not made, it makes no sense to exclude them from the conservatizing, traditionalizing bonds of marital obligation. In that sense, civil marriage is a profoundly conservative idea. As Edmund Burke put it, the goal of conservative statesmanship is to channel the tides of change into the canals of custom.

I realize that this is not the argument that the dominant faction of conservatives in America today is waiting to hear. From my own personal experience, I know how controversial these issues are. I got fired two years ago for a column I wrote on the conservative case for gay marriage. It's a paradox of conservative thinking that while conservatives are eager to see immutable biological distinctions between males and females—and sometimes even between blacks and whites—they refuse to attribute any genetic predisposition to homosexuality, because that spoils their gay-bashing fun! But smarter conservatives, those more interested in actually winning elections, will see that homophobia, in this day and age, is counter-productive.

No group in America today can win without being in some sort of broad-based coalition. Republicans of all stripes must focus on those issues that unite us: smaller government, lower taxes, tough law enforcement. Then let us raise our sights to those new concerns—such as the school choice for same-sex marriage swap—that enable the alliance to move to a highest common denominator.

A former aide to Presidents Reagan and Bush, **James Pinkerton** *is a lecturer at George Washington University and a columnist for* Newsday. *His book,* What Comes Next: The End of Big Government and the New Paradigm Ahead, *was published by Hyperion this winter.*

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Chair: Senator Charles Percy

Republican Coalition for Choice

Campaign to silence GOP platform on abortion.

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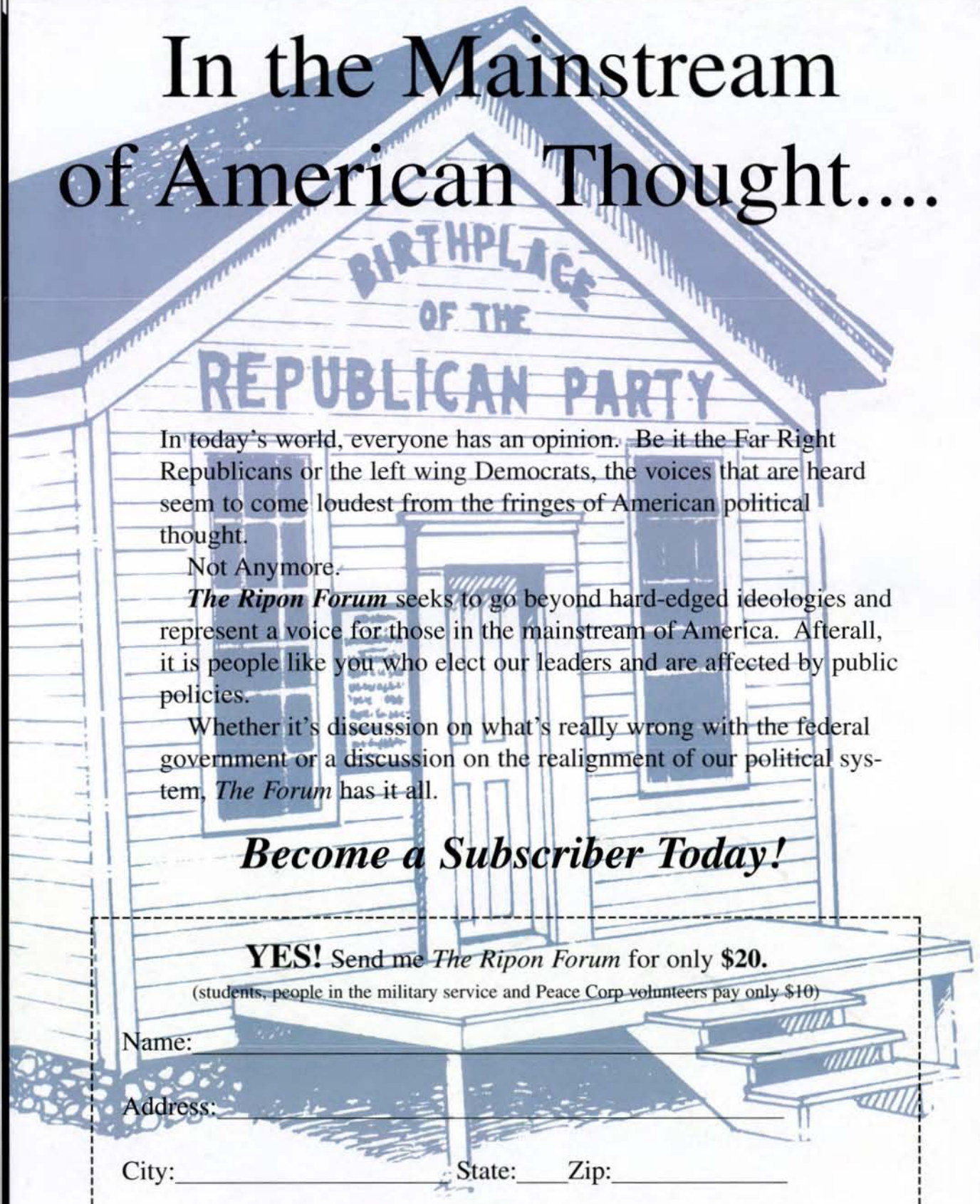
In the Mainstream of American Thought....



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