



The Ripon Forum

THE WAY BACK:
Tom Davis discusses the road
ahead for Republicans



Winter 2009
Volume 43, No. 1

MORE LIKE IKE

**The Eisenhower example and the
lessons for today's GOP**

**Plus: Thaddeus McCotter has dinner with a friend and
shares some food for thought about his party**

**And: Peter Hoekstra lays out a national security
agenda for the 111th Congress**

Will Congress turn back the clock on energy?



Congress recently heard the voices of a strong majority of Americans and lifted the federal ban on offshore drilling that has kept a good deal of our country's oil and natural gas resources off-limits.

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But some in Congress want to turn the clock back and restore the ban after the election. Americans can't let that happen.

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In this Edition

Why did Barack Obama win this election?

There are many theories that attempt to answer this question; books are being written on the topic as we go to print.

Surely he is a good speaker. And clearly he is a charismatic figure, the likes of which we haven't seen at that level since Reagan or JFK. But Obama's victory went beyond his oratorical skills or his personality.

What won Obama the election in the final analysis was that he exuded competence. Not Michael Dukakis-silly-looking-helmet-on-head kind of competence. But the kind of competence that convinces people that, if they vote for him, he's going to get the job done.

It remains to be seen whether Obama will live up to his promise. But in his basic pledge – that of delivering a government that is accountable and responsive to people's concerns – he resembles not so much Franklin D. Roosevelt, whom he has been compared to in several media profiles, but Dwight D. Eisenhower.

The 34th President has become something of a forgotten figure when it comes to performance and competence among our Nation's chief executives. In this edition of the FORUM, we take a look at Eisenhower's record and his approach to governing. Our intent is not to compare him to Barack Obama. It is, rather, to hold his Presidency up as an example for Republicans to look to and learn from as they seek to reclaim all that was lost this past November, and in the elections of 2006.

It has indeed been a long spiral downward for the GOP. There is, hopefully, nowhere to go but up. And as every journey needs a guidepost, we point to Eisenhower as a lodestar for Republicans to follow today. He was, as Kasey Pipes writes in our feature essay, a pragmatic warrior. And he exuded, as former Congressman Tom Davis alludes to in our lead piece, a form of prudence in his decisionmaking that served the country – and the Republican Party – well. In short, Eisenhower was the kind of leader for the GOP to emulate as it attempts to dig itself out of a hole today.

We are pleased to feature a host of talented writers and leaders in this edition – among them Intelligence Committee Ranking Member Peter Hoekstra, Maine Senator Susan Collins, Blue State/Red Governor Jim Douglas, and former Reagan/Nixon speechwriter Jeffrey Hart. And don't miss Thaddeus McCotter's description of his dinner with a friend. It presents an excellent summation of the challenges facing Republicans this year, and is also very likely the first time the phrase "spit out a gnawed crouton" has ever been printed in our pages.

More significantly, it offers a refreshing take on this year's political landscape, and is the type of nontraditional messaging the GOP will need as it attempts to gain traction, and a foothold, in the elections of 2010.

We hope you enjoy this edition of the Forum and encourage you to contact us at editor@riponsociety.org with any thoughts you may have.

Lou Zickar
Editor
THE RIPON FORUM

The Way BACK

TOM DAVIS

Republicans must be wondering: Can it get any worse?

As late as 2006, we held the White House and a majority in both houses of Congress. Come January, all three will be in Democratic hands – with a near-filibuster-proof majority in the Senate.

As chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee for two of its most successful cycles, I've seen our party in much better shape. But I've seen it in worse shape as well.

Republicans rebounded from landslide losses in 1964 and 1974 that were more devastating than this year's. Our presidential candidate, Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., received 46 percent of the popular vote this year. He carried 22 states and came within a few thousand votes of carrying four more.

He did as well as could be expected considering the circumstances. He was outspent 4-1 as he carried the banner of a party whose two-term incumbent had lower poll numbers for a longer period than any president in American history, had involved the country in an unpopular war and had seen the economy collapse in October. No other Republican could've come close to those numbers.

But let's not kid ourselves, our party is broken. In no small way, we've been victims of our own success. We fought communism and won. We fought stagnation brought on by high taxes and restrictive government policies. Today, voters take low taxes as a given, and the burden of proof – even in the wake of the financial crisis – is on those who would regulate, not those who would remove regulations.

With the heavy lifting out

Not so long ago, it was easy to paint the Democrats as the party of extremists. Now, they say we're extremists, and voters agree.

of the way, we indulged in more trivial pursuits – and this led to trouble. We talked to ourselves and not to voters. We became more concerned with stem cell policy than economic policy, and with prayer in schools rather than balance in our public budgets and priorities. Not so long ago, it was easy to paint the Democrats as the party of extremists. Now, they say we're extremists, and voters agree.

As a result, we've seen our support erode. Urban centers remain under Democratic control. Exurbs and rural areas remain under Republican dominance. But in the battleground that lies

between – the suburbs -- we were winning them; now we're not. Our candidates are safe in a swath that extends from North Texas across to North Alabama and up through Appalachia. Elsewhere, we are on the run. Almost every voter who can be convinced – who sometimes votes Democratic, sometimes Republican – now votes Democratic.

We've long-since given up on the African-American vote. We're forfeiting the Hispanic vote with unwarranted and unsavory vitriol against immigrants. Youth vote? Gone. We ask for nothing from these idealistic voters, we offer little except chastisement of their lifestyle choices and denial of global warming, and we are woefully behind the Democrats in learning how to connect with them.

Soccer moms? They're not comfortable with much of our social policy agenda, so many are gone as well. NASCAR dads? They're our last redoubt, and the trends even there are not encouraging as unemployment rises and 401 (k)s are decimated. They want clean, competent government that meets basic challenges. They don't see tax cuts or stimulus checks that net them another \$500 per year as meaningful, and they are not comfortable with the profligate deficits that result. As one veteran Republican campaign professional

told pollster Charlie Cook: Voting for tax increases hurts politically much more than voting for tax cuts helps.

So what do we do? First, we eliminate checklists and litmus tests and focus on broad principles, not heavy-handed prescriptions. Free trade. Strong defense – at home and abroad. Government as small as is practicable in these times. Economic, education and energy policies that promote growth, energy independence and a competitive agenda that will allow businesses to grow and compete, not be protected by artificial barriers.

That's it. Believe anything else you want, but advocate for those things outside the structure of the party.

Second, remind ourselves the first principle of conservatism is not tax cuts or free trade or even smaller government. It is prudence, and prudence should be our guide.

Prudence dictates we take seriously the concerns of those who elect us and tailor our policy proposals to counter the government-mandate-heavy ideas bound to emerge from the other side.

Americans want something done about the 43 million of us who lack health care. The question is not: Should government care? It must. The question is: Do we get a top-down, Washington-knows-best, one-size-fits-all "solution" or a Massachusetts-style program that preserves choice for patients and discretion for doctors?

Prudence dictates we build on the No Child Left Behind Act and get serious about education reform. Americans demand top-notch

schools, and it is our constitutional duty to ensure this happens. Yes, constitutional. We've reached an age where we can't, in practice, provide for the common defense or compete economically without an educated citizenry. We should maximize local control ... so long as local control is working. We need to measure, and we need to see that failure is addressed.



We need to talk less about the size of government and more about its efficiency.

Remember, it's about the students, not the institutions.

Prudence dictates we pursue energy independence on all fronts. It is our key to a secure future and our bulwark against the price swings we've endured in recent years.

Moreover, our views enjoy

broad support, and we should press the advantage. Americans support drilling offshore and in areas of oil-rich Alaska now deemed off-limits, because they know we can do it safely. They know, with 250 million cars on our roads, that fossil fuels – oil, coal, natural gas – represent at least part of our energy solution. They also know we can't continue to depend on dysfunctional countries for our energy supply. They know we can conserve more, do more to develop alternative fuels, including nuclear, and adapt smarter policies to get the most from our potential. We were on the right track with this in the 110th Congress, and we should press forward.

The energy legislation we'll see in the next Congress will give Republicans a great opportunity to draw bright lines between our policies, which promote growth, innovation, prosperity and choice, and Democrats' policies, which promote regulation and top-down government dictates and invariably reduce the quality of life. We must remind voters that making energy plentiful and affordable remains the best thing governments can do for the environment.

What we can't do is go back. I've heard much talk of going back to our conservative roots, to the issues that helped us win in 1980 and 1994. That issue matrix has changed so much as to be nearly unrecognizable now. The voters who dealt us our electoral disasters in 2006 and 2008 did so because they thought we were all too true to our roots. That we were exclusive, favored rich over poor, and didn't care sufficiently for the plight of the little person.

Also, I suspect this call to return to our "roots" really is a call

to do nothing. And doing nothing, I hope Republicans will agree, is not an option.

We need to talk less about the size of government and more about its efficiency. Voters want action on the issues that affect them most: energy, security, education, transportation and health care. We need to show these issues can be tackled without creating huge government bureaucracies or necessitating growth-killing tax hikes.

We also need to stop talking about how much we hate government if we expect people to elect us to run it. Perfecting it, reducing it to its ideal size, having it accomplish what we need with minimal resources requires that we embrace it and study it and work hard at it.

Also, as Newt Gingrich has

pointed out, we need to remember that every election is important and that it's important we field good candidates in every race. Eight years ago, we found out it mattered

We also need to stop talking about how much we hate government if we expect people to elect us to run it.

a great deal who the Secretary of State in Florida was. We need to find new leaders and nurture them and re-invest in the organizational infrastructure we need to build our base of volunteers and, again, have the best get-out-the-vote effort.

All is not lost. Even today, significantly more voters identify themselves as conservatives than

liberals. They want us to succeed, and they don't want to return to a society of handouts and big government. But we won't get there by waiting for the Democrats to fumble the ball. We won't get there by trying to divine what Ronald Reagan would do in any given situation. We can get there, though, if we stop the infighting and show we have a better way.

The party with the best, freshest ideas always wins. That can be us – that needs to be us – once again. **RF**

Tom Davis left Congress in November after serving seven terms in the House of Representatives for the 11th District of Virginia. He was recently announced as the new Chairman of the Republican Main Street Partnership.

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My Dinner with Andrea

Food for thought on the Republican future

THADDEUS G. MCCOTTER

At a recent political dinner, a tablemate named Andrea soberly inquired, "Who are you reading these days?"

"Jagger and Richards," I replied. "Shattered captures the Republican zeitgeist."

"No, no," Andrea corrected me with a wave of her hand. "What political writers are you reading?"

"The pillars," I said, grasping her aim and the ranch dressing. "Kirk, Burke, Buckley, and Eliot."

She sighed. "Who are you reading that's not dead?"

"Those cats are more alive than ever." I tore into my salad.

She leaned forward with a furrowed brow. "Aren't you afraid of missing it?"

"The End of History?" I slobbered through a mouthful of lettuce. "What a crock of –"

"I meant the next Republican wave."

I reflexively spit out a gnawed crouton that clinked off her wine glass and plopped on her plate. "Without Kirk, Burke, Buckley and Eliot, Republicans will only wave goodbye," I pronounced.

"I utterly disagree," she said, deftly pushing aside her plate. "The movement needs new ideas and fresh faces."

"You mean panaceas and pin-ups?" I grumbled. "Silver bullets and baby faces work on werewolves and teeny-boppers, not on Democrats."



"Go on," she instructed, her food still untouched. "It'll ruin your appetite," I replied, wiping off my fork and poking my chicken.

"Oh, I've forgotten," she said, slumping back and rolling her eyes. "You're the one who thinks the party doesn't need re-branding."

"We tried that. It put us in the minority. Re-branding is a marketing scam that repackages bland products for mass consumption. The Republican Party is a transformational political

movement. It must be again, or no amount of re-branding can save it or sell it."

Andrea warily sipped some wine and glared at me from behind her glass.

"So what do you propose?"

For a second, I felt like Ted Nugent speed dating Peggy

Noonan. Then the waiter cleared away our salad plates and served the chicken-ala-thing course. "Look at this road kill," I muttered, grimacing at my entrée. "It's so raw it looks like the driver didn't have the courtesy to back up and finish it off." I tossed my fork onto the plate and gravy splattered onto my tie.

"As I was saying," she icily continued,

"I don't think you have any idea how to fix the party and start the next Republican Revolution."

I casually dipped my tie into her water and started dabbing at my freshly stained neckwear. "Republicans don't start revolutions," I reminded her. "Republicans inspire restorations."

"Fine," she huffed. "Then how would you fix the party and inspire a restoration?"

"Common sense conservatism."

"How quaint."

"And correct," I riposted. "The Republican Party exists to keep America the greatest nation on Earth. Unfortunately, we stumbled along the way, and now the public views us as an ideologically obsessed party of chaos and collapse – Katrina, Iraq, the credit crisis and bailouts, the list goes on. This is the antithesis of Republicanism. We're a philosophical party that is supposed to practice politics as 'the art of the possible', channel constructive change for Americans, and preserve order, justice and freedom.

"And we couldn't have picked a worse time to screw this up," I continued, "because disorder is rampant at this transformational moment in American history."

"Transformational in what way?" she asked. "Economically?"

"This is the second point," I said, my hunger pangs causing me to reconsider skipping the entrée.

"America isn't an economy or a bureaucracy. America is a country of honest, hard-working and loving people struggling to pursue their happiness. And, like the 'Greatest Generation', today's 'Global Generation' of Americans' pursuit of happiness is imperiled by four major challenges. We've got to recognize these challenges and empathize with people's struggles amidst them."

"Go on," she instructed, her food still untouched.

"It'll ruin your appetite," I replied, wiping off my fork and poking my chicken.

"Your 'road kill' remark did that," she rejoined.

"Yeah ... anyway, America's Greatest Generation surmounted a quartet of transformational challenges: industrialization's economic, social, and political upheavals; a world war against an evil enemy; the Soviet Union's rise as a strategic threat and rival model of governance; and the moral struggle for equal civil rights.

"Today, America's Global Generation confronts globalization's economic, social and political upheavals; a world war against an evil enemy; Communist China's rise as a strategic threat and rival model of governance; and moral

I casually dipped my tie into her water and started dabbing at my freshly stained neckwear. "Republicans don't start revolutions," I reminded her. "Republicans inspire restorations."

relativism's erosion of our nation's self-evident truths."

She took a gulp of wine. "There must be differences between the two situations?"

"Yes," I said, finishing off my entrée. "The Greatest Generation faced their crises consecutively. Our Global Generation faces these challenges simultaneously."

The waiter removed my empty plate and her untouched entrée and replaced them with thick pieces of apple pie. I started to make quick work of mine, but she just stared at her plate.

"I have truly lost my appetite," she said, though she did order another wine from the waiter.

I ordered some milk. "I've driven you to a liquid diet," I joked between bites. "Don't worry. It'll get better."

"How and how soon?" she

asked, nervously tapping at her glass.

"If we stay ideologically obsessed and stumble about looking for quick fixes, false messiahs and pretty faces, it will never happen."

"I thought you said 'don't worry.'"

"Don't worry, work. Then, when Republicans once again practically apply our five enduring principles to empower people, these challenges will be transcended. The virtuous genius of the American people will see to that."

"And these are the principles we strayed from," she dolefully acknowledged.

"Yep." I held up my hand and counted them off: "Our liberty is from God not the government. Our sovereignty rests in our souls not the soil. Our security is through strength, not surrender. Our prosperity is from the private sector not the public

sector. And our truths are self-evident, not relative."

As the waiter delivered her wine and my milk, I reached for her dessert.

She slapped away my hand. "What are you're doing?"

"Being entrepreneurial," I retreated. "After all, I am a Republican."

"So am I," Andrea smiled, poised for the coup de grace. "That's why I think it's unjust for you to take the liberty to redistribute my piece of the pie, when you can order another slice for yourself. Order, justice, and freedom – remember?"

"How could I forget?" **RF**

U.S. Representative Thaddeus G. McCotter (MI-11) is the Chair of the Republican House Policy Committee

What it Takes

Being a Red Governor in a Blue State

JIM DOUGLAS

This past December, I joined 48 other Governors and Governors-Elect in a meeting with President-Elect Obama and Vice President-Elect Biden.

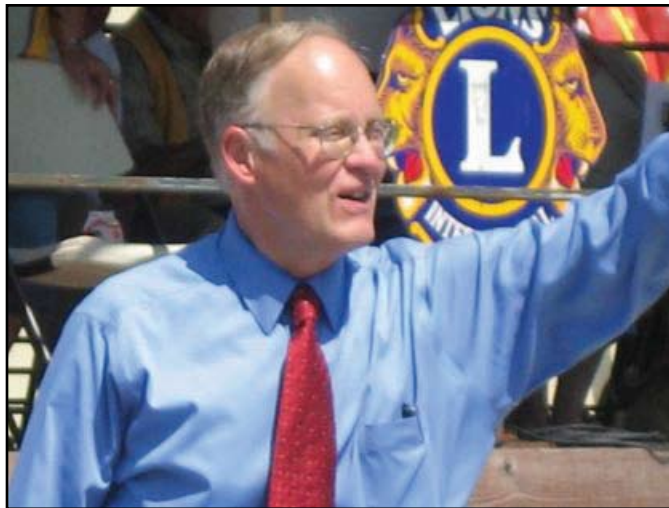
As the Vice Chair of the National Governor's Association, I traveled to Washington DC to discuss the economy and recovery strategies. In one of the few moments that were not committed to business, the President-Elect commented to me that, "you must be quite a politician to get elected in a blue state."

Having served in many of the elected offices in the state throughout my career, I have learned one thing about Vermont – it's about the people. This is an axiom that I have observed throughout my life, and my service is really incidental to putting people first. I consider myself fortunate because I get to meet and work with many people from all walks of life, as the main part of my job.

Having been a listener and leader for my many years of service has led me to conclude that "good policy is good politics." I spend a great deal of time traveling Vermont, talking with more Vermonters than most. Everyday I hear the concerns, aspiration and ideas of the people of my state. And it is their voices that guide me as I craft policies and advance our agenda. Focusing on what matters most to the people I serve, continuing to bring fresh and creative ideas to the table, and protecting the state's fiscal integrity has always been a formula for

success in Vermont – and I believe it is a formula for success throughout the country.

In the recent election, my positive agenda to grow Vermont's economy, my message of fiscal responsibility and my record of accomplishment resonated with the voters of Vermont – even as nearly 70 percent of them voted for President-Elect Obama.



Political pundits and outside observers often view Vermont as one of the bluest of the blue states – and they have ample evidence to make that case.

Political pundits and outside observers often view Vermont as one of the bluest of the blue states – and they have ample evidence to make that case. To simply view Vermont in that context fails to recognize that voters in the Green Mountain State are, in fact, pragmatic and independent people who want to know that their hard earned tax dollars are being put to use in the most effective and efficient manner possible.

That is just what I have been doing during my tenure as Governor. I've worked to make Vermont more affordable by advancing comprehensive health care reforms, creating more affordable housing and moderating the tax burden. We've succeeded in insuring thousands of previously uninsured Vermonters and made progress by advancing the Blue Print for Health to encourage Vermonters to live healthier lifestyles and bring down the cost of health care in the long run. I've pushed for a cap on skyrocketing property taxes and Vermont will see progress in the coming year with the implementation of a new law that will begin to bend the

curve on school spending. And when the legislature has pushed for increased taxes on Vermonters, I've always been a voice of reason protecting already overly taxed Vermonters.

As I have fought for a more affordable Vermont, I have also made it a priority to encourage businesses and entrepreneurs to look to Vermont as a place to bring and create high quality, high paying jobs. Vermont is now on the path to becoming an e-State in the coming years through the development of a comprehensive wireless and cellular phone infrastructure that reaches every corner of the state. We've made a commitment to higher education, new scholarships and workforce training programs so that the next generation of Vermonters will have the skills they need to compete in the 21st century economy. And I am continuing to push for reforms to the permitting system that will spur economic development, while protecting Vermont's

cherished environment.

When the national economy began to slow, I pushed for a package of initiatives to stimulate the economy and empower struggling Vermonters at no cost to taxpayers. Among the initiatives in my Economic Growth Initiative

was a summer sales tax holiday that spurred economic activity for small businesses and retailers. Some even reported doing two months worth of business in just two days – a much needed boost especially as times have become more difficult.

All elected officials, Republican or otherwise, should recognize that there is no substitute for listening to the people of one's state or district. Their hopes and concerns are an excellent barometer of the conditions on the ground, and the best guidance for solid policy.

RF

Jim Douglas is the Governor of Vermont.

To simply view Vermont in that context fails to recognize that voters in the Green Mountain State are, in fact, pragmatic and independent people who want to know that their hard earned tax dollars are being put to use in the most effective and efficient manner possible.

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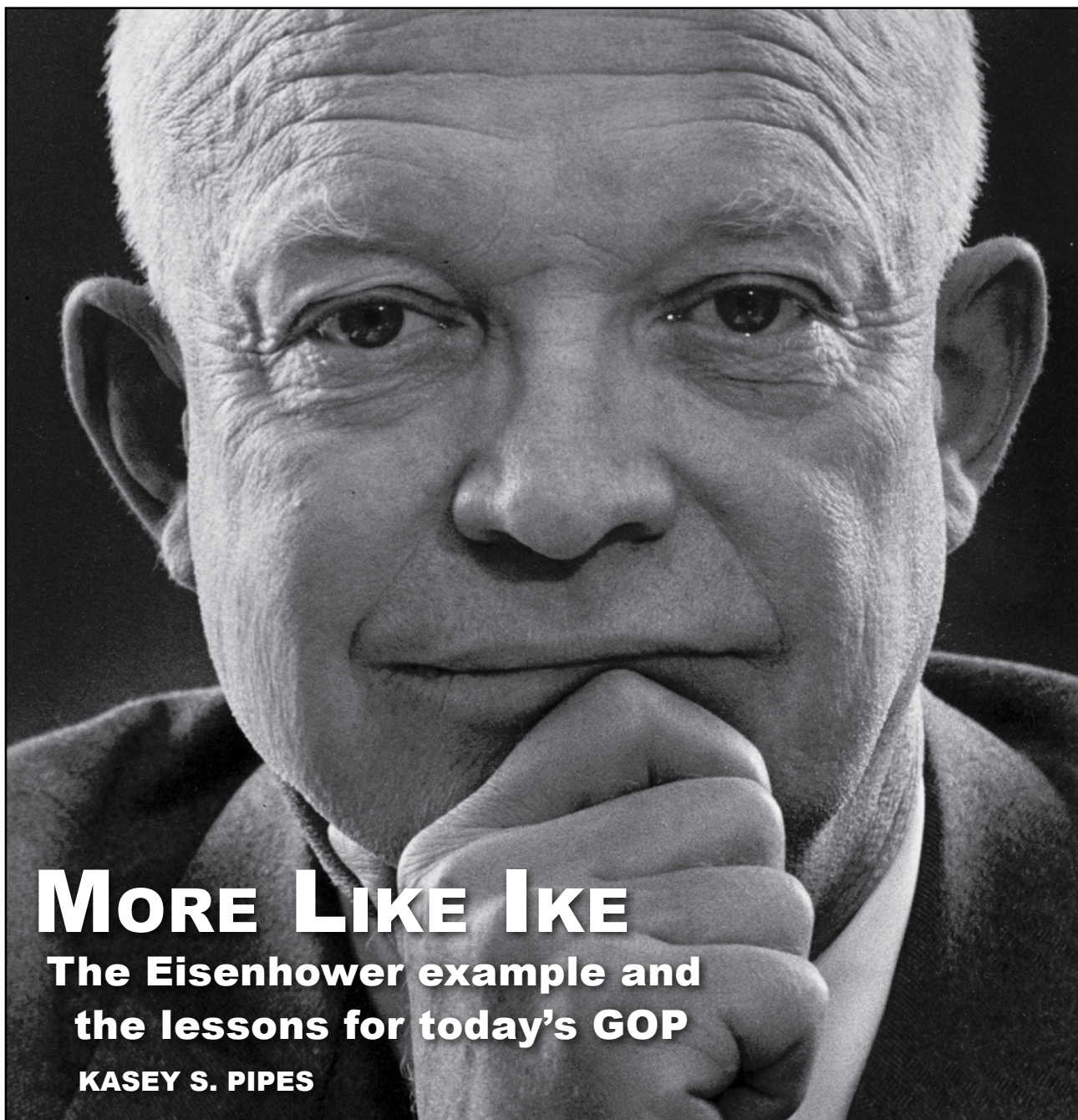
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Answers That Matter.



MORE LIKE IKE

The Eisenhower example and the lessons for today's GOP

KASEY S. PIPES

Two years ago, the Republican Party lost control of both houses of Congress and a majority of governorships.

Last year, the party lost the White House. And during the past few years, the party has lost the confidence of the American people. An unpopular war and an economic collapse will do that.

But while the power of the party has receded, the promise of the party has not.

As Republicans look to the future, perhaps they should also look to the past. And not only to the 1980s. Too many Republicans assume that a

renaissance begins with re-creating Reagan.

But in large part, Reagan's greatness comes from having fought and won his battles. The issues Reagan confronted no longer exist: massive inflation, 70% marginal tax rates, aggressive communism—they're gone. It's time to confront new issues and new challenges. Perhaps it's also time to look back to another Republican who was a successful, popular two-term president.

Yet Dwight Eisenhower has become a man without a party. Indeed, much of the conservative establishment of today took root in the 1950s.

National Review was first published in 1955, for example. And in the first year of Ike's presidency, scholar Russell Kirk exhumed Edmund Burke from his grave and brought him to life in a book called The Conservative Mind. In it, Kirk told American conservatives that they should look to the eighteenth-century British statesman for inspiration.

One of the interesting attributes of Burke's legacy is that he espoused a set of broad principles, but refrained from endorsing a specific ideology. Burke didn't have a conservative philosophy so much as he had a conservative mindset. He saw conservatism not as an agenda of issues but as an approach with which to deal with issues as they developed.

The Pragmatic Warrior

Eisenhower, though he might not have been a political conservative, was certainly a personal one. Like Burke, he believed in organic evolution, the idea that change happens over time, step by step. When Burke spoke of the "wisdom of the ancients," he cautioned that decades and

centuries of tradition and reverence for institutions should not be disregarded overnight. Like a coral reef, society is built up over centuries, eventually becoming a wave-resistant sanctuary for life.

He was also fundamentally a Cold War president who sought to make the world safer and the country more secure. This theme informed all his policies.

For starters, Ike tried to run the government like a business. Many politicians say this; Ike lived it. He balanced the federal budget three times in his eight years. Yet he understood the difference between spending and investment.

While he opposed frivolous programs, he invested heavily in national defense, education, space and

transportation. These investments provided huge dividends for the country. The president saw all these programs as part of his Cold War strategy. For example, he had seen the need for better roads in a time of crisis as a young Army officer. The interstate highway system was designed not just to help move people around, but troops and equipment, too.

In world affairs, Ike wanted to confront communist aggression. But he knew that in the nuclear age, total war meant annihilation. Thus, he settled the Korean War and preserved the freedom of South Korea. And he resisted enormous pressure to intervene with regular troops in Vietnam, and sent a few military advisors.

Instead, he believed the Cold War and the nuclear age required new ways of countering the Soviets. In particular, he upgraded the intelligence service and made this a key part of American Cold War strategy. And he personally pushed for the development of aerial and satellite-based reconnaissance systems.

Eisenhower even saw the most difficult

challenge he faced—civil rights—as a national security issue.

When speaking of freedom in his first inaugural address, he said: "whatever America hopes to bring to pass in the world must first come to pass in the heart of America." Yet freedom eluded an entire race in America. And so Ike sought to change that. Even though he preferred the velvet cords of persuasion to the iron bonds of law, he did pursue civil rights.

First, Ike desegregated the District of Columbia. Second, he desegregated the military, something started-but not finished-by Truman. Third, he agreed to let Attorney General Herbert Brownell file a brief on behalf of the NAACP that separate schools were



Ike tried to run the government like a business. Many politicians say this; Ike lived it.

unequal. When the ruling came down, he vowed to enforce it. Fourth, he pushed for and signed the first major civil rights legislation since Reconstruction. Fifth, he appointed fair-minded judges who would hand the civil rights movement its biggest victories for years to come. "The best civil rights judges in the South," remembered Andrew Young, "were the Eisenhower appointees..."

Still, Eisenhower had long feared that inflamed passions on civil rights might one day erupt into a "conflict of the police powers of the states and of the nation" and he feared that when that day came it might "set back the cause of progress in race relations..." That day came in September 1957 at Little Rock.

When Arkansas Gov. Orval Faubus obstructed a court-approved desegregation plan by posting Arkansas National Guard troops in front of Central High School, the nation faced its gravest constitutional crisis since the Civil War. All of Ike's fears about "another civil war" appeared to be coming to fruition.

Yet he never wavered. He allowed Faubus time and space to reconsider. He met with him in person. He urged him to do the right thing. And at last, when no other option was available, he sent elements of the 101st Airborne to Little Rock.

The nine African-American children integrated the school. The crisis ended. The civil rights movement had scored one of its greatest victories ever.

But not before Ike addressed the nation and noted the Cold War implications of American hypocrisy on race. "Our enemies are gloating," he said.

A Consistent Theme, A Conservative Approach

So what can Republicans learn today from Ike's presidency? They can learn the importance of tying all their policies together under a single banner. For Eisenhower, national security required a balanced budget, more infrastructure, even civil rights. This theme provided a cohesion to his policies and his presidency.



Too many Republicans assume that a renaissance begins with re-creating Reagan ... Perhaps it's also time to look back to another Republican who was a successful, popular two-term president.

Republicans can also learn that conservatism is an approach, not an agenda. For Ike, incremental change beat revolutionary zeal. Too often, Republicans have drunk from the fount of power and pursued grand plans. Better to walk the sober path of modest steps and gradual progress.

Republicans can learn that realism must be the foundation of foreign policy. The party must accept the realities of this world before it can seek to change them. Idealism can help inform the party's philosophical architecture; but it must be built upon the pier and beam of hard realism.

Finally, Republicans can learn that old parties need new ideas. Certainly in foreign policy, Eisenhower showed innovation in how he viewed the world and how he fought the Cold War.

For today's Republican Party, it might be time to go back to the future...and become a little more like Ike. **RF**

Kasey S. Pipes wrote speeches for President Bush and Governor Schwarzenegger. "Ike's Final Battle" is his first book. For more information, go to www.kaseyspipes.com.

For a chronology of Eisenhower's key accomplishments, as President, see page 17.

The EISENHOWER PARADIGM

JEFFREY HART

When Dwight D. Eisenhower became president in January 1953, there had not been a Republican president since President Herbert Hoover left office in 1933.

Coincidentally, Russell Kirk published The Conservative Mind in 1952, and because of the election of Eisenhower it became a best-seller. The Eisenhower presidency was “transformative,” as the Reagan presidency was, and as the Obama presidency probably will be today.

The New Deal coalition had held even in 1948 when President Harry S. Truman defeated Republican Thomas Dewey despite the Progressive party candidacy of former Vice President Henry Wallace and the States Right party of Sen. Strom Thurmond. The election of Eisenhower opened the way for a Republican resurgence. In effect, the Republican Party had to be reinvented.

Today, the Republican Party will similarly have to be reinvented.

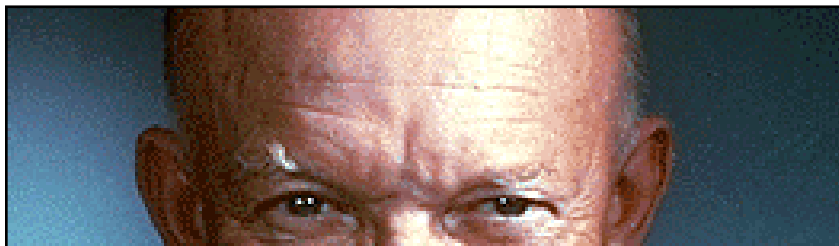
Though we did not know why in January 1953, we did know that the fighting in Korea soon ceased, though negotiations continued at Panmunjom. In fact, there never was an official Korean peace treaty. One of Eisenhower’s earliest moves ended the fighting, and signaled the kind of President Eisenhower would be: tough, realistic and

successful.

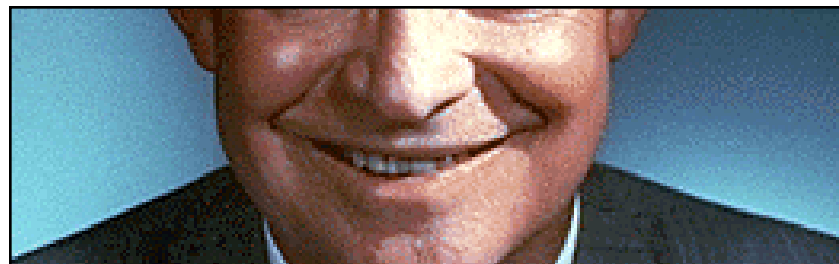
Eisenhower had “gone to Korea,” as he had promised during the 1952 campaign. He inspected the front lines there and had seen that the North Korean-Chinese defenses in depth would be difficult and very costly to penetrate. President Eisenhower therefore sent a secret message to Mao Zedong through New Delhi saying that unless the fighting stopped we would respond “without inhibition” as to the weapons

we would use. In other words, the nuclear option was on the table.

Despite his friendly and reassuring grin, Ike could be a man of power, and could be ruthless in its application. His sometimes garbled syntax was a mask to conceal his actual intentions. In fact, he was precise and lucid in conference and in writing. (The book to read on this is Fred I. Greenstein’s The Hidden Hand



**Despite his friendly and reassuring grin,
Ike could be a man of power, and could be
ruthless in its application.**



Presidency). Eisenhower was also a superb administrator.

I have two personal anecdotes that will illustrate this.

During the middle 1950s, I was an officer in Naval Intelligence, assigned to the Boston office in the First Naval District. We had a number of responsibilities, including, for example, background investigations for people needing security clearances. One day – it must have been in 1955 – my commanding officer came into my office where

I was sitting behind my desk. He looked pale. He said, "Eisenhower was just on the phone." He did not tell me why, but I was impressed. Eisenhower had not asked his chief of staff to call the Intelligence office. He had not passed whatever problem there was to the Secretary of the Navy. Eisenhower had picked up his phone and said, "Get me the First Naval District Intelligence Office."

Along similar lines, a couple of years ago I had lunch in Hanover with Paul Staley who had been in my class (1951) at Dartmouth. He had been captain of the football team, and after Dartmouth had gone to the Harvard Business School. While there he met and married Joan Killian, daughter of James Killian, president of MIT. Staley told me that in 1957 when the Soviet space vehicle was circling the earth and emitting its beep-beep-beep signal, President Killian's phone rang in his office at MIT. It was Eisenhower. He said, "You are the best one in the country to tell me what this is and what it means. I want to see you here at nine o'clock tomorrow

morning."

These two anecdotes illustrate Eisenhower's basic approach to governing and leadership. He was fact-based, decisive and direct. In domestic policy, he was a center-right Republican, who understood that the best features of the New

In domestic policy, he was a center-right Republican, who ... also produced three budget surpluses and began the interstate highway system.

Deal could not be repealed, and unlike his Republican rival, Ohio Senator Robert Taft, knew that isolationism was not viable. His accomplishments included the advance of the nuclear powered navy and the development of the Polaris missile, which could be launched by a submarine without surfacing and against which the Soviets had no defense. He also began the aerial surveillance of

the Soviet Union with the sub-stratospheric U-2 spy plane. During the subsequent Kennedy Administration, the U-2s discovered the missiles Khrushchev was deploying in Cuba. President Eisenhower also produced three budget surpluses and began the interstate highway system.

That's not to say his administration was without error. One of the most significant mistakes he made, and perhaps

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one of the most critical lost opportunities for America in the 20th century, involved Iran. In 1951, Iran elected Mohammed Mossedegh prime minister. He was the last democratically elected leader of Iran. Though the Cold War had polarized many nations, Mossedegh declined alignment. Mossedegh nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, a British monopoly of Iranian oil. In response Britain imposed a world-wide embargo of Iranian oil and banned the export of goods to Iran while taking its case to the international Court of Justice at The Hague. The Court found that Iran had done nothing illegal. Yet the United States continued to support the British embargo. The United States was also concerned about the possible influence of the Tudeh (Communist) party in Iran.

In 1953, on orders from President Eisenhower, the C.I.A. organized a military coup that overthrew the Iranian government. Mossedegh was imprisoned and soon placed under house arrest for life. Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, supported by the United States, became the ruler of Iran for the next 25 years with the assistance of the brutal and effective secret police SAVAK, which crushed all opposition. The Shah denationalized the Iranian oil industry and aligned Iran with the West in the Cold War. President Nixon later praised the Shah as a force for stability in the region. Yet in 1979, a revolution overthrew the Shah, bringing to

power hard-line Islamists led by the Ayatollah Khomeini. The ensuing hostage crisis in Teheran discredited the Carter administration. It also paved the way for Iran to become a force of instability in the Middle East.

This error aside, Eisenhower remains, to me, a near-great Republican president. In most things, he was fact-based, prudent, and essentially conservative. His Presidency and his approach offer an excellent paradigm for a reformed Republican party today. But getting there will not be easy. If a large majority of Republicans try to reform the party in a common sense direction with Eisenhower as the paradigm, a third party could very well be the result.

But Truman won in 1948 despite two breakaway parties, and a common sense Republican party would be the core of a new majority – a majority that would not only win local races and races for the Senate and the House of Representatives, but one that would be waiting for the Democrats to make major mistakes, as in time they surely will. **RF**

Jeffrey Hart is professor emeritus of English at Dartmouth College. He wrote for the National Review for more than three decades, and also served as a speechwriter for both Ronald Reagan when he was governor and for Richard Nixon.

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EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION

Chronology of Key Events and Accomplishments

March 12, 1953 -- the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is created.

April 22, 1953 -- states given title to offshore oil.

July 27, 1953 -- Korean war ended with signing of armistice at Panmunjom.

December 8, 1953 -- Eisenhower delivers his Atoms For Peace speech at the United Nations proposing an international atomic energy agency and peaceful development of nuclear energy.

Jan. 21, 1954 -- first atomic submarine, U.S.S. Nautilus, launched, Groton, Conn.

September 8, 1954 -- Southeast Asia Defense Treaty (SEATO) signed.

April 21, 1955 -- U.S. occupation of Germany ended; troops remained on contractual basis.

July 18-23, 1955 -- Geneva Four Power summit conference; Eisenhower submits "Open Skies" proposal allowing mutual air reconnaissance over military installations.

June 29, 1956 -- Federal Highway legislation is signed authorizing funds for the interstate highway system.

July 16, 1956 -- The President's Council on Youth Fitness was established by President Eisenhower.

March 9, 1957 -- Eisenhower Doctrine bill signed, authorizing use of U.S. forces to assist Middle East nations threatened by Communist aggression.

July 29, 1957 -- United States ratified International Atomic Energy Agency (proposed by President Eisenhower in 1953) to pool atomic resources for peaceful use.

September 9, 1957 -- the President signs the 1957 Civil Rights Act which seeks to protect voting rights.

September 24, 1957 -- President Eisenhower sends federal troops to scene of violence at Little Rock, Arkansas, High School to enforce integration of African American students who had been barred by national guardsmen as ordered by Governor Orval Faubus.

January 31, 1958 -- launching of Explorer I; first American satellite.

July 29, 1958 -- President signed bill establishing National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

September 2, 1958 -- Eisenhower signs the National Defense Education Act, providing loans for college students and funds to encourage young people to enter teaching careers.

January 3, 1959 -- Alaska proclaimed 49th state.

March 18, 1959 -- President signed act admitting Hawaii as the 50th state.

January 17, 1961 -- President Eisenhower delivers his Farewell Address to the Nation warning of the "military-industrial complex."

Source: Eisenhower Presidential Library and Museum

In the Wake of Mumbai

PETER HOEKSTRA

There's only one word to describe the challenge ahead for the United States Congress on national security. That word is "Mumbai." The horrendous 60-hour bloodbath that killed almost 300 last month in this Indian city is a wake-up call to America not just that the threat from radical Jihadists continues but how essential it is that we not neglect homeland security.

The recent Mumbai killings demonstrate the determination of Muslim extremists to slip across national borders to kill defenseless civilians with suicide attacks. We believe these terrorists had links to Lashkar-e-Taiba (LT), an al-Qaeda affiliated radical Islamist group operating in Pakistan. This killing spree was sophisticated, well-planned, and well-funded.

Although some have blamed the severity of the Mumbai attacks on an alleged lack of readiness by Indian police and military forces, let's not pretend the United States is invulnerable to a similar calamity. Lashkar-e-Taiba members were arrested near Washington, DC in 2006 for plotting to send weapons and training equipment to LT members in Pakistan. Six "home-grown" radical Jihadists were arrested in 2007 for plotting to kill soldiers at Fort Dix,

New Jersey. Eighteen members of a radical Islamic terrorist cell were arrested just across the U.S. border in Toronto, Canada in 2006 before they were able to commit acts of violence. Horrific terrorist attacks since 2001 in London (2005), Madrid

and improved intelligence sharing, the United States and its allies cannot let down their guard against radical Jihadists.

There have been several major terrorist attacks in India over the last five years, including the July 11, 2006 Mumbai train bombing by a radical Jihadist group that killed 206 and injured over 700. The November 2008 Mumbai attacks represent a new strategy by radical Jihadists. Instead of a bombing, the November attacks consisted of a small number of heavily armed foreign insurgents who conducted a killing spree against Westerners and Jews in a major economic center. The goal of this new strategy appeared to be generating several days of intense global press coverage.

In light of the Mumbai attacks, Republicans will make sure the new Obama Administration does not take its eyes off the ball on the crucial matter of homeland security. As the loyal opposition, Republicans will remind the Obama Administration and Congressional Democrats that the main focus of our national security policy should not be trying to get foreigners to like us. Although coalition building and global outreach should certainly be a foreign policy goal, the primary



As the loyal opposition, Republicans will remind the Obama Administration and Congressional Democrats that the main focus of our national security policy should not be trying to get foreigners to like us.

(2004), Indonesia (2003 and 2005), and elsewhere demonstrate that despite increased security measures

U.S. national security goal is keeping our nation safe. This means taking the following steps to protect our homeland.

Border security must remain a top priority. The Mumbai attacks demonstrate how easily a small group of insurgents can cross a national border and create enormous mayhem. We need an architecture for border security and domestic counterterrorism intelligence that promotes rationalized cooperation and information sharing between the Federal Government and local law enforcement.

We must redouble pressure to target terrorist strongholds. This means a responsible withdrawal from Iraq when the time is right so it does not fall into the hands of radical Jihadists. We reevaluate the situation in Afghanistan and assess what it will take, working with our allies, to defeat the Taliban insurgents. We must continue to urgently press our efforts to go after al Qaeda and Taliban camps in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), without creating a schism between the government and the people that could enhance support for radical Jihadists.

We must continue and further strengthen anti-terrorism programs. Our nation has been kept safe from further terrorist attacks since 9/11 in large part due to aggressive anti-terrorism programs to track terrorists, disrupt their plots, and kill or arrest them. These programs include foreign intelligence surveillance conducted under a newly modernized Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), the Terrorist Financial Tracking Program, and the High Value Terrorist Detainee program. Republicans

have led a lonely fight defending these programs against false attacks by Congressional Democrats that these programs constitute "domestic spying." Now that a Democrat will sit in the White House, it is time for Congressional Democrats to stop politicizing these vital programs and instead strengthen them so our intelligence personnel have the tools and authorities they need to keep America safe and prevent attacks against our homeland.

Congress must ensure accountability and responsible



The Mumbai attacks demonstrate how easily a small group of insurgents can cross a national border and create enormous mayhem.

national security policies from the Executive branch by conducting aggressive oversight. I did not shy away from aggressive oversight of the Bush Administration and I will insist that Congressional Democrats do the same with an Obama Administration.

We must properly reform U.S. intelligence. Major strides to keep our nation safe were made in the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004 (IRTPA)

to promote intelligence sharing and break down walls between intelligence agencies. However, much still needs to be done. IRTPA also created the Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI) which was intended to be a small staff to coordinate the work of America's 16 intelligence agencies. Unfortunately, the ODNI has exploded into an enormous bureaucracy that is making intelligence more bureaucratized and bland. This is preventing the production of quick turnaround and "out of the box" analyses we

need to keep pace with radical Jihadists who are sophisticated and tech-savvy. It also is clear that despite the serious threats facing our nation, U.S. intelligence agencies are weighed down by a bureaucratic subculture that thinks it can ignore the needs of the Executive Branch and even U.S. law. This cannot be allowed to continue. Republicans believe getting intelligence reform right is crucial to our national security and believe that bipartisan dialogue on this problem should begin as soon as possible.

Republicans hope to support a robust Obama national security strategy that builds on the lessons of the Mumbai and other terrorist attacks. I urge that bipartisan efforts continue to aggressively defend our homeland and keep our nation on the offense against radical Jihadists and others who would do our nation harm. I for one will pray for Mr Obama's success in defending our nation. **RF**

Peter Hoekstra was recently reelected to represent Michigan's Second Congressional District. He is the top Republican on the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

The Road to Recovery:

An economic agenda for the GOP to champion

CARLY FIORINA

The Republican Party must be positive, proactive and focused on restoring American economic vitality. Our agenda must be optimistic and pragmatic. We must welcome into the GOP anyone who believes that innovation, entrepreneurship and American ingenuity are the lifeblood of this country; that the role of government is to unlock and unleash the potential of all Americans; that business, most especially small business – not government – is the job-creation engine of growth; that our diverse citizenry is a great strength in an increasingly competitive, global economy; and that whenever possible Americans should keep their hard-earned money and make their own choices about how to spend, invest or save it.

We must now focus our efforts to ensure that the U.S. remains the leading economy in the world. Specifically:

We must champion small business. Small businesses create two-thirds of all American jobs. Forming a small business

represents the first step toward economic independence for many Americans. African-American, Hispanic-American, Asian-American and women-owned small businesses represent among the fastest growing segments of our



Small businesses can't afford lobbyists to protect their interests. We must become the party of the "little guy".

economy. Raising taxes on small-business owners and entrepreneurs hurts every worker. We must make it easier for small businesses to form, hire and prosper. We should make permanent existing tax cuts for small businesses. Modifying depreciation schedules to permit small-business owners

to expense capital equipment or technology purchases within one year can have a substantial impact on growth and job-creation. Any government-mandated program that increases the tax burden, or complicates the regulatory and compliance framework for small business, will be a drag on our economy and dampen job creation.

As the economic crisis deepens, most of the current discussion on stimulus measures or rescue plans has been centered on big business and big labor. The Republican Party should champion small businesses by working to quickly loosen credit to small businesses and stimulating small-business creation. Small businesses and start-ups are being starved of capital

in this tough credit environment. Small businesses can't afford lobbyists to protect their interests. We must become the party of the "little guy".

We must champion tax reform. A reformed tax policy is critical to creating, attracting, and retaining capital, and is vital to

developing the next generation of entrepreneurs. Raising tax rates on capital gains and dividends will yield exactly the opposite result. The U.S. levies the second-highest business tax rate in the world. If taxes are increased on American companies that have operations overseas or we tax “excess profits”, as some Democrats have suggested, more capital and job-creation will move beyond our borders.

We must champion regulatory reform. The financial crisis underscores the urgent need to revamp the regulatory framework in this country. Our party should step forward and propose positive modifications to the existing regulatory architecture of inefficient and outdated agencies with unclear charters, limited visibility and inadequate clout. As important as specific policy prescriptions or interventions may be, agreement on guiding principles going forward is becoming equally vital. The unpredictability of government action to date has roiled markets and created uncertainty rather than relief. Effective markets require complete transparency, real accountability and even-handed consistency. The role of government should not be to pick winners and losers in industries, but rather to articulate those conditions which may precipitate government intervention as well as the rules that will guide such intervention.

We must champion transparency and accountability. Capital market participants of all types must be prepared to accept a requirement for transparency in all markets and for all financial instruments. Conflicts of interest, such as those that may have existed for credit-rating agencies, must be exposed. There should be real conditions attached to a tax-payer funded bail-out. For example, any company that

receives taxpayer money should be prepared to ask its CEO and Board to resign. Financial institutions that have already received taxpayer assistance should be required to participate in the bail-out programs for critical industries by providing bridge loans.

We must champion education reform. In a nation committed to opportunity, every student must have equal access to excellent schools. We must place parents and children at the center of the education process, empowering parents by greatly expanding their ability to choose among schools

The role of government should not be to pick winners and losers in industries, but rather to articulate those conditions which may precipitate government intervention as well as the rules that will guide such intervention.

for their children. Consumers are better served when there is choice and competition, and parents and children will be served better if there is choice and competition in public education.

We must champion worker retraining. We must not leave the current generation of workers behind. For example, we should champion the reform of the unemployment insurance system so that we prepare workers for the next job in addition to paying them for their lost jobs. Unemployment benefits should also include an opportunity to learn new skills. We should strengthen our commitment to technical training and build tight linkages between employers and community colleges.

We must champion free trade. We cannot grow our economy or create jobs without fully participating in global trade. The U.S. gains far more jobs than it loses due to free trade: one in five American jobs depends on trade, and they are generally higher-skilled and higher-wage jobs. Constructing protectionist barriers will not save jobs, but will hurt economic growth.

We must champion innovation. Prospering in the global economy requires us to lead in the critical, 21st century industries including energy, healthcare, space and info-tech. We must unleash the power of American ingenuity and invest more in both privately-financed and publicly-funded R&D. We should expand R&D tax credits to encourage private sector investment and establish a permanent tax credit equal to 10 percent of wages spent on R&D. The Federal government should increase its own expenditures on R&D. Our federal government spends far more on agricultural subsidies than on R&D. Our priorities must shift to reflect the realities of this century.

We must champion immigration reform. Our economy has always been strengthened by immigration. We must continue to attract entrepreneurs, risk-takers and hard-working people from all over the world. We can be both a nation of laws and a nation that seeks brainpower.

America has always prospered because we have relied on the hard-work, ingenuity and creativity of generations of Americans. The Republican Party must step forward to lead this nation with twenty-first century programs. **RF**

Carly Fiorina is Chairman and CEO of Carly Fiorina Enterprises and former CEO of Hewlett-Packard from 1999-2005.

Preventing Another Financial Meltdown

SUSAN COLLINS

Public confidence in our nation's financial system has been badly shaken by the extent of the financial meltdown. The effects are being felt not just on Wall Street, but in towns and communities all around my home state of Maine.

Who would have guessed that a global financial crisis could deal a serious blow to Maine's iconic lobster industry? Lower demand has sent prices tumbling. To make matters worse, most of the lobster caught in Maine is sent to Canada for processing. Those processors were largely financed by banks in Iceland. The recent collapse of Iceland's banking system has dried up credit for the Canadian processors who, as a result, have stopped purchasing Maine lobsters.

Our entire economy is struggling with a credit crisis spawned by mortgage defaults and their ripple effects in markets for mortgage-backed securities. Complex financial instruments that were poorly understood, not transparent, and often unregulated have added to the crisis.

America's "mortgage crisis" is now a nightmare of converging forces that could lead to a deep and global recession. We see falling home prices, rising foreclosures, plunging consumer sales, increased unemployment, tremendous erosion of retirement savings, billions of dollars for emergency-stabilization programs, and a federal deficit that may reach a trillion dollars.

As we prepare for the 111th Congress, we must continue to repair

the damage done and devise new protective measures.

That is why, on the very first day of the Senate's post-election session, I introduced legislation that would



America's "mortgage crisis" is now a nightmare of converging forces that could lead to a deep and global recession.

close dangerous gaps in our oversight of financial markets and lead to comprehensive reform of our financial regulatory system.

Less than a year ago, the American financial world boasted five huge and long-established investment-bank holding companies: Bear Stearns, Lehman Brothers, Merrill Lynch,

Goldman Sachs, and Morgan Stanley. Today, plagued by many billions of dollars in losses and write-offs, these investment banks have failed, been sold, or converted to banking organizations.

Astonishingly, under current federal law, no agency is responsible for supervising these enormous institutions, even though their safety and soundness has vast implications for the financial system and the economy. Think about that. Local credit unions and small community banks are subject to safety-and-soundness regulations, but these enormous Wall Street financial institutions are not.

My bill, The Financial Regulation and Reform Act, would assign safety-and-soundness regulation for investment-bank holding companies to the Federal Reserve. Without this reform, any new investment-bank holding company would fall into the same regulatory void as its predecessors.

Federal officials have pointed out another massive gap in their ability to monitor and manage risks to the financial system.

That is the lack of oversight for private contracts known as "credit default swaps," or CDS.

These contracts involve paying for protection against default, loss of value, or other "credit event" that might affect a financial asset such as a government or corporate bond, or a mortgage-backed security.

These CDS contracts, which amount to trillions of dollars in value, can have legitimate, risk-hedging or insurance-like functions. The problem

is that they are not traded on regulated exchanges, are not officially reported, and are not even subject to record-keeping requirements.

As the failure of Lehman Brothers and the AIG insurance holding company showed, serious problems can arise when a major “credit event” suddenly reveals that massive claims for collateral posting or payment are converging on CDS parties that cannot meet their obligations. But regulators currently lack the information to spot or act against emerging threats from excessive commitments or inadequate reserves.

The fallout from such collapses extends far beyond the Wall Street firms’ investors, employees, and business partners. Hard-working Americans throughout the country feel the shock and despair when they read their 401 (k) and other retirement savings statements. Policy makers and regulators must have better information and stronger authority to help prevent future economic catastrophes.

My legislation would address this oversight problem in two ways. First, it would require reporting CDS contracts to the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, which will share data with the Federal Reserve. Second, my bill would add the force of law to the CDS clearinghouse initiative being jointly pursued by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, the SEC, and the CFTC. We can’t rely on voluntary participation for such an important safeguard; a mandate is essential.

We also need a full review and overhaul of the complex and compartmented federal regulatory system that has gradually evolved since the 1930s. Congressional debate on regulatory reform would benefit from the advice of a special, expert commission modeled on the one we created to examine the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and to recommend improvements in our homeland security. Our economic security demands an equally thorough review.

My bill incorporates a thoughtful proposal for such a commission proposed by my colleagues Senator Joe Lieberman and Senator Maria Cantwell, who have worked with me on earlier, bipartisan initiatives to improve federal regulation.

The commission’s six-month effort would produce a comprehensive reform proposal for financial regulation that can protect consumers and investors, avoid unreasonable burdens on industry and commerce, and enhance our ability to monitor the safety and soundness of our financial institutions.

This issue is a critical one that Congress should address without delay. The Financial Regulation Reform Act of 2008 should prompt a much-needed debate on the fundamental changes needed to modernize and strengthen our system for monitoring and regulating the financial markets that supply the lifeblood of growth for our country. **RF**

Susan Collins represents the State of Maine in the United States Senate.



Republicans Need to Prepare for the Future, *not Rewrite the Past*

LOU ZICKAR

As Republicans begin debating the future of the party, it is worth noting that some in the party are already trying to rewrite the past.

In recent weeks, several members of the more conservative wing of the GOP have stated that the reason the party failed so miserably this election is because it turned its back on fiscal discipline by turning toward the political center. Perhaps conservative stalwart L. Brent Bozell put it most succinctly when he said, "The liberal wing of the GOP has caused the collapse of the Republican Party."

Make no mistake -- Republicans did fail to rein in spending over the past eight years. But the GOP did not lose this election because it abandoned its small government philosophy. Rather, the party lost the election because its small government philosophy was incomplete.

For years, Republicans have extolled the virtues of getting government off our backs and out of our lives. In doing so, they were echoing the words of Ronald Reagan, who famously stated in his first inaugural address that, "In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem."

But even President Reagan knew that government has a role in our society. He understood that in addition to promising to make

government smaller, Republicans also had an obligation to make sure government operated efficiently and effectively. "Now, so there will be no misunderstanding," Reagan declared in this same inaugural address, "it is not my intention to do away with government. It is, rather, to make it work."

For years, Republicans have had selective retention with regard to what Reagan espoused. They have embraced

If this election has proven anything, it is that it's no longer enough to simply say you're going to cut people's taxes and leave it at that.

the small government aspect of his philosophy at the expense of the smart government part of it. And for years, they have been able to get by with a message that promised tax relief and little else. But after the mismanagement of Iraq, the ineptitude of Katrina, and the failure of Walter Reed, the chickens have come home to roost.

If this election has proven anything, it is that it's no longer enough to simply say you're going to cut people's taxes and leave it at that. People also want to know they're getting something of value for the money they send to Washington. It is a basic business

principle: you can lower prices all you want, but if you don't back up the low prices with quality goods and services, people are eventually going to take their business elsewhere. To take this analogy a step further, it's like K-Mart and Wal-Mart. Both offer low prices, but only one has a higher market share because only one is perceived as offering a better buy.

In this election, both Republicans and Democrats ran on a platform of lower taxes for a majority of the American people. But when it came time for people to decide which party offered better value, eight years of incompetence left Republicans with a much harder sell. As a

result, a majority of voters took their business somewhere else. Put another way, voters decided to shop at Wal-Mart instead of K-Mart. And in this election, Wal-Mart equaled the Democratic brand.

The challenge now facing the GOP is that smart government is not in the party's rhetorical toolbox. It also runs counter to everything that conservatives such as Brent Bozell represent. Yet it is going to be one of the defining issues of the next few years as taxpayers begin to demand greater accountability and transparency in how their federal tax dollars are being spent.

So how should Republicans proceed? A good start is by acknowledging that government does have a role to play, and it is the responsibility of all elected lawmakers - both Republicans and Democrats alike - to get it right. Beyond this, the GOP can also play a constructive role by holding President Obama at his word to go "line by line, page by page" through the federal budget.

With the deficit nearing \$1 trillion, part of the Republican message has to be that priorities in

America today must be measured not only by what one proposes, but by what one cuts. By embracing

People also want to know they're getting something of value for the money they send to Washington.

programs that work and calling attention to programs that don't, Republicans will not only be

bowing to this new political reality, they will also be forcing the new President's hand.

In the process, they will begin the journey back from political oblivion -- a journey where success is defined by the party's ability to bring about smaller, smarter government, and where failure doesn't result in some in the party trying to rewrite the past. **RF**

Lou Zickar is the Editor of the Ripon Forum.



THE TRUTH ABOUT TESTING

Measuring Up:
What Educational Testing Really Tells Us
by Daniel Koretz
Harvard University Press
368 pages

STEPHEN JOEL TRACHTENBERG

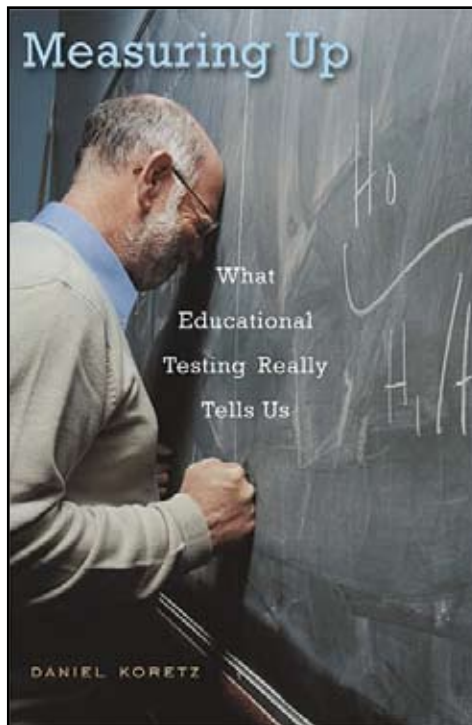
Toward the beginning of *Measuring Up: What Educational Testing Really Tells Us*, Daniel Koretz offers a simple principle: a test is not a synonym for what a child has learned, but one piece of evidence, useful in some limited ways, but “unavoidably incomplete and error prone.”

I could call the rest of this very good book critical apparatus or, more accurately, artful and expanding variations on this theme. The expansion is not padding, however. The book may be a bit longer than people knowledgeable about testing and educated in statistics might like, but Koretz’s intended audience is not specialist or specialized. Thus the examples he supplies to define terms like “domain” (he offers a set of words for a vocabulary test) bring the idea home clearly to general readers and is worth the little bit of extra weight.

His premise is that testing — which we freight with the concept of “accountability”— is really badly misunderstood despite having been around for well over a century and having stood front and center in American education since the end of the second world war. He is unhappily aware that people want tests to give simple answers — for example, students are learning more math than they did three years ago or more than other eighth-graders learned three years ago. But as a psychometrician, he also knows that a test cannot tell you something that blunt because even the best tests do not justify such inferences, or so rarely that our conclusions cannot be valid or justifiable.

He observes, again early in *Measuring Up*, that we do not dismiss the “arcana” of medicine and brake repair because we do not understand them, but routinely dismiss the technical complexities of academic testing. We may not know what our doctor and mechanic know, but we accept

they know things we do not and trust them to apply their knowledge in a reasonable and plausible way, usually by eliminating what is highly unlikely or unwarranted by the diagnosis, then moving towards the more compelling. His apt example for this is Car Talk on Public Radio where Tom and Ray move in tightening circles around a caller’s problem and reach a reasonable, but not definitive, conclusion. If we are willing to trust our cars (and our lives) to this approach, why should we not trust our children’s education to the same sensible criteria?



and Ray move in tightening circles around a caller’s problem and reach a reasonable, but not definitive, conclusion. If we are willing to trust our cars (and our lives) to this approach, why should we not trust our children’s education to the same sensible criteria?

The answer, of course, is largely political. Various laws and movements, most recently No Child Left Behind, have commanded accountability which is interpreted to mean children are learning more. If they are not, then off with the teachers’ heads — and for good measure the principals’ and the superintendents’, too. But to understand a test, one must also understand measurement error, reliability, and validity, among many other arcane ideas, as terms of art and must also understand how slippery they can be and how easy it is to construct a bad test or to misinterpret a good one.

Consider the word “proficient.” It appears in analyses of test scores as the basic acceptable level of — forgive the jargon — learning outcomes. Yet Koretz illustrates how aleatory or simply out-of-left-field the definition of “proficient” may be on any given test. Perhaps more serious is his observation, with all things being equal, that no test can measure all goals or tell you why a student has learned more — or appears to be learning more.

Tests cannot necessarily give either of these pieces of information. A test may indicate that a student has improved his mastery of algebra since the last test — but what do you do if his class-room performance has not improved at all? A test

and classroom performance both showing improvement do not mean that the teachers are doing a better job, but perhaps the student is getting professional or parental tutoring. This is hardly splitting hairs. If a school system is rewarded or punished because of students' score on high-stakes tests, it is not particularly logical to conclude that it is teaching, and only teaching, that has made the difference. Teaching may have contributed — and to that extent the teachers and the schools are entitled to some reward, e.g., they get to keep their jobs. But outside factors — social, familial, intellectual — may play a role, and testing cannot reveal them, let alone evaluate how important they have been or even how they have worked.

What Koretz reveals, it seems to me, is a great deal about the assumptions concerning what tests can tell us and a great deal of arbitrariness in their use and interpretation. If we — the public — decide to place all our bets on a test, we are clearly making a false assumption. If we place bets on the meaning of proficiency or the difference between 600 and 700 on an SAT without knowing what percentile difference this represents or how great a standard deviation it may be, we really learn nothing of any use to us.

Koretz is plain in stating that he is not against testing and not against educational accountability. One of his best variations is “Don’t treat any single test as providing the ‘right,’ authoritative answer. Ever.” Always, he cautions, try to find other sources of information. If this is not possible, consider the test to be “a snapshot of performance, necessarily incomplete and probably modestly different from what you

would obtain if you had another, also reasonable measure.”

This suggests that Koretz sees value in testing and in what testing leads to in the United States, which, as I understand it, is higher education. In this sense, his book is a useful brick to throw at *The Bell Curve* by Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein who maintained that few children were worth educating beyond high school. Koretz may be too sanguine about how valuable long-term education is for all, but his implied case is strong.

I wish his conclusion about sensible uses of testing were somehow firmer and directly addressed at those who make educational policy. He switches from talking to the general public, policy-makers, and academics. Asking for the answer, naturally, would be absurd, but something a little meatier might direct those in the political-educational establishment better.

And a last melancholy thought. The ideas are so well written, well intended, and well explained that I fear they will not seem — paradoxically — arcane enough, “scientific” enough to be widely accepted. Moreover, to accept Koretz’s good ideas would mean rejecting a couple of generations of half-notions, received knowledge, and conventional wisdom. But — who knows? — perhaps *Measuring Up* is tougher than those formidable, retrograde foes. **RF**

Stephen Joel Trachtenberg, chairman of the higher education practice at Korn/Ferry International and President Emeritus of The George Washington University.

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Profile

Name: Richard Burr

Hometown: Winston-Salem,
North Carolina

Occupation: United States Senator from the State of North Carolina

Previous Jobs: Member of the U.S. House of Representatives, representing North Carolina's Fifth District; Sales Manager, Carswell Distributing Company

Individual(s) who inspired me as a child: My father has had the most influence in my life, both in my childhood and now. Serving as a pastor is one of the highest callings a person can have in life, and the positive impact he has had on so many lives continues to serve as a source of inspiration for me.

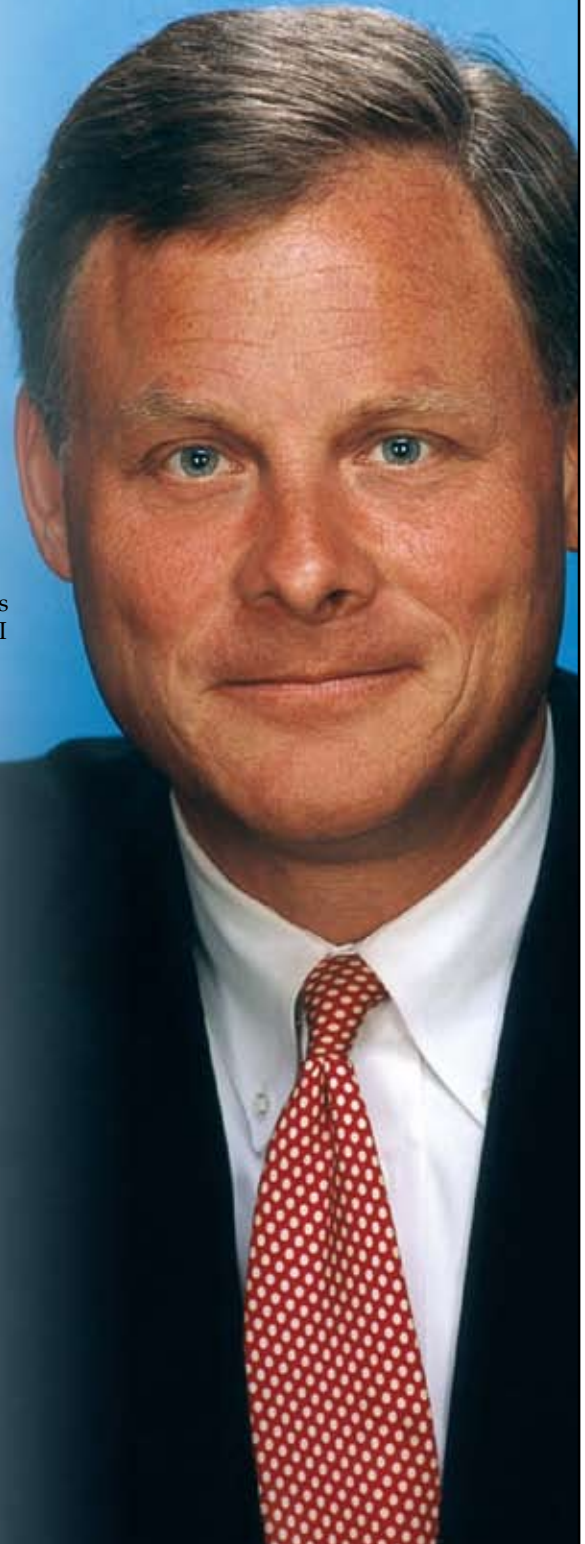
Historical figure(s) I would most like to meet: One of my favorite historical figures is Teddy Roosevelt. His personal story as well as his presidency showed that he was a man of action, which I admire. He tackled the tough issues of his time including helping to mediate the Russo-Japanese War, stopping a potential disaster by helping resolve a coal strike, as well as his efforts to construct the Panama Canal, which was arguably one of the more important achievements for American growth in the last century. He also loved the outdoors and worked to conserve our land so future generations could enjoy it.

Issue facing America that no one is talking about:

Education is one of the most important issues facing our country, in particular, the graduation rate for our nation's high schools which is abysmally low. In a competitive global marketplace, it is imperative that our children be given the tools they need to succeed, and the first step is for every child to have a high school diploma. If someone doesn't graduate from high school, they'll be able to fill out an application, but they won't be invited in for an interview.

What the GOP must do to reclaim its congressional majority:

For the GOP to be competitive nationally, we must offer up our vision for America that offers solutions to the myriad of problems we're facing. It's not enough to be the opposition; we must have solutions that are based on our conservative principles. From the current financial crisis to the looming crisis of an unsustainable entitlement program, from health care to education, the country is facing some very tough challenges in the coming months and years, and we must offer viable alternatives based on the strength of the free market and the power that the American taxpayer knows best on how to spend their money, not the federal government.



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