

The Ripon Forum

December 2012
Volume 46, No. 4

**"ANGER IS NOT A SUBSTITUTE
FOR GOOD POLICY"**

Q&A with
Jon Huntsman



Modernizing the GOP

**House Republican Conference Chair
Cathy McMorris Rodgers talks about her new job
as a member of Speaker John Boehner's leadership team**

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The Ripon Forum

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Volume 46, Number 4

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In publishing this magazine, The Ripon Society seeks to provide a forum for fresh ideas, well-researched proposals, and for a spirit of criticism, innovation, and independent thinking within the Republican Party.



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In this Edition

One of the challenges of publishing a quarterly journal is that you want to stay relevant to the issues of the moment without chasing the headlines of the day. This latest edition of THE RIPON FORUM is no different.

The focus of this edition is the November general election and the challenges facing America – and the Republican Party -- in the coming year. Just before we were scheduled to publish, 27 individuals were killed in a shooting at an elementary school in Connecticut. Among the dead were 20 children.

On a Friday afternoon when people would otherwise be looking forward to a weekend of holiday shopping, or taking their kids to see Santa, or perhaps waiting for a college-age son or daughter to return home for winter break, the nation was paralyzed by a tragedy that brought the President of the United States – along with just about every other parent in America -- to tears.

Nowhere in the pages of the latest FORUM is there any mention of this tragedy. And nowhere in the essays and interviews included is there any mention of gun control, mental illness, or any of the other issues that will most certainly be explored and discussed in the wake of this event. Still, perhaps there is a lesson to be learned from this edition that can be applied moving forward. The lesson relates to the message of the election itself.

As Jon Huntsman explains in our interview with him, Republicans were defeated on November 6th because they failed to present “an alternative vision” to the status quo when it came to “opportunity and growth.” Put another way, the GOP lost the election because the solutions the party offered were perceived as not being relevant to people’s lives. In the coming months, the party will likely be called upon to present another kind of alternative vision – one related to preventing another senseless slaughter from happening in our schools.

The Republican Party has a long history of unflinching support for the Second Amendment. But if you are one of those parents whose child was shot dead in their classroom 12 days before Christmas, or if you are one of those parents who were moved to tears upon hearing the news, then it is likely becoming more difficult to understand how the party’s rigid interpretation of 27 words written 237 years ago is relevant to the world we live in today.

The message of the 2012 election is clear – rigidity equals irrelevance in American politics. It is true on issues such as immigration reform and same sex marriage. And it is why in the coming debate over gun control, Republicans will have yet more soul searching to do.

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“Today’s biggest problem is not ideology, but partisan politics.”

JON KYL

For the last 26 years, I’ve had the privilege of representing the people of Arizona in Congress – and I have learned some important lessons along the way. *The Ripon Forum* has asked me to share some of these with new senators.

To get things done, you must be able to influence others. Knowledge is power. Those who know the most about an issue – and who present ideas straightforwardly – can be depended upon as reliable resources. I’ve found that knowledge about a certain topic is more important in influencing others than seniority, title, or committee assignment.

Stand tall for principle. The solution to the problem of congressional dysfunction is not to diminish the contest of ideologies or political philosophy, but of partisan politics – and there’s a big difference.

The premise of our system of government is that ideas, when debated fairly and robustly, produce the best policy solutions; thus, contests between strong advocates of liberal and conservative ideologies are the foundation of our governance, and neither side should lightly compromise their principles just for the sake of “getting something done.” Ideologies provide the values and structure for coherent public policy; like a house without a firm foundation, policy not based on coherent and consistent values cannot long endure.

This is not to say that conservatives and liberals shouldn’t compromise. It’s frequently hard, but among people of good will, it can be done. My point is, today’s biggest problem is not ideology, but partisan politics. Whereas there used to be some time after each election when Democrats and Republicans could legislate outside of campaign mode, today’s perpetual election cycle with 24/7 political news coverage means that

every major issue ends up being framed in partisan political terms, so neither side can afford to “give.” Gridlock ensues.

I don’t know the solution to this challenge (outside of more courageous political leadership), but I firmly believe that the answer is NOT to promote compromise over legitimate political debate. In sum, legislative battles between liberals and conservatives are healthy; those between partisan “Democrats” and “Republicans” are not.

Be civil. The most successful senators can both stand tall for their philosophies *and* maintain healthy relationships with members of both parties by arguing their positions reasonably. Some in D.C. have lost the ability to disagree without being disagreeable – and that is unfortunate, because such heated rhetoric often stands in the way of compromise when it might otherwise be achieved.

The Senate is unique – keep it that way. The Senate is not the House, and that’s how it should remain. The Founders deliberately created one chamber to represent the people’s passions (with action governed by majority rule) and the other to serve as a source of more sober reflection (with more respect for the views of the minority). Both roles are essential in our system of checks and balances.

Eliminating the filibuster on motions to proceed to a matter, as some have advocated, would deny the minority important leverage to ensure its rights (e.g. to offer amendments of its choosing). That would severely diminish the Senate’s role as a great deliberative body. **RF**

Jon Kyl is the junior United States Senator from Arizona and the Senate Minority Whip. He is retiring from the Senate at the end of the 112th Congress after three terms in office.



In sum, legislative battles between liberals and conservatives are healthy; those between partisan “Democrats” and “Republicans” are not.

“Cooperation on issues does not mean compromising values.”

KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON

Leaving the Senate after 19 years is bittersweet. I will miss fighting for my principles and the sense of fulfillment that public service brings. But I believe in term limits and believe we must make way for the next generation of leadership for our country.

As I make my exit, I am aware of how much remains to be done and the scope of the challenges my colleagues and incoming senators face: keeping the country from falling off the fiscal cliff, devastating unemployment, a stagnating economic recovery, Social Security and Medicare programs in need of reform. They are all important, and all will take work. But none are insurmountable. Some of the brightest people I know serve in Congress, and the collective capacity to find real solutions is great. It will, however, take collaborative effort.

Each of us was elected by a majority of constituents who expect that we will represent a core set of values and use this framework to achieve results. When I first entered the Senate, members of both parties were open to compromise and regularly reached across the aisle. No one found themselves accused of betraying party principles for daring to negotiate basic pieces of legislation – like the farm, aviation or highway bills – that keep the country functioning.

If there is one message the American people have sent, loudly, clearly and repeatedly, it is

that they are tired of partisan bickering. They want Congress to come together and get things done.

Cooperation on issues does not mean compromising values. I have stuck to the conservative principles I was raised with: fiscal restraint, limited government, encouraging the free market and protecting Second Amendment rights, to name a few. This has not stopped me from working with colleagues

on bills such as NASA and FAA reauthorization, the Homemaker IRA – which let stay-at-home spouses contribute to a traditional IRA, something they had not previously been allowed to do – and legislation to allow single-gender education options in public schools. I have championed a strong national defense and support for our military quality of life and care for veterans in a bipartisan effort.

As I leave the Senate, I leave this note to my colleagues: America has faced seemingly insurmountable problems throughout our history. But our leaders have found ways to resolve their differences and forge positive results. You, the elected

representatives of today, are just as smart, creative and patriotic as our ancestors and must take the mantle of responsibility to keep America strong. **RF**



If there is one message the American people have sent, loudly, clearly and repeatedly, it is that they are tired of partisan bickering.

Kay Bailey Hutchison is the senior United States Senator from Texas. She is retiring at the end of the 112th Congress after 19 years in office.

“There will have to be some courageous souls”

Lugar Talks about Political Environment and Challenges Facing the Republican Party in Speech to The Ripon Society

WASHINGTON, DC – As he prepares to leave the Senate after more than four decades of distinguished public service, U.S. Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN) appeared before a breakfast meeting of The Ripon Society on December 9th, delivering a speech in which he talked about the current political environment in Washington and the challenges facing the Republican Party in the wake of the November 6th general election.

The ink is barely dry on the results of the 2012 election,” Lugar stated, “and yet we’re already seeing people talk about which candidates may be running in 2014 and 2016. We’ve also seen special interest groups step forward and declare which of these potential candidates are potentially unacceptable because of a vote or a position that he or she may have taken in the past. This permanent, partisan gamesmanship has gotten out of hand. Politics has become a constant campaign, where one’s oath to the Constitution has too often taken a back seat to one’s fealty to some pledge.

“Take the debate we just had on the U.N. disabilities convention. This was a fairly minor treaty. It had come before the Foreign Relations Committee, largely thanks to Bob Dole, some veterans organizations and others. They pointed out that although the United States is the gold standard for the treatment of disabled individuals, we have never signed onto a convention that would discuss how these individuals are being treated worldwide.

“We were getting calls in our office from some parents who said their homeschooled children were going to be affected by this treaty. Well, that was total nonsense. But the fact that this kind of thing could get going almost like a disease -- infecting the phone banks of nearly every U.S. Senator -- reflects how the pledge mentality of American political campaigning has created a bunker mentality on Capitol Hill.

“It has paralyzed the legislative process, and contributed to much of the dysfunction we are seeing today. It is also the reason we find ourselves on the edge of the fiscal cliff. We know the steps that must be taken to keep our country from going over. The question is whether we are too wedded to our pledges of political purity to keep from stepping back from the abyss.”

Lugar began his political career in 1964 on the Indianapolis school board, and served two terms as the city’s mayor. In addition to discussing the current political environment, Lugar -- who is the U.S. Senate’s most senior Republican and the longest serving Member of Congress in Indiana history -- also discussed some of the challenges facing the GOP in the wake of the November 6th general election.

“The new Chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, Senator Jerry Moran of Kansas, has raised the possibility of being more active in party primaries the next time around,” Lugar observed. “Some say that’s not a very good idea. Some also point out that the involvement of the Senatorial Committee is just one of many factors at a time when outside groups are playing

an increasingly bigger role in state and local campaigns. RNC Chairman Reince Priebus recently told a Republican policy luncheon that Republican organizations and state organizations need to get their act together.

“He also noted that when it came to turnout, we were completely obliterated by the Democratic machinery. We just have not achieved the sophistication that people now employ to track every voter from the beginning: make sure the voter is registered, make sure the voter has an absentee ballot, give him a ride to the polls, check him off when he votes, down to the last one. We were also outperformed using social media. Some people have figured it out in this regard, and their ability to communicate at all levels, all



the time, was the difference. In the key electoral college states, it clearly was a big difference in terms of sheer organization. I don't want to dwell on organization, but if we're worried about outside groups, or if we're worried about other extraneous events, having a strong organization makes a big difference.

"At the end of the day, the good thing about all of this is that we do, I believe, have messages that are very important. I don't say the Republicans exclusively have the answers with regard, for instance, to how we're going to bring about much more substantial economic growth in our country. But one of the things many Republicans are beginning to talk about is immigration reform. My own view is that we're going to have to think about this in a very concerted way. Somehow, we've been overcome by the Arizona law or by various other debates about restricting anybody from ever coming into the country again. Some applaud these debates. But we live in a world that is very competitive. We live in a world in which we have opportunities because we have a

dynamic economic system that attracts capital and talent. In my view, we better take advantage of that capital and talent while we have it."

Lugar said he has loved the Senate, is not disenchanted with it or the ability of American political institutions to solve our serious problems. But he said some political courage will be needed to turn the corner.

Politics has become a constant campaign, where one's oath to the Constitution has too often taken a back seat to one's fealty to some pledge.

"This is where The Ripon Society's mission -- as you celebrate your 50th anniversary -- is critically important. When I told my wife Char that I was going to have the pleasure of visiting with The Ripon Society, she went immediately to Google this group. She came back and said: 'They're described as centrists!' I said, 'That's very dangerous. These folks don't realize what trouble they're in.' But maybe you do. And I am hopeful you can be the center around which we can build consensus on these critical issues. Because there will have to be some courageous souls who do have a program for America and take some of the stands I talked about today."

RF

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“Anger is not a substitute for good policy.”

A Q&A with Jon Huntsman

On a breezy, overcast day in late June of 2011, former Governor and Ambassador Jon Huntsman traveled to Liberty State Park in New Jersey to announce his candidacy for President of the United States.

It was the same spot where Ronald Reagan officially kicked off his general election campaign for President in September of 1980. Like Reagan, Huntsman spoke with the Statue of Liberty in the background. And, like Reagan, he laid out an optimistic vision of America based on his deeply held conservative beliefs.

Unfortunately for Huntsman, that’s where the similarity ends. His campaign for President never gained altitude, and just over six months later, he dropped out of the race. And yet, perhaps more than any other Republican candidate in the 2012 race, there remains a certain, “What might have been?” element to his campaign.

It’s been widely reported that the Obama campaign feared a Huntsman candidacy more than any other. If he had been able to make it through the litmus test that has become the Republican primary, would he have been a better nominee – and better embodiment of the GOP – than Mitt Romney? The answer to that question will obviously never be known.

What is known is that Jon Huntsman remains one of the most accomplished Republicans in American politics today – someone who is not only able to articulate a clear and consistent conservative message, but do so in a measured and reasonable tone that attracts centrist support.

The FORUM spoke with Huntsman on December 7th to discuss his 2012 candidacy, the results of the November general election, and his thoughts on the challenges facing the country – and his party – in the coming years.

RF: What was the message of this year’s election?

JH: The message of this year’s election was that in the absence of an alternative vision that speaks to opportunity and growth for all of our citizens, we’re willing to take the status quo. The status quo -- being imperfect and having stumbled from a public policy standpoint during the last four years -- was at least for many a safer bet than going with something new.

So was it a missed opportunity for Republicans? Of course it was a missed opportunity. But it doesn’t do

us a whole lot of good to go back and dissect it too thoroughly, because we have to be looking ahead and recalibrate our message to where the country is and why we lost certain demographics and more importantly, begin articulating a message that really does speak to our place in history.

RF: What is the biggest myth about the Republican Party today?

JH: That we’re a party dismissive of 47 percent of the American public. That we are monochromatic in terms of our outreach and thinking. That we are too fringy and not willing to engage in negotiation and compromise that is critical and necessary for movement of any policy.

All of these things serve to give the Republican name a bad rap in many corners of the country. Aside from the policies you choose to propose and how you articulate them, we have to do something that fundamentally changes the image of the Republican Party.

RF: What is the hardest truth that Republicans today have to face?

JH: That without being a reality-based, solutions-oriented party, we have no future. If we can be a reality-based, solutions-oriented party, we can capture the demographics and we can find solutions to our most vexing problems -- which will require by the way, some element



of compromise, because without compromise, you cannot further an agenda.

As long as compromise is seen as something akin to treason, it becomes impossible for us to move the policy ball forward.

RF: You've talked a lot about there being a "trust deficit" between the American people and Washington, D.C. Given the state of dysfunction in our nation's capital these days, how do we go about closing this deficit?

JH: It's an important question, and the answers are not easy because they tend to be longer-term plays. But that doesn't mean we shouldn't be hunkering down and figuring out how to strategize around somehow attacking these big transcendent issues that impinge on trust even if they are longer-term plays. So when you look at the ways we finance campaigns, this is a big one. And, what we have today is just completely unsustainable in terms of serving the needs of our democracy longer-term. The way in which we go about redistricting is long term corrosive. We are already beginning to feel the effects of years and years and years of partisanship in the area of redistricting. This is where a lot of the divide begins, right at the local level as legislatures convene and carve up districts in ways that don't speak to the overall good of the people, but rather narrow political interests. So, that's a big one.

Dealing with things like incumbency. You know, you can argue term limits all you want -- and I've argued both sides. But I've always been a supporter of term limits. I was as governor. I term limited myself. I tried to get term limits through my legislature, arguing that the institution of incumbency increasingly grows very, very deep roots, and that after a while, people don't want to leave. When they do leave, they end up swinging right through the revolving door. And we wonder why we have crony capitalism in Washington, and why there's been a huge diminution of trust by the American people toward their elected officials and their institutions of power.

So, dealing with the reality of revolving doors and people who tend to stick around too long, the way we finance politics, and the very way that we go about carving up congressional districts -- all of these things I think are fundamental structural issues that need to be looked at and indeed improved upon if we are to shore up the level of trust that the American people have in politics. But I think the biggest issue of all is simply recruiting good, trustworthy people into politics. As

long as politics is seen as something akin to the respect accorded to used car salesmen, you're not going to get the best and the brightest who choose to pursue politics. They're going to go into industry, they're going to go into academia, they're going to float into all kinds of areas and choose not to go into politics and work toward reality-based solutions.

RF: Looking ahead to next year's agenda, assuming an agreement is reached to keep the country from going off the fiscal cliff, what do you think is the biggest domestic issue that Congress and the President need to address?

JH: Well, so long as tax reform is somehow swept into this overall economic package that people are working on, I really do think that in the end -- whether it's by the end of the year or early first quarter of the year -- it's probably going to be kind of a Simpson-Bowles look-a-like outcome. So, like the election -- where we spent \$2 billion and kind of had a status-quo outcome -- we're probably going to have a financial outcome that looks very much like what the Simpson-Bowles Commission put on the table over a year ago, and what we probably should have grabbed onto well in advance of where we are today.

But the point of even bringing it up is to say that tax reform needs to be a part of the overall outcome, and steps toward entitlement reform must be a part of it as well.

You don't have to have a final solution, but you do have to have a framework that begins moving this Nation and our Nation's representative body inexorably toward longer-term benchmarks that begin to take cost out of the system and put us on a track that is sustainable financially.

A financial outcome just for the sake of a financial outcome -- you know, you tweak revenues here, you cut a little bit there -- without fundamentally leaving us better on tax policy would be an incomplete outcome, and same on entitlements. But I'm assuming that those two will at least be addressed in some way, shape or form. Then I think you're left with two big ticket items for the remainder of the fiscal year that I think have to be done and would be great for the country if in fact we could pull it off. I say by the end of the fiscal year because the President will have limited public good will and political capital with which to jump behind some of these things in working with Congress.

Immigration reform would be one of them. I think we need to speak of immigration reform as an indispensable economic driver for the United States -- a way to replenish

As long as compromise is seen as something akin to treason, it becomes impossible for us to move the policy ball forward.

our brainpower, a way to infuse new vitality and energy into our Nation, which has always been our secret sauce from the very beginning and remains today the envy of the world. We talk about immigration in ways that frighten people and that speak to fences and surveillance systems and rejecting people. I'm not saying security should not be a part of immigration -- indeed, it should be a part of the immigration conversation. But we also have to recognize that we need a pathway. You have to recognize reality -- remember, we talked about reality-based solutions early on. There are 12 million people in the United States, or so we think, and you have to deal with that. You can't just find buses and send them home or engage in some policy of self-deportation. It might sound great during a primary discussion, but it is not connected to reality-based solutions.

But the broader thing for immigration really does need to speak to infusing our economy and our lifeblood with brainpower and talent from the outside world -- people yearning to become a part of the American dream and experience, which we have always benefited from. The more we forgo any kind of immigration reform and talk about it in the terms that we have used over the last ten years or so, the more it scares people away and the more the American dream is diluted into something that isn't reflective of what I think our founding fathers intended it to be.

The second big ticket item would be energy legislation that would frame steps that this Nation needs to take to truly take advantage of a natural gas revolution -- which, I believe, is going to be the bridge that will take this country from where we sit today into the future, whether it's 20, 30, 40, 50 years, where science and economics will allow us to draw more from the wind and the sun. You know, eventually, that's where science will go. We're not there yet, obviously -- it doesn't pencil out economically, and there's still a lot more in the way of technology development that must be a part of that. So we need to build a bridge from today into the future.

We've come to find we have more natural gas, more shale than we ever thought this nation had. With horizontal drilling and with fracking, we have the ability now to fuel our economic recovery in ways that I don't think we've even begun to contemplate in terms of what it will do to get us back on our feet, what it will do in terms of economic competitiveness, and what it might do in terms of creating a whole new generation of jobs and industries around energy self-sufficiency, energy

exports, energy feed stocks for power, for manufacturing, and even for transportation. It's a major deal. Every time I sit down and talk to the experts about it, as I did over the last couple of days out on the West Coast, it's a game-changer. And we need legislation that doesn't hinder, but rather facilitates our being able to capture the possibilities that lie in a new energy future.

RF: What about internationally? What is the one trouble spot that, if you were President, would keep you up at night?

JH: Iran clearly is a problematic feature of the international scene. I say that because there's a certain confusion associated with their weaponization program, and that will have to be addressed at some point. So we'll have to keep our eye on the ball and make sure that we have a collective range of options that we can pursue -- from sanctions right on through to a military option, as well.

But beyond that shorter-term concern is the longer-term reality that our foreign policy really does need to flow out of our strength here at home. I would argue that you don't have much of a foreign policy or national security policy if you're weak at home. And with our fundamentals that are in need of a fix -- shoring up in other words whether it's our economic performance, whether it's schools, whether it's basic infrastructure that allows us to be competitive as

a Nation -- all of these things need to be a part of what I consider an effort to rebuild our fundamentals in this Nation. Because that, in turn, will allow us to pursue a stronger foreign policy and national security policy.

But it is also, I think, consistent with my view that the most important thing we do internationally won't be in the Middle East. And it's not Iraq and it's not Afghanistan. But it's very much based on how well prepared we are as people in this country to meet the competitive challenges of the 21st century, which in large measure will be economic policy and education policy -- in other words, preparing the next generation for their moment on the world stage. And that will play out over the Pacific Ocean for the most part, where two-thirds of our trade will reside and where the rising militaries are. The sooner we come around and deal with that reality, the better off we're going to be. We're saddled with problems in the Middle East. We have a carryover from our war in Iraq. We're beginning to have a carryover from our war in Afghanistan -- which, in my mind, should have been phased out a long time ago. We met our objectives earlier

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on and we should have recognized that and moved on.

So the sooner that we begin to rebalance our strategic mindset toward the longer-term, which is not the Middle East but is rather our nation's economic competitiveness, the better off we're going to be in terms of preparing and then passing down this legacy to the next generation.

RF: Could you talk about China for a moment. You are obviously very familiar with that country. What are the main challenges and opportunities facing the U.S. in this regard at this point in time?

JH: Well, the biggest challenge of all is dealing with the natural attitudes that will flow out of the American people when, for the first time in recent memory, we're seeing an emerging power that's beginning to bump up into an existing power, which is the United States. We have been the only power in the world for some time. And to have one kind of bumping up against us creates a fear factor as we talk about China, as opposed to an opportunity factor, which, I think longer term, is clearly in our interest.

As we look to China, we have to be very realistic about the stresses and strains that their rise will put on our country. And we have to be very judicious in terms of the priorities that we then choose to make part of the overall U.S.-China relationship. You can't do them all – you have to pick them carefully. In my mind, the future years are very much going to be dependent on how well we're able to structure a security dialogue that really does take to military-to-military interaction. We don't have to train together – I don't think we'll ever get to that point. But we do have to talk, and we do have to seek greater transparency in terms of their overall strategic priorities. And we need to do everything possible to keep the sea-lanes open for the free flow of trade and commerce in the Asian-Pacific region, because that's jobs here at home. If we fail to do that, and if our relationship results in a confrontation that chokes those sea-lanes, then economically we suffer enormously. So a security dialogue has got to lead everything else.

Secondly, the economic side of the relationship really does need to focus on helping to bring to the forefront

a new generation of Chinese entrepreneurs. They're there, they're good at what they do, and they're reform minded. So when you ask, "How are we going to get to the bottom of intellectual property protection and market access and begin to roll-back the bad practices of state-owned enterprises over the last 10 years?" -- well, that's your answer. And the more that we can interact through rule-of-law programs, expanding civil society, interacting with entrepreneurs, getting governors and mayors more involved and localizing the relationship so it isn't just Washington and Beijing talking about these concepts, then the better off the relationship is going to be longer-term.

So beginning to plant some of those seeds that would localize and humanize the U.S.-China relationship, and make it relevant in the lives of people throughout this country, so they then see the need and want to support a healthier long-term relationship -- because there's no escaping it. We're inexorably tied economically. We're inexorably tied from a security standpoint. We're the two leading nations in the world – we're both on the world stage – and that's not going to change as we move through the 21st century. We're married, and divorce isn't an option – you've just got to make it work. To speak in sound bites and to just say that we're

going to punish them for this or that really does miss the point. It cheapens our conversations in ways that puts off the inevitable – which is how are you going to make it work? You can't avoid that inevitable destination.

RF: You're a former ambassador, governor and businessman with a rock-solid record of conservatism. Plus, you ride a motorcycle and were once in a band. You fit the profile of a modern-day presidential candidate. Looking back on the past year and a half, why didn't your campaign catch on?

JH: Well, first of all, we got a late start. Second of all, the lane that we would otherwise occupy was encumbered, so you didn't have as much of an ability to raise money and to bring new people on board who were already taken by years and years of work by others.



As we look to China, we have to be very realistic about the stresses and strains that their rise will put on our country.

And third, our strategy was very much focused on New Hampshire, which, you know, was fine for that moment in our journey, but we missed an opportunity I think in Iowa, and we missed an opportunity perhaps in some of the follow-on states to really create an infrastructure, again, which would have been facilitated by getting an earlier start. And fourth, let's just face it – I was an imperfect messenger.

You know, you're moving from probably the most compartmented job in government, being U.S. Ambassador to China -- where you literally and figuratively speak in a different language, you're working on issues most Americans will never learn about, with all kinds of terrifically talented public servants from the United States, you're hunkered down day in and day out – you go from that right onto the most open and transparent stage in the world, which is the presidential primary stage.

It takes a bit of a transition, in terms of the way you talk about issues, the way you present things. They expect you to step out there and pander and eviscerate the President and speak in ways that suggest there's deep anger and hatred. And I'd say, well, I'm not a deeply angry person. I'm a person in pursuit of solutions.

I did it as governor, I did it as an envoy abroad, and I would do it as President.

RF: You announced from the outset that you were going to run your campaign that way –

JH: Anger is not a substitute for good policy. Yet it seems to play well among certain corners of my party. And it's not where we should be.

We should turn that energy into finding reality-based solutions and bringing people together in ways that really do further an agenda that I think most Americans could agree on – and that is rebuilding some of our broken fundamentals in this country, because everybody needs an economy that works, everybody needs good schools for their families, everybody wants the kinds of confident, reliable relationships abroad that allow America's light to shine.

Those values of liberty and democracy and human rights and free markets; we're the country left in the world that really does move history and changes people's lives – if that light is used properly. I don't run into a whole lot of Americans – Republicans, Democrats, unaffiliated – who don't agree that those are the things we really need to focus on.

RF: As a candidate, is it more important to listen to your consultants or listen to your gut?

JH: Your gut -- in all cases. I worked for Ronald Reagan, who didn't have a lot of consultants around him. He had some of his old friends from California. He went by his instincts. He always went by his instincts. He spoke from his heart and his soul. He took his concepts for a better America – whether that was ending communism, whether that was a stronger economy, whether that was preserving and enhancing freedom – it was a pretty simple worldview, but it was focused and it was a direct extension of the man. That's why he succeeded. Because it wasn't artificial, it wasn't contrived, it wasn't divorced from who he was as a person and what he believed in. Those are the kinds of traits – again, I don't want to overuse Ronald Reagan.

I reflect on that because I worked for him and saw him in action up close – and I learned some very important lessons from that style of leadership. It's a rare thing these days that you find an authenticity in our political leaders, yet, that's exactly what the American people are yearning for.

Anger is not a substitute for good policy. Yet it seems to play well among certain corners of my party. And it's not where we should be.

RF: What's your gut telling you about 2016 – are you going to run again?

JH: My gut is telling me you've got to clear out all the cobwebs in your head before you even think about anything of that kind. But I will tell you this -- I'm committed to serving my country. That's been my life from the very beginning. And I always want to do what is right for a country that has been so very, very good to my family, and given so many opportunities to countless others. And I guess as you approach that kind of decision making you have to say first and foremost: 'are you electable?' And that's a real conversation you have to have. Number two, 'are you hitting the needs of your Nation at the right time historically?' You don't run just to run. You run because you bring something to the table that might be unique and helpful.

So, given the few things that you might be good at, or have some background in, are they issues that are timely and important for the country? And then third, it's kind of about your family, because they have to do it with you. And is your family prepared to take that journey? I've got daughters who are pretty darn good at it. The boys at the Naval Academy, who are completely divorced from politics -- thank goodness for that. And Mary Kaye, who is quite good at what she does, too -- far better than I am.

So, that's a conversation that, at the right time, if we ever get there, will be a very important one. **RF**



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¹ The Economic Impacts of the Oil and Natural Gas Industry on the U.S. Economy in 2009: Employment, Labor Income, and Value Added, PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP, May 2011 (Sponsored by API)

² U.S. Supply Forecast and Potential Jobs and Economic Impacts (2012-2030), Wood Mackenzie, September 2011 (Sponsored by API)

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Breaking the Partisan STRANGLEHOLD

MICKEY EDWARDS

It has become convenient to blame the current dysfunction in Congress on the people themselves; much has been written about the fact that Americans have become less willing to actually engage in civil conversation with people who share political views that differ from their own. After all, if we have divided ourselves into warring camps, impervious to the arguments of those who disagree with us, why should we expect the people we elect to behave any differently?

There is some truth to that suggestion, just as there is truth to the claim that our political system suffers from inadequate civic education, a failure to teach critical thinking, busy lives that distract from thoughtful attention to issues, and even the constant flood of misinformation or vitriol that washes over us daily from radio, television, and the Internet. All of these are contributing factors. But the most significant problem is none of these: it is the fact that we have created – against the advice of our Founders – a political system that gives inordinate power to the most intransigent and ideological voters and washes out the most reasonable and thoughtful candidates for office.

Here's how it works and why there are so few members of today's Congress who are willing to work across the political aisle to reach the end-of-debate compromises that are necessary to formulate public policy in a nation of more than 300 million people.

In most states, party nominees are chosen in closed primaries or conventions in which only party members vote. With relatively low turnouts in primaries

and limited participation in conventions, small and unrepresentative groups of activists, almost always more ideologically unyielding than the electorate at large, nominate those candidates who are most pure in championing a particular point of view.

For example, when Christine O'Donnell upset Mike Castle in the Delaware Republican primary for a U.S. Senate nomination, she received only 30,000 votes in a state of a million people. When Robert Bennett

sought re-nomination to the Senate at a party convention in Utah, a state of three million, the votes of just 2,000 activists were sufficient to defeat him. Because 46 of the 50 states have "sore loser" laws that prohibit candidates' names from appearing on the general election ballot if they lost in a campaign for their party's nomination, neither Castle nor Bennett was one of the choices available to the statewide

electorates that almost certainly would have sent them to the Senate.

Coupled with party control of congressional redistricting, still the practice in most states, the result is a Congress that has little in common with the views of ordinary citizens. Once members are elected, they are dependent on party leaders for committee positions – sometimes awarded in return for promises to stick to the party line on major issues. It doesn't need to be this way. We can have a Congress in which members reflect the views of the majority of their constituents and, once elected, have the freedom to study and evaluate the issues that come before them and to vote as conscience dictates.



Washington state and California have eliminated closed party primaries and now allow all voters to choose among all eligible candidates. They and nearly a dozen other states have taken away from parties the ability to shape congressional district lines to their advantage. In addition, Congress can be reshaped to operate with non-partisan staff, take from party leaders the ability to determine committee assignments, and mandate open procedures that will allow for a full consideration of alternative proposals. We can even follow the lead of both Canada and Great Britain and elect legislative leaders who function in a non-partisan way.

These reforms are not difficult, but they are essential. Today, too many members of Congress function as representatives of their political clubs, not

as Americans in common, working together to shape solutions to fundamental problems – keeping our bridges from collapsing, paying the nation’s creditors, making sure our soldiers have the equipment they need. There is plenty of room, and plenty of need, for vigorous

debate (democracy depends on those debates), but at the end, we need legislators who are willing to sit down together and find the areas of compromise that keep our nation strong and our government functioning. **RF**

We have created – against the advice of our Founders – a political system that gives inordinate power to the most intransigent and ideological voters and washes out the most reasonable and thoughtful candidates for office.

Mickey Edwards, a former member of

the Republican leadership in Congress, is a vice president of the Aspen Institute and the author, most recently, of “The Parties Versus the People: How to Turn Republicans and Democrats into Americans.”

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The New Electoral Math and What it Means for Polling

GLEN BOLGER

While the debate rages over whether the GOP should view this as a message problem, a messenger problem, or a math problem, I wanted to underscore the challenge facing us from a math perspective – i.e., why it is important that we work hard to improve with Hispanics.

As a party, we outright won swing voter groups, but lost the election. That's staggering.

This post also takes a look at the implications for polling going forward.

The New Electoral Math

The exit pollsters asked which was the most important candidate quality – vision for the future (29%), shares my values (27%), cares about people like me (21%), and strong leader (18%).

Mitt Romney won three of the four qualities. Voters who selected vision opted for Romney 54%-45%. Those who picked values preferred Romney 55%-42%. Voters focused on strong leadership opted for Romney 61%-38%. Romney lost 18%-81% among voters who said “cares about people like me” to Barack Obama.

Thus, Romney controlled leadership, vision, and values, yet still lost, because he got blown out on the empathy dimension. This may well have been the first Presidential election where the winner on leadership lost the election anyhow. Prior to the election, if you had said that Romney would win among the 74% of voters choosing those three qualities and would still lose overall, you would not have been believed.

Also, asked which of four was the most important issue, an overwhelming 59% picked the economy. Romney won those voters 51%-47%. Thus, he won the most important issue, but still lost the election.

But the demographics are even more concerning for the GOP down the road. Here are some of the stunning demographic findings from the exit polls about the Presidential election:

✓ Mitt Romney won Independents by five points. That's better than George W. Bush in 2004 by six net points

(see more on that below).

✓ Mitt Romney won middle income voters (\$50-100k) by six points. George W. Bush won them by twelve points in 2004, but there were far fewer voters earning more than \$100k in the 2004 election (18%) than in 2012 (28%).

✓ Mitt Romney won white women by 56%-42% (the “war on women” is overstated; Romney got crushed with minority women but a fourteen point win is not exactly a decisive defeat with white women). George W. Bush won white women by eleven points in 2004, a net three points weaker than Romney.

✓ Mitt Romney won white voters by 59%-39%, which is better than George W. Bush in 2004 by three net points.

✓ Mitt Romney won voters age 40+ by five points.

There is no direct comparison to Bush in 2004, but Bush did win voters 45+ by five points.

So, Romney won many of the groups that are generally considered to be the ones to decide elections – Independents, white women (by double digits), middle income, and voters age 40+. Mitt Romney put together a coalition that just eight years ago would have won the presidential election (hence the data comparisons to George W. Bush). However, instead of whites being 77% of the electorate, they were 72% of the electorate. Instead of Republicans and Democrats being equal, Democrats far outnumbered Republicans, and washed out

Romney's advantage among Independents. Bush kept it close with younger voters (under age 40), while Obama won them decisively.

Underscoring that there are considerably more Democrats than Republicans, Romney was the first national candidate in exit polling history to decisively win Independents and lose the election (John Kerry won Independents, but by just one point).

So, if you win the swing groups but lose the election, that means the Democrats have a clear home field advantage. There are more Democrats. That underscores that we have to do better as a party with Hispanics. It will be hard to push white voter support for Democrats lower than 39% (which is



Glen Bolger

all Obama got). Thus, to have a chance, Republicans have to appeal to Hispanics. It's simple math, but it's hard to do. We have to start today.

The Impact on Polling

This is what winning swing voters and losing the election means for polling in the future:

We have to complete more interviews with cell phone respondents. We have been doing cell phone interviewing for several cycles now, but really increased it this year with cell phone interviewing not only at the national and statewide level, but also at the congressional level. What we do know now is that twenty percent of the interviews with cell phones was not enough. It will increase costs, but as a party we have no choice.

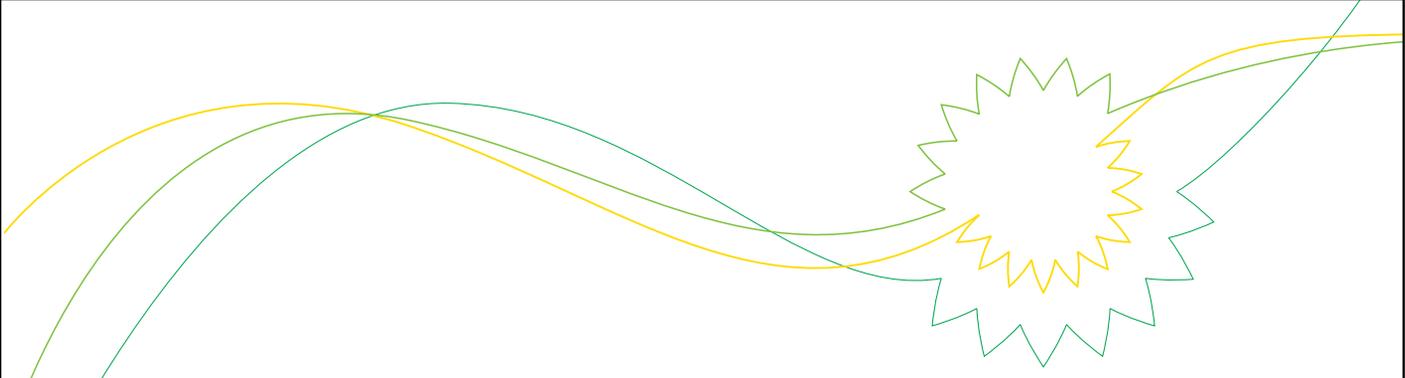
We need to include more younger voters in our samples. I shot for a 40-42% share of the electorate being ages 18-44, when it turned out to be 46%. That may not sound like much of a difference, but given how Democratic younger voters are, it mattered. This will also increase costs (younger voters are harder to reach), but again, we have no alternative. The numbers will not be the same in the off-year, but it will still be higher than most people think.

We need to poll through the final weekend. Many campaigns stopped polling ten to fourteen days out. Republicans

lost those who decided their vote for Congress in November by a 41%-56% margin. We can't afford to lose the end game in the future and need to know those trends rather than assume late deciders will split evenly. Late polling is not just for curiosity's sake. Campaigns can adjust messaging, radio, voter contact, and even where the candidate goes in the final 48 hours.

We need to increase the numbers of Hispanics in our sample. It was easy to project that African Americans would replicate their 2008 turnout levels (and they did). I also projected that Hispanic turnout would be 10% nationally (and it was), but it was much harder to project the Hispanic number for states and districts. That's important to get right in 2014, 2016, and beyond. We have routinely conducted Spanish language interviewing in this cycle and previous cycles, but we need to increase the number of states and districts where it is done as a matter of course. It also affects cost, but the continued growth in the share of the vote that is Hispanic means it is important. **RF**

Glen Bolger is a partner and co-founder of Public Opinion Strategies. He is also, in the words of political expert Charlie Cook, "the one pollster Republicans should listen to" in the wake of the Nov. 6th general election. This post originally appeared on his firm's TQIA Blog, and is reprinted in the Forum with his permission.



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The GOP's *Forgotten Ones*

JARRAD HENSLEY

Coming off the heels of an embarrassing defeat on November 6th, Republicans find themselves at an important philosophical crossroads.

In one direction is the party's longtime foundation of older white voters. In the other direction is the new emerging American majority – one where minorities have increasing influence and young people are refusing to be left behind.

As a 27-year old Republican, I am at a loss for how my party got to this point. I am also tired of being on the defensive when others in my generation ask how I can be a member of such an ideologically rigid and intellectually inconsistent political group. Yet, the numbers paint a picture that is impossible to ignore.

President Obama captured 60 percent of the youth vote this election, and an overwhelming majority of Latinos, Asians, and African Americans voted against the GOP. These individuals weren't just voting against the Republican Party's candidates. They were voting against the party's positions on issues that were of importance to them. Indeed, from comprehensive immigration reform, to same-sex marriage, to legalized marijuana, to abortion, my generation sent a clear message to Republican leaders this election – namely, that the party needs to offer us more than low taxes to win our vote.

The same can be said for Latino Americans. President Reagan once said: "Hispanics are already Republican, they just don't know it." If our party cannot craft a message that can articulate that, then we'll continue to see repeat performances from this past election. Many of today's Republican leaders fail to grasp that symbols are potent forces in American politics, and the GOP's hard-line stance on immigration reform has become a symbol of the party's hostility to this important and growing demographic group. A prominent Latino polling group reports, for example, that as many as 31 percent of those surveyed would be more likely to consider voting Republican if the party eased its position on this issue

and helped pass legislation leading to an easier pathway for citizenship. A version of the DREAM Act recently introduced by Republicans Senators Jon Kyl, Kay Bailey Hutchison and John McCain is a step in the right direction. But it will be the political equivalent of a tree falling in the forest if the Republican Leadership doesn't get behind this bill or a similar proposal.

A wave is sweeping across the country on these and other issues. For the first time, Washington, Maryland, and Maine all approved same-sex marriage by a popular vote. These states joined six others -- New York, Connecticut,

Iowa, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont -- where same-sex marriage has already been made legal by a constitutional amendment. In another development, Colorado and Washington also became the first states to legalize the use of marijuana for recreational use.

While some Republicans are left puzzled by these developments and the electoral results as a whole, it is my hope that my party's platform is amended to include those opinions and voices of my generation who refuse to be ignored. Without a reasonable attempt to meet non-white and young voters halfway on making logical changes to our nation's immigration laws and a myriad of other social issues

as well, I worry that I will be among the last of a dying breed of young, hopeful conservatives who once looked to the GOP as the party of reform.

Theodore Roosevelt once stated, "I was able to hold the Republican Party in power only because I insisted on a steady advance." If the GOP is to maintain a "steady advance" into the future, then it must advance and pay heed to the message young and minority voters sent on November 6th. The time for reform is upon us. The time to act is now. **RF**

Jarrad Hensley is the Deputy Editor of The Ripon Forum and a former aide in the George W. Bush Administration



Jarrad Hensley and President Bush

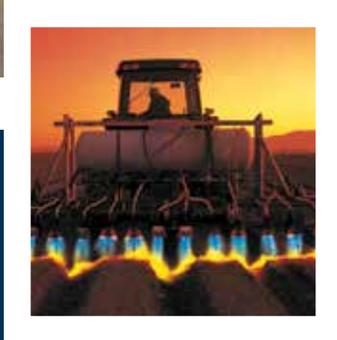
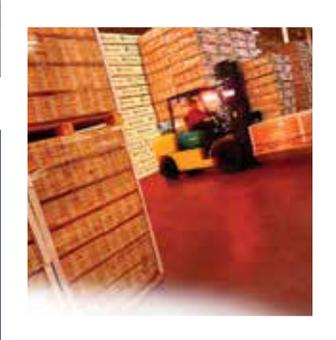
I am ... tired of being on the defensive when others in my generation ask how I can be a member of such an ideologically rigid and intellectually inconsistent political group.



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Passing Tax Reform: *The Devil is in the Deductions*

ALAN VIARD

Economists have long been attracted to proposals to broaden the income tax base by limiting deductions and other tax preferences, an approach that has drawn increasing attention since the release of the Simpson-Bowles report in December 2010.

In recent days, the looming fiscal cliff has catapulted income tax base-broadening to the forefront of the tax policy debate. Fortunately, this is an area where Republicans and Democrats should be able to work together. Republicans need to ensure, though, that base-broadening is done right, in ways that reduce government intervention in the economy and avoid aggravating the tax bias against saving.

Emboldened by the election results, President Obama and Congressional Democrats have doubled down on their call to raise taxes on households in the top two to three percent of the income distribution. Despite what some of the Democratic rhetoric suggests, tax increases on that group will not be sufficient to address the long-term budget imbalance. Commentators across the ideological spectrum agree that entitlement spending cuts, tax increases on the broad middle class, or both will also be required. But, it's likely that a fiscal compromise will include some tax increases on high income earners.

The question is what form the tax increases will take. Democrats prefer to hike the top tax rates. Republicans are rightly pushing income tax base-broadening as an alternative. As the debate progresses, though, Republicans must be careful not to buy into the fallacy that all base-broadening is inherently good.

Instead, they must think clearly about the economic benefits that the right kind of base-broadening can offer and tailor their proposals to capture those benefits.

The tax breaks that should be in Republicans' crosshairs are the ones that give people artificial incentives to change their behavior. These tax preferences divert economic resources away from where the market would direct them, just as many government spending programs do, and they should be held to the same standards as spending programs. Unless the government can demonstrate a legitimate reason to override the market, the preferences should be reformed or eliminated.

The leading examples are easy to identify. Today's income tax system favors owner-occupied housing over business capital and employer-provided health insurance over cash wages. And, the favoritism is strongest for affluent taxpayers because they're in the highest tax brackets, where each dollar shaved from taxable income yields the biggest tax savings. These provisions inefficiently encourage the building of bigger homes and the proliferation of Cadillac health plans, drawing capital away from the business sector and driving up medical costs. Capping these tax breaks can curb the excesses while still helping people buy homes and get health insurance.

Other tax provisions also distort the economy. For example, the state and local tax deduction and the municipal bond interest exclusion put a thumb on the scale in favor of bigger state and local government.



Alan Viard

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Reducing distortions of this kind is the real advantage of good base-broadening. Unfortunately, another much-touted advantage is a myth – base-broadening doesn’t raise revenue while magically leaving work incentives unimpaired. Because workers spend part of each extra dollar of wages they earn on tax-deductible items, the deductions soften the tax burden on that dollar and reduce the penalty on work. Taking away the deductions increases the tax burden on the extra dollar, just as rate increases do. Sad to say, base-broadening unavoidably increases the tax penalty on work.

If it’s done right, though, base-broadening need not worsen the income tax’s other structural bias: its penalty on saving. Republicans should remain on guard against proposals to curtail tax “preferences” that ameliorate the saving penalty. They should particularly resist calls to increase taxes on dividends

Republicans should remain on guard against proposals to curtail tax “preferences” that ameliorate the saving penalty.

and capital gains on corporate stock – because that income has already been taxed at the corporate level, lower tax rates at the individual level are necessary to counteract double taxation.

Income tax base-broadening won’t be easy or painless. Repealing obscure loopholes used by obscure special interests won’t be enough – politically difficult changes to popular tax breaks will be necessary. But, the right kind of base-broadening can limit government interference in the economy, promoting economic growth and making the pain worthwhile. **RF**

Alan D. Viard is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. He previously served as a senior economist at the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas and an assistant professor of economics at Ohio State University.



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The Longest War

Why the U.S. must not abandon Afghanistan even as it prepares to leave

LISA CURTIS

Now that U.S. elections are over, the Obama administration will have to decide its future course on Afghanistan. During the campaign, President Obama declared a goal of bringing American troops home from the Afghan war and focusing instead on “nation building” here in the U.S. But such campaign slogans pose a false choice to the American people and ignore the likely perilous consequences of the U.S. turning its back on a pivotal country.

It is true that the administration will need to bear down on domestic issues like getting the U.S. fiscal house in order, attacking unemployment, and improving the nation’s energy security. At the same time, U.S. leaders must stay focused on guarding the nation against the scourge of terrorism. Doing so involves continued U.S. engagement in countries where al-Qaeda and affiliated groups maintain local support and the potential to revive and rebuild their networks – namely Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The past year’s developments in Afghanistan have been demoralizing. A sharp increase in Afghan security force insider attacks on their trainers, leading to over 60 coalition deaths, as well as nation-wide rioting by Afghans after discovering U.S. military officials inadvertently burned Korans and a U.S. staff sergeant’s horrifying massacre of 16 Afghan civilians have all understandably led Americans to doubt the mission and call for speedier troop withdrawals.

Solid Gains

Yet a longer-term view of the situation recognizes

that there have been solid gains in Afghanistan over the last 11 years. According to a Department of Defense report from April, joint Afghan-coalition military operations have widened the gap between the insurgents and the Afghan people in several key population centers, limiting insurgents’ freedom of movement, disrupting their safe havens inside Afghanistan, and degrading their leadership.

President Obama’s 30,000-strong troop surge in 2010-2011 succeeded in pushing back the Taliban in their traditional strongholds in southern Afghanistan and prevented the insurgents from launching a major offensive during the 2012 fighting season. Afghan security forces have steadily expanded their control over larger portions of the country with nearly 50 percent of Afghans now living in areas where the Afghan security



Lisa Curtis

forces are in charge.

U.S. and NATO military presence helped provide space for average Afghans to begin to shape the future of the country. The foundations for democracy have been laid and the next Afghan presidential election, scheduled for April 2014, will be a crucial test of the durability of these emerging democratic institutions.

Social and economic indicators also are far better than they were a decade ago. There is increased access to health care and education. Almost 82 percent of Afghans now have access to basic healthcare and nearly seven million Afghan children attend school, compared to only one million during Taliban rule. Afghan girls and women, who under Taliban rule were unable to attend school, hold jobs, or even access

health care, now serve as parliamentarians, work for non-governmental organizations, and receive primary and secondary educations in ever increasing numbers.

There is tremendous anxiety among Afghans about the prospects for the country once international combat forces depart, especially if the pull-out is hasty and not calibrated to conditions on the ground. There are doubts about the Afghan government's ability to repel the Taliban and to prevent them from returning to power in large swathes of the country, particularly in the south. Pronounced ethnic divisions also contribute to the sense that civil war may be inevitable after coalition forces leave. Just last week a powerful warlord from Herat Province, Ismael Khan, called on forces loyal to him to form a militia to be ready to counter the Taliban.

Need for Enduring U.S. Engagement

The U.S. must ensure the investments it has made in Afghanistan over the last decade are not wasted. Even as the U.S. withdraws combat forces by the end of 2014, it must signal to the Afghans that it will remain economically, diplomatically, and to some degree, militarily, involved with the country long after 2014.

Despite the setbacks over the last ten months, the administration must avoid the temptation to hasten U.S. troop withdrawals and instead continue the drawdown at a responsible pace. U.S. and NATO Commander General John Allen made clear earlier this year that he wanted to keep the bulk of the 68,000 troops now in Afghanistan in place until the end of the 2013 fighting season a year from now. Racing for the exits would only create chaos in the country and redound to the insurgents' benefit.

Another crucial element of the U.S. strategy moving forward is to conclude a Bilateral Security Agreement that will establish the framework for future Afghan-U.S. security relations. The U.S.

must negotiate appropriate terms for a U.S. troop presence (possibly around 20 – 30,000) to remain in Afghanistan to train and advise local forces and conduct counterterrorism operations. The Afghans will need international (mainly U.S.) funding to sustain their army and police forces – now numbering 352,000 – as well as continued U.S. air support, logistics, and intelligence. Supporting the Afghan forces will cost the U.S. around \$2.5 billion annually – a price worth paying to prevent the Taliban from retaking power and allowing al-Qaeda to re-establish bases in the country.

Most importantly, the U.S. and Afghan governments together must get a handle on the insider attacks. These attacks have already forced NATO to cut back on joint patrolling. If they do not abate soon, the entire foundation of the mission, which depends on Americans training and advising their Afghan counterparts, will crumble.

Getting Pakistan on Board

It will be impossible to stabilize Afghanistan

if terrorist safe havens continue to exist inside Pakistan. The administration must be willing to cut aid to Pakistan if it fails to crack down on insurgent sanctuaries on its soil. Despite America's provision of upward of \$23 billion in economic and military aid to Pakistan over the last decade, Islamabad continues to turn a blind eye, and even support in some cases, the Taliban and Haqqani network fighting coalition forces in Afghanistan.

There are signs that Pakistani leaders realize that a Taliban-dominated Afghanistan could have a destabilizing impact on Pakistan. The Pakistan government recently agreed to release several jailed Taliban officials in an apparent effort to facilitate peace talks between the insurgents and Afghan authorities. The Pakistanis have not said whether they would release



President Obama's 30,000-strong troop surge in 2010-2011 succeeded in pushing back the Taliban in their traditional strongholds in southern Afghanistan and prevented the insurgents from launching a major offensive during the 2012 fighting season.

Taliban leader Mullah Abdul Ghani Beradar, who had been deeply engaged in peace negotiations with the Afghan government before his arrest in Karachi in February 2010. Beradar's release would signal that the Pakistanis are indeed warming up to the idea of a compromise political solution in Afghanistan.

The best way to encourage more steps in this direction is for Washington to make clear that the future of the U.S.-Pakistan partnership and aid relationship hinges on the level of cooperation from Islamabad with U.S. efforts to stabilize Afghanistan.

**Taliban Resurgence:
A Boon for International Terrorism**

While the elimination of Osama bin Laden and his top deputies over the last two years signals major strides against the organization, it is wrong to assume

that the fight against global terrorism is over and that the U.S. can simply turn its attention elsewhere.

The U.S. still faces formidable threats from terrorists associated with al-Qaeda that currently find refuge in Pakistan and could easily set up shop again in Afghanistan. There is a genuine risk of the Taliban re-establishing its power base and facilitating the revival of al-Qaeda in the region if the U.S. and NATO give up on the Afghanistan mission. **RF**

The U.S. must ensure the investments it has made in Afghanistan over the last decade are not wasted.

Lisa Curtis is a senior research fellow at the Heritage Foundation. Before joining Heritage in August 2006, Curtis served on the professional staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where she oversaw South Asia issues for then-Chairman Richard Lugar.



YOUR VOICE

IN OUR NATION'S CAPITOL
THE STATE LEGISLATURE
AND THE CITY COUNCIL

“Tax the visitor, not the voter” may be popular, but you have a watch dog in ARDA-ROC -
The Resort Owners Coalition of the American Resort Development Association.

With more than 1.3 million timeshare owners united to fight unfair transient lodging taxes
and excess taxes on timeshare real estate property, ARDA-ROC is your collective voice
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ARDA-ROC is a not-for-profit coalition based in Washington D.C. formed exclusively to protect the interests of timeshare home owners associations, timeshare consumers, and other vacation ownership product purchasers.



RESORT OWNERS' COALITION

Ripon Society Marks Milestone

WASHINGTON, DC – The Ripon Society hosted a holiday reception on Tuesday, December 11th to celebrate not just the season, but an important anniversary, as well.

“We’re here tonight to celebrate the holidays,” stated Jim Conzelman, the President and CEO of The Ripon Society. “But we’re also here to mark a very important milestone in the history of our organization – The Ripon Society turned 50 this year. The group was founded on the campus of Harvard University in 1962. In fact, 50 years ago tomorrow night, there was a meeting at the Harvard Faculty Club, with Professor

Morton Halperin as host, at which the objectives of The Ripon Society were first discussed.”

Conzelman noted that these objectives included influencing “Republican Party policy through research and publication,” and changing “the image of the Republican Party from one of reaction to action.” Further noting that these same objectives continue to shape and define The Ripon Society today, Conzelman then introduced six founding members of the centrist Republican public policy organization, some of whom had attended the meeting at the Harvard Faculty Club a

half century ago and had been invited to attend the anniversary celebration Tuesday night.

The six founders attending the reception included Gene Marans, Emil Frankel, John Topping, John Price, Lee Huebner, and Congressman Tom Petri, who as the Representative of Wisconsin’s Sixth Congressional District, represents not just the birthplace of the Republican Party, but the town from which The Ripon Society gets its name. “Gentlemen,” Conzelman declared, before presenting each with a book about Theodore Roosevelt, “as the President of the organization that



Ripon Society President Jim Conzelman, far right, presents books to Ripon founders, from right to left, Lee Huebner, John Topping, John Price, Emil Frankel, Tom Petri, and Gene Marans, while Ripon Chairman Emeritus Bill Frenzel watches on the far left.

you founded, I would like to thank you for your vision 50 years ago, and for taking the time to be with us tonight.”

A crowd of nearly 200 people attended the event, which was held in the Rayburn Building on Capitol Hill. Also attending were Representatives Fred Upton, Greg Walden, Spencer Bachus, Frank Lucas, Ed Whitfield, Howard Coble, Leonard Lance, Doug Lamborn, John Shimkus, Walter Jones, Jim Renacci, Patrick Meehan, Steve Stivers, Cory

Gardner, and Pat Tiberi, who serves as the Chairman of the Ripon Society’s Honorary Congressional Advisory Board. In attendance as well were former Speaker of

you for your continuing support,” Conzelman told the crowd. “Our membership is up over 200 percent since 2010, we have hosted over 100 Members of Congress the past year, and we have another full schedule of events and activities planned in 2013. In short, 50 years after its founding, The Ripon Society is alive and kicking and – true to the vision of its founders – still trying to shape and change American political thought.”

For more information on The Ripon Society, please visit www.riponsociety.org. RF

“We’re here tonight to celebrate the holidays. But we’re also here to mark a very important milestone in the history of our organization – The Ripon Society turned 50 this year.”

the House Dennis Hastert, former Representative Bill Clinger, and former Representative Bill Frenzel, the Chairman Emeritus of The Ripon Society.

“I would like to thank all of



Clockwise from bottom: A crowd of nearly 200 people turned out for The Ripon Society’s Holiday Party and 50th Anniversary celebration on Dec. 11th on Capitol Hill; Congressman Fred Upton talks with former Congressman Bill Clinger at the reception; Congressman Greg Walden shares a laugh with one of the other guests.

Ripon Profile

Name: Cathy McMorris Rodgers
Washington's 5th District

As the new Chairman of the House Republican Conference, you have been a strong proponent of new media. In 140 characters or less, explain why Twitter is so important in American politics today? Twitter allows us to engage, innovate and transform the way Americans interact with Congress by directly connecting us to those we represent.

How many members of the GOP Conference are on Facebook, and how has that helped House Republicans get their message out? Upwards of 90% of Republican Members are on Facebook. The network enables Members of Congress to stay connected with the people we represent on a scale never before possible. Whether it's an important vote coming up on Capitol Hill, or a significant event happening back home, Members can utilize Facebook to engage with constituents in real-time. That feedback and conversation is incredibly valuable, and helps House Republicans be better representatives of the people.

Looking back on the past few years, can you point to any one issue or vote where new media made the difference in the debate? Health care. New media not only dominated the healthcare debate; it transformed it. Never have I received so much online feedback from my constituents as I did during the initial health care votes in Congress and in response to the Supreme Court's decision this summer to uphold the Affordable Care Act. I heard from patients, seniors, physicians, nurses and health care providers who wanted their voices to be heard on this landmark legislation. The overwhelming feedback I received only reaffirmed my opposition to a government takeover of health care and strengthened my resolve to fight against its implementation. New media was an instrumental part of this very contentious debate.

Looking ahead to 2013, what role will new media play in setting the agenda and in reaching out to the American people to find out what they think? There's no doubt in my mind that new media will play a pivotal role in the 113th Congress. Regardless of the issue – health care, energy, tax reform, debt reductions, entitlement reform – it will continue to shape the debate in ways we've never seen before. New media usage is no longer limited to a single demographic; its presence is widespread and its influence is immeasurable. As we look ahead, we will rely heavily on new media to take the country's "pulse" on the most pressing issue of all: jobs and the economy. We want to hear how current policies are affecting everyday Americans and what they want Congress to do to help them create jobs. Getting Americans back to work is our top priority, and we'll use every new media tool we can to get their feedback about how best to achieve it.

Finally, a question related to the season -- with the holidays approaching and as the mother of two young children, what do you believe is the best way for parents and children to communicate with Santa in this new digital age? As the mother of two small children – one of whom has special needs – I've discovered that nothing excites them more than the iPad! Not only do they find it entertaining and user-friendly, but it's been an educational tool as well. And especially now that Cole knows his ABCs, I think my kids will use a new handwriting app – like Penultimate or Noteshelf – to send their digital (handwritten) letters straight to the North Pole!



A clear and insightful tax strategy

How will global tax developments impact your business? Where will you find objective advice when developing, implementing, and defending your tax strategy? Do you have a dedicated advisor who values long-term relationships? PwC's tax professionals have the insight to help you develop responsive tax strategies to the challenges you face as a tax executive in today's global economy. We want to help you achieve your goals.

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