

# The Ripon Forum

Winter 2011  
Volume 45, No. 1

**Making History**  
Susana Martinez on her agenda  
as Governor of New Mexico

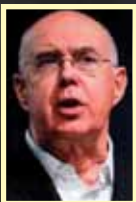


## Upton's Call

**The Chairman of the House  
Energy & Commerce Committee  
pushes a plan to protect jobs  
and preserve the intent of  
the Clean Air Act**



**Plus:**  
**Kay Granger on the uprising in Egypt and the ensuing  
chain reaction throughout the Middle East**



**And:**  
**Bob Walker on the lessons of '95 and what  
House Republicans can learn from that fateful year**

**Also:**  
**Coverage of The Ripon Society's 2011 Legislative Directors  
Symposium on Leadership at Mount Vernon**



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# The Ripon Forum

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since 1965."*

Volume 45, No. 1, Winter 2011

## Cover Story

- 4 **Upton's Call**  
*by Fred Upton*  
The Chairman of the Energy & Commerce Committee writes about a plan he is pushing intended to protect jobs and preserve the integrity of the Clean Air Act.
- 6 **Overreaching by the EPA**  
*by Shelley Moore Capito*  
According to this West Virginia Congresswoman, the Environmental Protection Agency is not only exceeding its mandate. It's also destroying jobs in her home state.
- 7 **Foreign Oilfield Unrest**  
*by Tim Murphy*  
In the wake of further unrest in the Middle East, this Pennsylvania Congressman argues that the U.S. needs to move ahead with a plan that boosts fuel production here at home.

## Politics & Perspective

- 9 **A Chain Reaction Throughout the Middle East**  
*by Kay Granger*  
The Chairwoman of the Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee assesses the Egyptian uprising and its impact on U.S. security.
- 10 **Lessons from '95**  
*by Bob Walker*  
One of the architects of the 1994 Republican revolution looks back on the budget battles of 16 years ago and what they mean today.

## Politics & Perspective (cont'd.)

- 12 **The War on Federal Redundancy**  
*by Demian Brady*  
As Congress sets out to cut federal spending, this fiscal expert argues that duplicative programs are a logical place to start.
- 14 **A Pro-America, Pro-Trade Agenda for 2011**  
*by Dan Griswold*  
This Cato Institute scholar and author argues that trade policy is an area ripe for bipartisan cooperation this year.
- 16 **Learning from the States**  
*by Maurice McTigue & Daniel Rothschild*  
Two members of government efficiency commissions in Virginia and Louisiana offer eight steps toward better reform.
- 19 **Before Morning in America**  
*by Chester Pach*  
The author of a forthcoming book on Ronald Reagan looks at the events of 1983 and how they shaped the rest of Reagan's presidency.

## Sections

- 3 **In this Edition**
- 22 **News & Events**  
*Coverage of The Ripon Society's 2011 Legislative Directors Symposium on Leadership at Mount Vernon*
- 28 **Ripon Profile**  
*New Mexico Governor Susana Martinez*

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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.

**Question:** What do Richard Nixon, Dan Rather and Chuck Norris have in common?



**Answer:** They have all written for The Ripon Forum.

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## In this Edition

When Fred Upton was named Chairman of the Energy and Commerce Committee last December, it was not just one of the biggest victories of his career, but also a victory over radio talk show host Rush Limbaugh, who waged an on-air crusade to deny the Michigan Republican the gavel.

Now, Upton is taking on another bloated force -- the Environmental Protection Agency. As he writes in his lead op-ed for this latest edition of THE RIPON FORUM, "A million or more large and small businesses, as well as many farms and buildings, would eventually come under the agency's regulatory authority" if new rules the EPA is now proposing were to go into effect.

Upton is pushing a plan to block these rules, which he discusses in his op-ed. In pushing this plan, he is essentially jabbing a finger in the chest of those who thought he would back down in the face of this regulatory onslaught. He is also redefining what it means to be a centrist Republican. It is a brand of centrism that places pragmatism ahead of politics and issues over ideology. It is also a brand of centrism that we embrace.

Indeed, we burned our Birkenstocks long ago here at The Ripon Society. And the posters of Nelson Rockefeller have long been put away. In their place are posters bearing the new heroes of Republican centrism. Governors like Rick Snyder, who is using his experience as the former CEO of Gateway Computer to cut spending and instill business-like efficiency in the government of his home state. Senators like Scott Brown, who is carving an independent path on Capitol Hill as someone who always puts people ahead of party and never forgets the working class roots from which he came. And Representatives like Fred Upton, who, in taking on the EPA, is setting out to prove that one can support a clean environment and a strong economy at the same time. Here's hoping he succeeds.

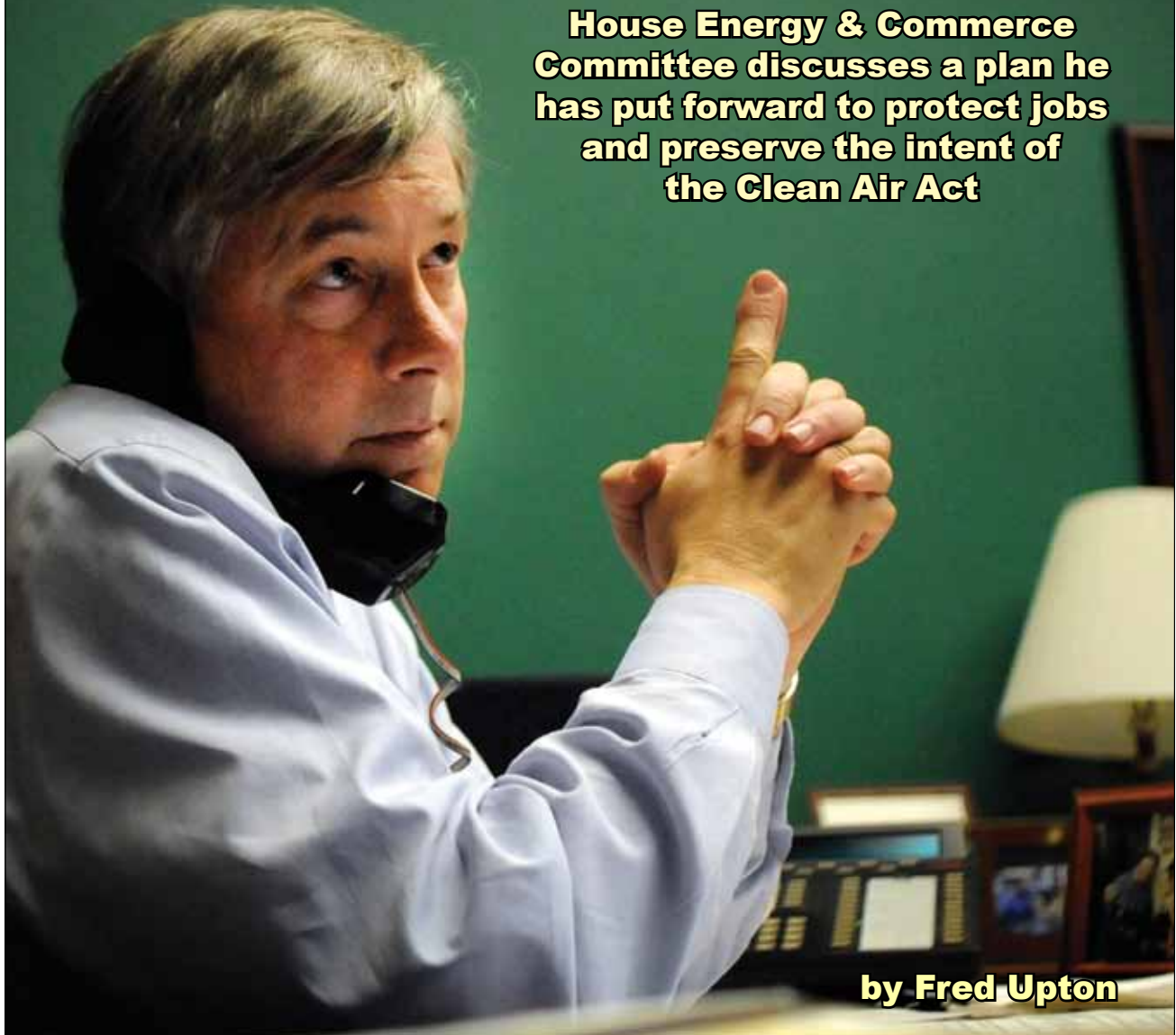
And here's hoping you enjoy this latest edition of the FORUM, which also features -- among other leaders and topics -- State Department Appropriations Subcommittee Chairwoman Kay Granger writing about the politics of Egypt and former Congressman Bob Walker writing about the politics of 1995. We are also very pleased to feature in our latest Ripon Profile Susana Martinez, who, with her election as Governor of New Mexico last fall, became the first Latina Governor in the United States.

As always, we hope you enjoy this edition of THE RIPON FORUM, and we encourage you to write us at [editor@riponsociety.org](mailto:editor@riponsociety.org) with any thoughts or comments you may have.

Lou Zickar  
Editor  
The Ripon Forum

# Upton's Call

**The Chairman of the House Energy & Commerce Committee discusses a plan he has put forward to protect jobs and preserve the intent of the Clean Air Act**



**by Fred Upton**

Job creation.

It is a simple goal, but in practice, one that Washington lost sight of in the last few years. Well, no more.

Cap-and-trade legislation failed in the last Congress, but now we face the threat of Environmental Protection Agency bureaucrats imposing the same agenda through a series of new regulations. We must not allow this Administration to regulate what they have been unable to legislate.

Make no mistake, a greenhouse gas regulatory regime has the same intentions – and poses the same economic threat – as the failed cap-and-trade national energy tax. According to the Congressional Budget Office, the Waxman-Markey cap-and-trade plan would have cost \$864 billion to implement over ten years. Research from the Heritage Foundation put the eventual costs in the trillions of dollars, with projected job losses eventually exceeding one million.

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Like cap-and-trade, these EPA regulations would boost the cost of energy, not just for homeowners and car owners, but for businesses large and small.

EPA's greenhouse gas regulations would do far more economic harm than environmental good. A million or more large and small businesses, as well as many farms and buildings, would eventually come under the agency's regulatory authority. Moreover, imposition of greenhouse gas permitting requirements will negatively impact new and existing U.S. investment and job growth.

We live in a global marketplace filled with manufacturers working to produce high-quality items at the lowest cost. I know American manufacturers can compete – but not if they are saddled with burdensome regulations that put us at an unfair disadvantage. Our goal should be to export goods, not jobs.

More simply put, such regulations will make life more expensive without any environmental benefit. Not just electricity, heat, and gasoline, but groceries, manufacturing, and consumer products will all cost more if the federal government drives up energy costs. The punishing effects of a national energy tax will be felt most severely by low-income groups, the elderly, and minorities, who spend a disproportionate share of their income on energy.

To protect American jobs and families, I have teamed with Rep. Ed Whitfield (R-Ky.), Chairman of the Energy and Power Subcommittee, and Sen. James Inhofe (R-Okla.), Ranking Member of the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works, in releasing a draft proposal called the *Energy Tax Prevention Act*. This is a bill to protect jobs and preserve the intent of the Clean Air Act.

Our proposal is narrowly crafted.

It specifically targets EPA regulation of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases as related to climate change.

It allows states to continue setting climate policy as they please, but prevents those actions from being imposed or enforced nationally.

Let me also emphasize what our legislation does not do. It does not weaken the Clean Air Act. It does not limit EPA's

ability to monitor and reduce pollutants that damage public health. I have looked back at the comments made by the authors of the revisions to the Clean Air Act in the early 1990s, and I am confident that our bill actually restores the Clean Air Act to its intended purpose.

Permanently blocking the EPA from regulating greenhouse gases is also a matter of sound governing. Decisions about whether or how to regulate should be made by elected representatives in Congress, not unelected bureaucrats. With the *Energy Tax Prevention Act*, Republicans are leading the way toward a thoughtful, comprehensive energy strategy that harnesses the power of American resources and keeps energy affordable for the benefit of families, job creators, and our long-term economic competitiveness.

This year will be one of legislation, but also of education for the Energy and Commerce Committee. Given the chilling effect the EPA's global warming regulations are already having on manufacturing jobs and the economic recovery, we are moving fast to repeal the agency's bureaucratic overreach. On other issues, such as North American energy production and the

economic burden of regulations on energy-using industries, we will be gathering information as well as offering legislative fixes where appropriate to meet our energy demands of the future.

The recent regime change in Egypt provided a sharp reminder of the potential for an oil-supply disruption in the Middle East, underscoring our own nation's energy vulnerabilities. We can no longer afford policies that lock away our domestic oil and gas

resources and thwart job growth. Instead, we must pursue an "all-of-the-above" approach to fortify our energy security and provide for high-paying American jobs.

Our objective is simple – we are for increasing the supply of affordable and reliable energy to keep costs low for families and to help create countless good paying jobs. **RF**

*Fred Upton represents the 6<sup>th</sup> District of Michigan in the U.S. House of Representatives. He serves as Chairman of the Energy and Commerce Committee.*

**I know American  
manufacturers can  
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burdensome regulations  
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### **"ENERGY TAX PREVENTION ACT"**

#### **Key Highlights:**

- Stop EPA bureaucrats from making legislative decisions that should be made by Congress;
- Clarify that the Clean Air Act was not written by Congress to address climate change;
- Stop EPA bureaucrats from imposing a backdoor cap-and-trade tax that would make gasoline, electricity, fertilizer, and groceries more expensive for consumers; and,
- Protect American jobs and manufacturers from overreaching EPA regulations that hinder our ability to compete with China and other countries.

*source: Energy & Commerce Committee*

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# Overreaching by the EPA

SHELLEY MOORE CAPITO

If the Environmental Protection Agency has demonstrated one thing over the past two years, it's their intent on using regulatory authority to pick winners and losers in the energy industry.

As I've learned first-hand, EPA Administrator Lisa Jackson is keenly committed to enforcing the Administration's anti-coal agenda with no regard for the devastating effects on our local and national economies. The EPA's attempts to control climate change through regulation and stalling the approval of mining permits can only lead to coal states like West Virginia bearing the brunt of poorly thought-out policies that translate into greater job loss and higher energy costs.

We absolutely cannot afford a scenario where delayed policy decisions lead to a slow bleed of jobs and planned investment throughout America's coal country. Energy producers expect and deserve certainty and clarity to conduct their business, but the current administration continues to turn a blind eye and a deaf ear to their concerns.

In January, the EPA delivered a crushing blow to the entire energy industry when the agency vetoed the existing Spruce Mine permit, shutting down a viable mine that would have provided almost 300 good-paying jobs. For nearly a year, the EPA kept the Spruce Mine Permit in limbo by continuing to delay action on the permit in question. As the EPA has been purposefully slow to act, hundreds of mining

jobs have been put at stake. What's more, this veto puts all previously issued permits at risk, casting a wide veil of uncertainty over not just coal, but any industry subject to 404 permits.

For example, coal is our most abundant, cheapest natural resource, yet it's borne the brunt of the EPA's attacks. When you turn on your computer or flip a light switch or watch TV, chances are you are using energy produced from coal. So when it's hard to mine this resource, utility prices rise and everyday costs increase.

This Congress is committed to reining in the EPA in order to protect American jobs. As my first piece of legislation in the 112th Congress, I introduced a bill which seeks to delay for two years any action by the EPA to regulate carbon dioxide and methane gases under the Clean Air Act. This will give us enough time to review the proposed rulemaking authority and research how it will affect jobs and our economy.

This is an issue that affects every American, not just those of us who live in coal-producing states like West Virginia. In order to protect our energy security, as well as our energy prices, Congress must work together to enact a comprehensive energy plan that uses all of our natural resources. **RF**



**The EPA's attempts to control climate change through regulation and stall the approval of mining permits can only lead to coal states like West Virginia bearing the brunt of poorly thought-out policies that translate into greater job loss and higher energy costs.**

*Shelley Moore Capito represents the 2<sup>nd</sup> District of West Virginia in the U.S. House of Representatives.*



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# Foreign Oilfield Unrest:

## A recipe for disaster and a reminder of why U.S. energy policy needs to change

TIM MURPHY

The new protests in Libya, on top of the protests in Bahrain, Yemen, and Egypt, all should serve as a major warning to the U.S. and our economy: become energy independent or pay the price with more job losses, a worsening economy, and families crushed by higher gas prices.

Since the 1973 Arab Oil embargo, the U.S. has talked about cutting its dependence on foreign oil, while little has been done. Foreign oil imports have doubled from about 30 percent in the 1970s to over 60 percent today. Over 1.6 billion barrels are imported from countries that are politically unstable. We spend over \$1 billion per day on foreign oil, money that is not invested in U.S. jobs, infrastructure, or education. It is a recipe for disaster and worsening by the day.

Although many have called for reducing U.S. consumption of oil through mechanisms like cap-and-trade-style taxes, the simple fact is that such a plan will not work. The increased costs for all energy sources will send manufacturing jobs sprinting to China. For the foreseeable future, the U.S. will need to continue using oil and natural gas for manufacturing, transportation, and chemical development.

Each day that we refuse to explore our own vast oil resources is another day where we've placed our economy at great risk. We are another major oil price spike away from another deep recession on top of the current one we have yet to fully recover from.

We don't need to import oil from halfway around

the globe when we have our own resources here at home. America's offshore resources total more than 86 billion barrels of oil and 420 trillion cubic feet of natural gas, enough oil to replace imports from Saudi Arabia and Venezuela for the next 80 years and enough

clean natural gas to power America's industry for the next 63 years. Unfortunately, current policies are blocking the use of these vast domestic reserves.

There are over 30 Gulf of Mexico drilling projects just waiting to safely begin production of U.S.-owned oil but standing idle because the Interior Department has effectively revoked these rigs' previously-approved permits. If we were to lift this "permitorium" and also begin exploration on the Outer Continental Shelf, we could cut oil imports from OPEC, our trade deficit, our national debt, and stop having to borrow from foreign nations such as China, to whom we owe \$900 billion.

Offshore oil and gas leasing rights and royalties would generate over \$3 trillion in new federal revenue that could be invested in a transition to a clean energy future, the

rebuilding of our antiquated infrastructure, and the restoration of our environment, all with the ultimate goal of making America energy independent.

I will reintroduce a bipartisan energy plan, the *American Conservation and Clean Energy Independence Act*, which will dedicate the revenues from offshore exploration leases and royalties to slash our deficit, build clean-coal and nuclear power



**Each day that we refuse to explore our own vast oil resources is another day where we've placed our economy at great risk.**

plants, clean up our air and water, increase renewables, and rebuild our crumbling highways and bridges. It will create 1.2 million new jobs annually and trillions of dollars in economic output without raising taxes.

This legislation would provide desperately needed funds for rebuilding our highways, bridges, locks, dams, and water and sewer systems, which need an estimated \$2.2 trillion in repairs. The plan would also provide the financing for energy conservation projects for our buildings, farms, factories and households, which waste between 20 and 40 percent of energy consumed through inefficiencies.

Let's embrace an approach to energy that includes exploration, innovation, and conservation to unleash the vast potential of America's bountiful resources. Now is

not the time to maintain the status quo on staggering unemployment, a sluggish economy, and dependence on foreign oil.

The choice is simple. We can choose to ignore the issues and shut down our largest domestic asset. Or we can move forward responsibly with priorities that will allow America to become energy independent and put millions back to work. **RF**

**Offshore oil and gas leasing rights and royalties would generate over \$3 trillion in new federal revenue that could be invested in a transition to a clean energy future, the rebuilding of our antiquated infrastructure, and the restoration of our environment...**

*Tim Murphy represents the 18th District of Pennsylvania in the U.S. House of Representatives. He is the Vice Chairman of the Energy & Commerce Subcommittee on Environment and the*

*Economy. He also serves as Co-Chairman of the House Natural Gas Caucus and Chairman of the Congressional Steel Caucus.*



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# A CHAIN REACTION

## *Throughout the Middle East*

by KAY GRANGER

The actions of the Egyptian people have started a chain reaction throughout the Middle East.

People in the region feel empowered to stand up to their leaders and demand reform. While Mubarak was a friend to the United States, Egyptians spoke loud and clear. They want the same thing Americans want -- a voice in their government.

Hopefully, what happened in Egypt will serve as an example to other regimes, showing that these shifts can happen peacefully and that the will of the people is a mighty force to be reckoned with.

The entire United States government is watching Egypt very closely. In the Continuing Resolution funding bill passed by the House of Representatives in mid-February, we reaffirmed our commitment to a peaceful transition through continued military and economic aid. This is not a blank check, however.

Future Egyptian leaders must demonstrate a commitment to democratic reforms, respect for human rights and a reaffirmation of their long-standing commitment to Israel and Middle East peace. As Chairwoman of the State and Foreign Operations

Appropriations Subcommittee, I will be a responsible steward of U.S. aid dollars going into Egypt.

Regardless of what public opinion polls and perceptions might indicate, there is no doubt the alliance between the U.S. and Egypt has produced positive results. The Egyptian military, for example, was largely trained by the U.S. military.

During the events of the last few weeks, those military forces protected the protestors as well as the leaders and the national institutions. In addition, Egypt was the first Arab nation to sign a peace accord with Israel. Helping secure Egypt's future is helping secure Israel's future.

The United States was wise to avoid meddling in the Egyptians' desire to map out their own destiny. Having a stable and democratic Egypt is as much about our own national security as it is about the security of the Egyptian people. **RF**



**The United States was wise to avoid meddling in the Egyptians' desire to map out their own destiny. Having a stable and democratic Egypt is as much about our own national security as it is about the security of the Egyptian people.**

*Kay Granger represents the 12<sup>th</sup> District of Texas in the U.S. House of Representatives. She serves as the Chairwoman*

*of the State and Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee.*

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# Lessons from '95

*The 112<sup>th</sup> Congress presents Republicans with an opportunity to regain the trust they lost 16 years ago*

ROBERT S. WALKER

When a handful of Republican Congressmen suggested in early 1994 the GOP could take control of the U.S. House of Representatives that fall, the concept was the source of disbelief, even ridicule. When it actually happened, it was a cataclysmic beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> Century American politics and governance.

Control of the House brought with it responsibilities for governing which had not been faced by Republicans for 40 years. As someone who had the privilege of sitting at the GOP leadership table at that time, I can say first-hand that we did some things well as we discovered that governing is hard. And we made our share of mistakes. I can also say that the new Republican House majority, after a hiatus of four years, can find some wisdom and challenge in our successes and our failures.

The Contract with America was an unqualified success. It had proven to be a valuable political statement, but it became an even more valuable governing document. For the first few months of the 104<sup>th</sup> Congress, we were able to stay focused on enacting the promises laid down in the Contract. That period was one of enormous cohesion among the Republicans in the House because of the shared belief that accomplishing what was set forth in the Contract was essential to our political future.

And we won. All elements of the Contract passed the House save one that required a Constitutional amendment. And by the end of the 104<sup>th</sup>, almost 70 percent of the Contract had been enacted into law.

But in the midst of that success there were some hard lessons. First, we had given ourselves minimal time to do a very heavy lift. We committed to enacting the Contract

within 100 days, a timeframe that had a nice political ring to it, but was very difficult to achieve inside the operational rules of the House. Legislation required committee markups, in several cases referrals to several different committees, time for pulling together the final versions of the bills, layover

time before Rules Committee action and further layover time before consideration in the whole House. All of this crammed the 100 day obligation and forced us to keep Members in Washington for extended periods. This meant the newly-minted Congressmen were not getting back to their Districts regularly, which not only was politically troublesome for them, but in many cases caused huge family strains.

Another problem was the way committees got organized. Because we had a very clear legislative agenda and because one of our commitments was to reduce the numbers of subcommittees and committee staff, we organized in

a way to amplify the production of legislation. What we largely forgot was the importance of the committee oversight role. When subcommittees were reduced and staff was cut, it was often the oversight subcommittees that were eliminated. The theory was that the legislative specialty subcommittees would perform the oversight, but with our compressed legislative agenda, the focus was on passing bills,

not doing oversight. And once the committee culture was established that way, we never seemed to get back to doing substantive oversight, despite efforts later in the Congress by the leadership to refocus the committees on that role.

After the Contract had been completed, we needed to turn to a new agenda that would define a Republican Party prepared to meet the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Speaker



**As someone who had the privilege of sitting at the GOP leadership table at that time, I can say first-hand that we did some things well as we discovered that governing is hard. And we made our share of mistakes.**

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Gingrich had a plan for turning our attention toward the challenges of an economy on the verge of transitioning from industrial to informational. He foresaw the forthcoming explosion of use of personal computers, and the economic implications and applications which would follow. He made an effort to sell our colleagues on that vision, but they were seemingly too tired to take on a whole new crusade.

The default position became to focus on balancing the Federal budget. We had tried to pass a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution, which proved to be a bridge too far. But what we could do was to pass budgets that had the long-term goal of getting to balance and could pressure the Clinton Administration to join us in the effort. That agenda came to a head in late 1995 when we used the need for the government to raise the debt limit as a wedge to engage the Administration in serious talk about balancing budgets. We went through government shutdowns, and in the course of the legislative battle lost the public relations battle with the White House. But we ultimately succeeded in the overall outcome. We got agreement on a seven-year plan for balancing the

budget without new taxes, a goal that was reached in only three years. And, a year later, Republicans survived the congressional elections with our majority intact.

The lessons of 1995 may have relevance to 2011, but the real story rests in what happened later. Those things that brought us to power got lost in the lust for staying in power. Balanced budgets and fiscal discipline gave way to deficit spending and a proliferate use of earmarks. As a result, the American people decided that we no longer deserved

**...the party needs to learn from the successes and failures of 1995. But above all, they need to stay true to the mission the American people sent them to Washington to do.**

their trust.

The 112<sup>th</sup> Congress presents Republicans with an opportunity to regain that trust. To do so, the party needs to learn from the successes and failures of 1995. But above all, they need to stay true to the mission the American people sent them to Washington to do. **RF**

*Robert S. Walker is Chairman of Wexler & Walker Public Policy Associates. He represented the 16<sup>th</sup> District of Pennsylvania in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1977 to 1997.*



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# The War on Federal Redundancy

DEMIAN BRADY

For far longer than the “war on terror” or the “war on drugs,” the federal government has been engaged in a seemingly endless war on budgetary waste.

There are three main fronts in this war against waste. The first -- pure waste -- occurs when improper payments are made: either when funds go to the wrong recipient, or when an incorrect quantity of funds is dispersed. The worst example of this type of waste occurs when the unscrupulous make intentionally false claims in order to fraudulently collect grants or benefits.

A second front is the fight over those programs in the budget whose wastefulness, or worthiness, is debatable. For example, Representative Betty McCollum (D-MN) argues that it is wasteful for the Army to continue to spend \$7 million a year to sponsor race cars in NASCAR. The Army counters that the spending enhances its favorability among potential recruits.

The third front is waste endemic to large bureaucracies, such as lost inventory, for example, or unnecessary workers. Also related to this type of waste are those cases where the government creates multiple programs to perform the same basic functions. Maintaining such redundant agencies and their staffs, supplies, and office space, needlessly adds to the overhead costs of government. Additional burdens are placed on citizens seeking aid, who are unable to navigate a complicated and

confusing federal bureaucracy to find the appropriate program.

Getting rid of fraudulent and improper payments is widely supported by both parties and at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue. In spite of that support and decades of increased enforcement efforts to clamp down on these billions of dollars in waste, the problem persists.



**Getting rid of fraudulent and improper payments is widely supported by both parties and at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue. In spite of that support ... the problem persists.**

Why is it so difficult to eliminate these misspent funds? Congress and top executive branch officials have the herculean task of overseeing a \$3.8 trillion federal government, with an executive branch civilian workforce of 2.1 million administering over 1,100 domestic aid programs. Heightening the challenge, every program creates a constituency of beneficiaries and political patrons who will aggressively lobby for its survival. This makes oversight and elimination of duplicate programs a challenge.

There are repeated efforts by both those inside and outside the government to identify and list redundant programs. Each year as a part of his budget, President Barack Obama has released a publication outlining program cuts and reforms called, “Terminations, Reductions, and Savings.” Variations of the words “duplication” and “duplicative” were used 29 times in the FY 2012 edition, 26 times in 2011, and 23 times in 2010. This isn’t necessarily an indication that the

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problem is getting worse, just that the Administration is increasing its efforts to target these programs. President George W. Bush's last budget included a similar document called, "Major Savings and Reforms in the President's FY 2009 Budget" in which variations of the words were used 190 times.

Even with such efforts from the executive branch, it has been very difficult to get Congress to grow out of its myopic culture of overspending and de-fund these inefficient programs. For years, experts have issued repeated warnings that the federal government's financial obligations are on an unsustainable course. Voters sent a message in the last election that our elected officials need to get serious about reining in the debt before we end up like Portugal or Greece. Ultimately, our fiscal problems won't be solved until politicians find the guts to tackle entitlement reform. But while the debate and negotiations on that front continue, Congress should immediately get to work eliminating or consolidating wasteful, duplicative programs.

One egregious example is the development of the F-35 Alternate Engine Project. We have--or, rather, had--so much extra money to spend in the defense budget that Congress dedicated funds to create an alternative second engine for the Joint Strike Fighter. After missing out on the contract for the design of original engine, General Electric and Rolls-Royce argued that the development of a competing back-up engine for the same plane would benefit the military. Even though the Department of Defense did not want the second engine, Congress forced it on them. The F-35 system is already experiencing significant cost-overruns without the additional budgetary burden of developing a competing engine.

The multiple, confusing array of labor programs is also ripe for consolidation and elimination. A recent Government Accountability Office (GAO) report found that in 2009, the federal government spent \$18 billion to run 47 different employment and job training programs across nine agencies. Similar job training services are provided through the Employment Service, the Workforce Investment Act Adult program (both in the Department of Labor), and the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (in the Department of Health and Human Services). Many of these programs target similar audiences and fulfill similar objectives, yet maintain separate administrative structures. For example, the GAO

identified eight different overlapping job training programs targeting Native Americans. Four of the programs are run by the Department of Education, two are run by Interior, one by Labor, and one is run out of HHS.

Federal money also flows out through duplicate water treatment programs. One might expect to see a program like this in the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), but of course there is more than one. There is a targeted water infrastructure grant program that provides funding for the same sorts of state and local projects that the EPA also funds via its Clean Water State Revolving Fund and the Drinking Water State Revolving Fund. There are also water treatment programs run out of the Department of Agriculture and the Army Corps of Engineers. HHS is even in on the action with a \$10 million rural community facilities grant that is run by Administration for Children and Families, primarily a social welfare agency.

There are 20 different discretionary programs recommended for cuts in President Obama's FY 2012 "Terminations, Reductions, and Savings" report because they were either duplicative or inefficient and were similarly labeled as such by President Bush in his final budget. The savings would amount to just over \$1 billion. But if those two administrations can come to agreement on cutting this waste, Congress should as well.

Past Congresses created some of the problems, and although some of the duplicate programs still have support of Hill veterans, there is a large freshman class in Washington not beholden to the old ways of doing things. Freshman Republicans went against their party leadership and were joined by Democrats in a successful vote to repeal funding for the F-35. Senators will have to oppose both the Chairmen of the Armed Services and the Appropriations Committees to pass it in the upper chamber.

Whether politicians' main priority is to make government smaller or smarter, now is the time to win this war on duplicate waste. **RF**



*Demian S. Brady is Senior Policy Analyst at the National Taxpayers Union Foundation, which is the research affiliate of the 362,000-member National Taxpayers Union.*

**A recent GAO report found that in 2009, the federal government spent \$18 billion to run 47 different employment and job training programs across nine agencies.**

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# A Pro-American, Pro-Trade Agenda for 2011

DANIEL GRISWOLD

After four years of hibernation, U.S. trade policy appears poised to move forward in 2011. President Obama wants to promote U.S. exports as a way to stimulate the economy, while Republican leaders in the new Congress have signaled their eagerness to work with the President to expand trade with key allies.

Trade policy is ripe for bipartisan cooperation. Since World War Two, both parties have worked together to enact major trade-expansion agreements, from eight rounds in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade beginning in 1948 to the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1993 to China's entry into the World Trade Organization in 2001.

The U.S. government turned away from the disastrous protectionism of the 1930s as a way of promoting economic growth at home and abroad. Democrats and Republicans alike understood that exports allow U.S. companies to reach new markets and expand production, while imports bless consumers with lower prices and more variety while fueling competition, innovation and higher productivity among domestic producers.

Our leaders also recognized that expanding trade can be an effective tool of foreign policy, tying us more closely to our allies, promoting peace, and reducing poverty in the developing world.

At the top of the congressional trade agenda this year will be three pending trade agreements — with South Korea, Colombia, and Panama. The agreements were signed by the Bush Administration but have been bottled up since 2007 by congressional Democrats eager to please their labor-union benefactors. Republican leaders have rightly insisted that all agreements be passed by this summer.

The Korean agreement would eliminate barriers to

trade with our seventh largest trading partner. According to the U.S. International Trade Commission, it would boost U.S. exports by more than \$10 billion once fully implemented. The agreement would keep U.S. exporters on equal footing with their competitors in the European Union, which will enter into its own free trade agreement with South Korea on July 1 of this year.

The Colombia agreement would boost U.S. exports by another \$1 billion, while deepening our ties to a key Latin American ally. Colombia is the third largest market for U.S.

exports in Latin America. Imports from Colombia already enjoy virtually duty-free access to the U.S. market because of the Andean Trade Preferences Act, while U.S. exports to Colombia face average tariffs of 11 percent. The agreement would deliver the “level playing field” politicians are always demanding.

Union opponents of the Colombia agreement cite lingering violence in that country against trade unionists, but their complaints ignore the dramatic social progress in Colombia during the past decade. Under former

President Uribe and now under his successor President Santos, the Colombian government has restored the rule of law and largely defeated the Marxist FARC insurgency. The murder rate in the country has dropped by 40 percent since 2002 and killings of union members have dropped even more sharply.

Congress and the President can also promote trade by exercising leadership in the ongoing Doha round of negotiations among members of the WTO. Although the talks have stalled in recent years, world leaders have expressed renewed interest in reaching a comprehensive agreement by the end of 2011. An ambitious WTO deal would lower global barriers to trade in agricultural goods, manufactured



## Trade policy is ripe for bipartisan cooperation



products, and services, benefiting American consumers and producers alike.

Key to U.S. leadership will be a willingness to reduce our own agricultural subsidies and trade barriers, a sticking point so far with important developing countries such as Brazil and India. The next farm bill is due to be written by the current Congress. The big question will be whether Republicans, and especially the new Tea-Party-affiliated members, will be willing to apply their free-market, small-government principles by cutting trade-distorting farm programs popular in their rural districts.

Another major trade issue in 2011 will be managing our commercial relationship with China. Critics complain about the large bilateral trade deficit we run with China, but they ignore the fact that millions of American consumers benefit every day from those lower-cost imports. China has also become the third largest market for U.S. exports, behind only our NAFTA partners Canada and Mexico.

China continues to loosen its grip on its managed

currency, allowing the renminbi to appreciate slowly toward a rate that more closely reflects economic fundamentals. Evidence is lacking that China's currency policy has had a major impact on the bilateral trade deficit, or U.S. manufacturing and employment. It would be foolish of Congress and the Administration to pick a needless trade fight with our third largest customer for U.S. exports.

By reaffirming America's commitment to a more open economy in 2011, Republican leaders in Congress can boost economic growth and job creation, strengthen our ties to friendly nations, and work constructively across the aisle to the benefit of Main Street Americans across the country. **RF**

## Imports from Colombia already enjoy virtually duty-free access to the U.S. market ... while U.S. exports to Colombia face average tariffs of 11 percent.



*Daniel Griswold is director of the Cato Institute's Center for Trade Policy Studies and author of the 2009 book, Mad About Trade: Why Main Street America Should Embrace Globalization.*



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\*Approval Rating Source: The Federal Communications Commission Consumer Survey, April 19 to May 2, 2010

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# Learning from the States

## *Eight steps to better reform*

MAURICE MCTIGUE  
AND DANIEL M. ROTHSCHILD

Over the past three years, as states have faced record budget deficits, a number of governors and legislatures have looked for ways to increase government efficiency and effectiveness in order to minimize painful budget cuts and avoid tax and fee increases.

Together, we have had the opportunity to work with Louisiana's Commission on Streamlining Government and Virginia's Commission on Government Reform and Restructuring as they spent much of 2009 and 2010, respectively, poring over their states' operations looking for efficiencies and opportunities to refocus state agencies on their critical core missions. These comments reflect our personal experience with these commissions, as well as ex-post analysis based on qualitative interviews with many of the members and staff who participated in Louisiana's efforts and less formal conversations with participants in Virginia's commission.

We have found that independent government review commissions that bring together officials from the legislative and executive branches of government as well as outsiders from the private sector and nonprofit groups to look closely at government activities can be effective at identifying opportunities to cut waste, eliminate duplicative programs, realize economies of scale, and generally streamline state government operations.

We have identified eight specific factors relating to the creation and composition of review commissions that we believe help make them more effective and their

reports more likely to result in positive policy changes. We review these points briefly here and hope that this information may encourage other states to critically review the activities of their state.

*1. Identify a focus and clear goals.* Commissions can either focus on specific, discrete issues or cover a wide range of government services. This should be clearly and specifically articulated in the commission's charter,

as should the deliverables the commission is charged with producing. Failure to do either of these things will delay the commission's start or open it up to pressure from outside interest groups to either include or exclude specific issues. To maximize the effectiveness of the commission, a clear "Terms of Reference" document will dramatically improve the effectiveness and likely success of the commission. This document should clearly state the purpose of the commission, how often it should report, to whom it should report and the termination point of the commission.

*2. Keep the timeline commensurate with the scope.* Commissions with a very narrow scope may be able to complete their work in a matter of months, but those with broader missions may need a year or more to complete their work. Proposals to stagger reports over the life of the commission, such as is the case in Virginia, allow commissions to achieve short-term results with the kind of reform that only comes through longer-term deliberation and study. As one staff member from Louisiana's Commission on Streamlining Government

**We have found that independent government review commissions ... can be effective at identifying opportunities to cut waste, eliminate duplicative programs, realize economies of scale, and generally streamline state government operations.**



Maurice McTigue



Daniel Rothschild

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said, “The deal with true reform is you sit back and look at it a while.” Taking the time for deep study, debate, and reflection will yield a better final product. The approach of staggered reporting may be an effective way to grab some of the “low-hanging fruit” early on while contemplating more complex reforms over a longer period.

3. *Structure committees in a way that comports with staff expertise.* Both Louisiana’s and Virginia’s commissions created committees to study particular issues in depth and report back to the commission. These committees should be structured to take advantage of legislative staff experience and expertise. Additionally, each committee should be provided with clear terms of reference that minimize overlap between committees. The “Terms of Reference” should make it clear that the commission has the authority to create committees and specify who is eligible to serve on these committees. In some cases it would be valuable to allow committees to include citizens who are not commission members but with deep experience in specific areas to assist the work of the committee. These appointments should be approved by the whole commission

4. *Properly resource the commission with the funds necessary to start quickly, investigate thoroughly, and report effectively.* Providing a budget to a commission tasked with reducing spending may sound oxymoronic. But virtually all of the members of the

Louisiana Commission on Streamlining Government who we interviewed told us that they would have been more effective with an independent investigative and analytic staff. While members praised the diligence and expertise of the legislative staff detailed to the commission, these staff members, by virtue of their positions as civil servants, were constrained in effectively critiquing ideas put forth either by commissioners or members of the public. Moreover, they were unable to aggressively seek information from agencies. Commissioners and staff generally agreed that civil service staff can be valuable assets to commissions, but commissions need their own

independent staff as well for fact-finding and analysis. Further, we recommend that a commission be given the funds to hire a facilitator to serve as a chief of staff to the chairperson and an editor to begin the hard work of writing intermediate and final reports from the first day the commission meets. These positions help the commission make the most of its time, especially when operating on a tight timeline. Commissions should plan to report electronically in a searchable and non-proprietary format.

5. *Select commission members who are largely outsiders.* Streamlining commissions are most effective when a majority of their members do not make government their full-time occupation. After all, much of their strength comes from having a fresh set of eyes look at the operations of state government. However, there

would be real value in having members of the legislature as ex-officio members with speaking rights but not decision-making rights. This allows both the legislature and the administration to be closely associated with the work of the commission but not to be seen to be bound by its decisions.

The number of commission members seems to be a sticky point, but our view is to be smaller rather than larger, with between eight and sixteen members an ideal range. Too great a membership allows some to be free riders without making an energetic



**As one staff member from Louisiana’s Commission on Streamlining Government said, “The deal with true reform is you sit back and look at it a while.”**

contribution.

6. *Select an independent chair.* The quality of the chairperson is critical; it needs to be someone who has public credibility, the confidence of the other members, and a depth of experience at bringing diverse views to a consensus point while keeping the commission on task and on time. This person must be able to effectively speak for the commission in the media, in front of the legislature and to the governor and his or her administration.

7. *Keep administration participation circumscribed but significant.* Having buy-in from the governor and the legislature is imperative regardless of whether the

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commission is a vehicle of the legislature or the governor. However, the commission must also feel that it has the freedom to be able to act independently of all branches of the government.

8. *Plan for legislative follow through.* Nobody wants to serve on a commission for the joy that comes from writing articulate, convincing reports that sit on shelves and do not result in policy changes. Therefore, the commission should endeavor to make all of its recommendations as actionable as possible. As we suggested earlier, having a small number of ex-officio legislative members and people from the administration would be useful in this regard. Additionally, the facilitator and editor can help maintain focus on the actionability of recommendations throughout the research and writing process.

There is no “one size fits all” recipe for establishing

or operating state review commissions. Rather, effective commissions must be created and managed in a way that is compatible with a state’s political, economic, and constitutional environments.

Based on what we have learned from other states, we believe that states will be well served by carefully designed commissions that have clear and realistic missions. The quality of decision making by our governments can only be improved by having in front of them well researched information from a grouping of people who are highly qualified, but conduct this work in an environment absent of self-interest. **RF**

**Streamlining commissions are most effective when a majority of their members do not make government their full-time occupation. After all, much of their strength comes from having a fresh set of eyes look at the operations of state government.**

*The Honorable Maurice McTigue is Vice President of the Mercatus Center at George Mason University. Daniel M. Rothschild is the Managing Director of the Mercatus Center’s State and Local Policy Project.*



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# Before MORNING IN AMERICA

## *Reagan and the Pivotal Year of 1983*

CHESTER PACH

“Well, 49 states, 59% of the vote, and 525 electoral votes,” President Ronald Reagan wrote with satisfaction in his diary as he summarized his landslide reelection in November 1984. Reagan’s triumph, however, hardly seemed possible just two years earlier. In the 1982 mid-term elections, Republicans added one seat to their majority in the U.S. Senate, but lost 26 seats in the House of Representatives where the Democrats already had a 50 seat advantage.

Presidential approval polls also registered new lows for Reagan. The reason for widespread discontent was obvious: the economy was experiencing what was then the worst recession since the 1930s. At the end of 1982, unemployment peaked at 10.8 percent. Many Americans blamed Reaganomics – the president’s then-unconventional program of tax cuts, discretionary spending reductions, and defense increases – for the nation’s economic distress. Some political observers predicted that Reagan would be a one-term president.

Reagan, however, was confident that his economic program would work. Optimism was one of his most appealing qualities and most important political assets. So, too, was pragmatism -- willingness to compromise when political realities prevented him from achieving everything he desired. At a time when nothing could pass the House of Representatives over the opposition of Democratic Speaker Tip O’Neill, Reagan used his pragmatic skill

to make compromises that strengthened his political position. By the beginning of 1984, Reagan looked practically unbeatable.

### **Meeting domestic challenges**

Improvements in the economy contributed to Reagan’s increasing political strength in 1983. The economy began expanding in late 1982, growing by over 7 percent in 1983, while unemployment declined to 8.1 percent by year’s end. Inflation, which had soared to a painful 13.5 percent just before Reagan took office, plunged to only 3.2 percent in 1983 -- the lowest level since 1967. Federal deficits, however, set what were then new records, despite Reagan’s promise to balance the budget. But the President said he gave higher priority to tax cuts and increased military strength and thought that a majority of Americans agreed.

During 1983, Reagan bargained with O’Neill to advance his agenda. Particularly notable was a compromise on Social Security. Reagan had established a commission headed by economist Alan Greenspan to recommend reforms. The White House kept close watch on the commission’s work. Reagan at times met with Greenspan, while Chief of Staff James Baker negotiated with commission members on a set of recommendations – including

higher payroll taxes, a gradual increase in the retirement age, and a postponement of cost-of-living increases for current retirees – that both the President and the Speaker could support. Reagan signed these



**At a time when nothing could pass the House of Representatives over the opposition of ... Tip O’Neill, Reagan used his pragmatic skill to make compromises that strengthened his political position.**

reforms into law in April 1983. They ensured the solvency of the Social Security system. In addition, the legislation deprived Democrats of an issue they had used in the 1982 elections – that Reagan would weaken or even destroy Social Security.

Reagan also made a concession when he went along with a hike in the federal gas tax to finance highway construction jobs to help bring down unemployment. But this tactical retreat helped preserve an important reform. He was able to fend off attempts to eliminate or delay the final installment of the 25 percent cut in individual income taxes that Congress had approved in 1981. For Reagan, that was the victory that really mattered.

### Preparing for foreign threats

In foreign affairs, Reagan made adjustments that overcame public anxieties about his pursuit of peace. The year 1983 was one of the tensest of the Cold War. An ardent anti-Communist, Reagan bluntly criticized Soviet practices and policies. In March of that year, he denounced the Soviet Union as an “evil empire.” Critics complained that Reagan was more interested in scoring rhetorical points than in the hard bargaining that could advance arms control or human rights.

Two weeks later, he proposed a Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) that could shield Americans from nuclear attack. Reagan genuinely abhorred nuclear weapons; the President’s detractors, however, dismissed SDI as a technological fantasy – Star Wars – that would escalate the arms race.

In September, U.S.-Soviet relations deteriorated further when the Soviets shot down a Korean Airlines passenger plane that had strayed into their airspace. Reagan condemned the Soviet action and the resulting

deaths of the 269 people on board as “an act of barbarism.” By November, suspicion and distrust were so pervasive that when U.S. forces participated in a NATO military exercise, some Soviet leaders feared an actual invasion.

Many Americans were also worried about the possibility of war. Reagan’s build-up of U.S. armed forces contributed to the popularity of the nuclear freeze movement -- a grassroots campaign to persuade both the United States and Soviet Union to halt the production and testing of nuclear weapons. Reagan opposed a nuclear freeze, charging it would lock in Soviet advantages.

The freeze movement sponsored rallies and petition drives across the nation. In May 1983, the House of Representatives passed a freeze resolution. In November, almost 100 million viewers watched a made-for-television movie, “The Day After,” which portrayed life after a nuclear exchange.

The program “greatly depressed” Reagan, but he also resolved to do all he could so that “there is never a nuclear war.”

## An ardent anti-Communist, Reagan bluntly criticized Soviet practices and policies. In March of that year, he denounced the Soviet Union as an “evil empire.”



Two weeks after delivering his “evil empire” speech, President Reagan spoke to the Nation about his plans for the Strategic Defense Initiative.

### The things “that make life worth living”

The fears and controversies of 1983 strengthened Reagan’s desire to lower Cold War tensions. Reagan wrote, “I began to realize that many Soviet officials feared us ... as potential aggressors who might hurl nuclear weapons at them in a first strike.” As early as February 1983, Reagan had quietly met with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin to discuss how to make progress on matters of common concern. After learning about the Soviet fears of a U.S. attack, Reagan decided on a dramatic, public gesture.

In early 1984, Reagan gave a speech about Soviet-American relations and “the cause of peace.” He emphasized that while both sides had major differences, “we should always remember that we do have common

interests and the foremost among them is to avoid war and reduce the level of arms.”

As he often did, Reagan found a memorable way to explain his thinking. He imagined Soviet citizens Ivan and Anya spending time with Americans Jim and Sally with no language barrier to keep them from developing a friendship.

“Would they debate the differences between their respective governments?” Reagan asked. “Or would they find themselves comparing notes about their children and what each other did for a living?”

The Great Communicator brilliantly made his point. “People want to raise their children in a world without fear and without war. They want to have some of the good things . . . that make life worth living.” Reagan promised to work with Soviet leaders “to fulfill the hopes and dreams of those we represent and, indeed, of people everywhere.”

The speech was another triumph in what had been a pivotal year. By the beginning of 1984, Reagan’s approval rating was at 53 percent, an increase of 14 percent since the start of 1983. By helping to restore prosperity, standing for what he believed, using his pragmatic political skills to compromise when necessary, and explaining his achievements and hopes to the American people, Reagan moved into position to win a second term.

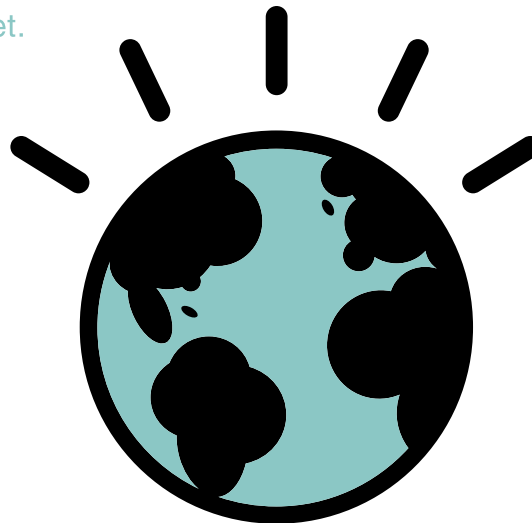
When he proclaimed during his reelection campaign that it was “Morning in America,” an overwhelming majority of voters agreed. **RF**

**By the beginning of 1984,  
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14 percent since the start  
of 1983.**



*Chester Pach is a member of the History Department at Ohio University. His book, *The Presidency of Ronald Reagan*, will soon be published by the University Press of Kansas.*

On a Smarter Planet,  
the question isn't what can we do.  
The question is what will we do?  
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## *“In the Footsteps of Washington”*

The top legislative aides for nearly 100 House Republicans meet at Mount Vernon for Ripon Society LD Symposium

MOUNT VERNON, VA -- The top legislative aides for nearly 100 House Republicans met on February 4 at the estate of our Nation’s first President for The Ripon Society’s first annual Legislative Directors Symposium on Leadership at Mount Vernon.

According to Jim Conzelman, the President & CEO of The Ripon Society, the purpose of the symposium was to provide Legislative Directors with briefings on some of the key challenges facing our Nation -- and the new Republican majority -- in the coming year.

“As someone who spent over 25 years on the Hill as a chief of staff, I know how important your position is to the success of a Congressional office,” stated Conzelman, the longtime chief of staff to former Ohio Congressman Mike Oxley, in remarks to the LDs to open the symposium. “Your job is to anticipate, communicate and execute your boss’s priorities, while at the same time mastering every issue that comes across his or her desk. You’ve got committees to worry about, constituents to please, and, in all likelihood, at least one or two legislative aides who are your responsibility. In short, you’ve got your hands full.

“Our goal today is to hopefully make your job a little easier. Nearly every speaker or panelist today has walked in your shoes in that they have worked in a Congressional office and know the challenges you face. Our hope is that you walk away this afternoon with some insight or information that will help you as you meet these challenges down the road. At the same time, by meeting here

at Mount Vernon, we also hope to remind you of the historical significance of the task in which you are engaged. You are walking in the footsteps of Washington -- which is not something you’re likely to read about on Twitter, but is something worth remembering today.”

The topics and speakers featured in The Ripon Society’s Legislative Directors Symposium on Leadership included:



Nearly 100 LDs attended the February 4th event

*“George Washington’s Leadership Lessons”* -- featuring an address by James Rees, the President of Mount Vernon.

*“How Policy Drives Politics”* -- featuring an address by Ed Gillespie, former Chairman of the Republican National Committee. (see article on next page)

*“A Clever Title is Not Enough”* -- featuring a panel discussion on effective legislative communication in a competitive political environment and rapidly changing new media world featuring: Torie Clarke, former Pentagon spokeswoman and current Senior Advisor of Communications and Government Relations at Comcast; John Feehery, former spokesman for the Speaker of the House and current President of Quinn

Gillespie Communications; Matt Lira, the Director of New Media for Majority Leader Eric Cantor; and, Dan Mattoon, former Deputy Chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee and current President of Mattoon & Associates. (see article on page 25)

*“A View From The Media”* -- featuring Luke Russert, Capitol Hill Correspondent for NBC News.

*“Working with Leadership Offices”* -- featuring a panel discussion with: Tim Berry, Chief of Staff for the House Majority Whip; Hugh Halpern, Staff Director of the House Committee on Rules; Michael Sommers, Deputy Chief of Staff for the Speaker of the House; and, Steve Stombres, Chief of Staff for the House Majority Leader.

*“Channeling The Energy”* -- featuring an address on the Tea Party and the current Congress

by Dick Armey, former House Majority Leader and currently the Chairman of FreedomWorks.

*“Get Me My Legislative Director!”* -- featuring a discussion on what Members of Congress need -- and expect -- from their LDs with former House Members (and husband and wife): Bill Paxon, currently a Senior Advisor at Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer and Feld; and, Susan Molinari, currently the President of Susan Molinari Strategies. (see article on page 27)

A photo gallery and videos from The Ripon Society’s 2011 Legislative Directors Symposium on Leadership at Mount Vernon can be viewed by visiting The Ripon Society’s website at [www.riponsociety.org](http://www.riponsociety.org). **RF**



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## *“Finish the Sentence”*

Former RNC Chair says party needs to do a better job of connecting policy to people’s lives

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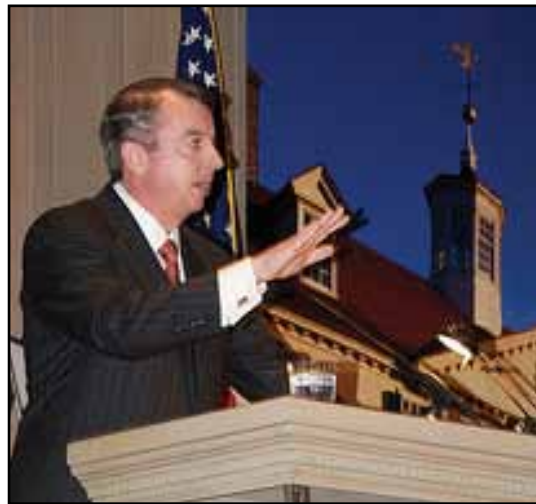
MOUNT VERNON, VA – In a speech at The Ripon Society’s 2011 Legislative Directors Symposium, former presidential advisor and Republican National Committee Chairman Ed Gillespie urged those in attendance to follow the lead of Virginia’s Governor and “finish the sentence” when talking about their party’s legislative priorities for the coming year.

“Bob McDonnell was such a good candidate for governor because he would finish the sentence,” stated Gillespie, who also served as Chairman of McDonnell’s 2009 campaign. “Too often on the Republican side, we’re talking amongst ourselves. We say we just want to cut taxes, and we assume that everyone knows why we want to cut taxes. We want to cut spending, and we assume [voters] know why we want to cut spending. We have to finish the sentence.

“We want to cut taxes because we know that if people have more money to invest in the private sector economy, that will create jobs. If they have more money to spend on themselves and their family, it will be more efficiently spent. We want to cut spending because at a time when American families are tightening their belts, we need to tighten the belt in Washington, DC. And too much government spending -- too

much intervention in the economy -- is a drag on job creation. It kills jobs.

“How we go about talking about reducing spending and lowering the burden of taxes, cutting back regulations, making sure we do what needs to be done to repeal or replace the health care bill, is critically important. And it will have a big



**“Too often on the Republican side, we’re talking amongst ourselves. We say we just want to cut taxes, and we assume that everyone knows why we want to cut taxes ... We have to finish the sentence.”**

impact on whether or not in 2012 we’re able to build on the gains we saw in this election year.”

In his remarks, Gillespie also pointed to another issue where Republicans needed to do a better job of connecting policy to people’s

lives – immigration.

“We favor welcoming legal immigrants into this country and believe it’s a good thing,” he said. “But sometimes that policy gets lost because we’re so busy talking about keeping illegal immigrants out.

“The fact is, people who come to this country legally contribute to our society, contribute to our economy, and contribute to our culture. We have not only a right, but an obligation to secure our borders. But we also have to welcome people into our country and into our party, I would argue, as a Republican. I say that not based on any theory. I know this to be a fact.

“My father was an Irish immigrant. He came here from Ireland at the age of 9, was processed through Ellis Island, grew up in North Philadelphia in some pretty tough neighborhoods, worked as a janitor. He fought for his adopted country in World War II, won two Purple Hearts, a Bronze Star, a Silver Star, was a small business owner. He and my mother had a mom-and-pop grocery store, and he lived every Irishman’s dream -- he bought his own bar.

He’s a great American. We need to send a signal that we recognize and welcome these folks.”

Gillespie, who currently heads up Resurgent Republic, a policy research group that closely tracks independent voters, stated that

sending this kind of signal on immigration is not just the right thing to do, but is smart politically, as well.

“If the Republican nominee in 2020,” he said, “gets the same percentage of the Hispanic vote and the African American vote and the Asian American Pacific Islander vote as John McCain got in 2008, the Republican nominee will lose by 14 percentage points. We’ll be in a situation where Florida won’t be a swing state -- Texas will be a swing state. And that’s a tough row to hoe in the Electoral College.

“So I counsel that there’s one warning out there for us that might be masked by the massive gains we made in the last election. And that is the

demographic challenges before us -- if we’re not thoughtful as a party and we’re not thoughtful as we talk about policies -- will be a real long-term challenge for us as well.

“But in the immediate term

**We have not only a right, but an obligation to secure our borders. But we also have to welcome people into our country and into our party, I would argue, as a Republican.**

we are very fortunate to be in a position where we are where the majority of Americans are in our policies and in our approach to

government. We are where they are when it comes to the debt and spending and government intervention in the economy. I think that most Americans understand they are better off to have strong national security, and that apology tours are not going to make us safer as a country and are not going to make the world more stable.

“So we have a real opportunity here to build on the majorities that we have gained, including adding to the House majority with a Senate majority in 2012 -- which I think is very likely -- as well as winning back control of the White House.”

Gillespie’s complete remarks can be viewed online at The Ripon Society’s website at [www.riponsociety.org](http://www.riponsociety.org). **RF**



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# Harnessing the Power of Social Media

*It's not just the press secretary's job, anymore*

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MOUNT VERNON, VA – “Don’t make the mistake of viewing social media as just the communications responsibility.”

That was the advice of Matt Lira, the Director of New Media for House Majority Leader Eric Cantor, in remarks at The Ripon Society’s 2011 Legislative Directors Symposium.

Lira made his remarks in a panel discussion entitled “A Clever Title is Not Enough.”

The panel focused on the importance of effective legislative communications. In addition to Lira, the panel featured: former Pentagon spokeswoman Torie Clarke; former House Leadership press secretary John Feehery; and Dan Mattoon, the former Deputy Chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee.

In his remarks, Lira compared the power of the Internet today with the power of television 60 years ago, and stated that social media should be thought of in equally revolutionary terms.

“If you go back and look at the early 1950s and mid-1950s,” he said, “if you go and watch the hearings that took place, the really forward-thinking hearings

were integrating television as a part of those hearing processes and impacting the political debate nationally as a result. The same opportunity exists today through the use of social media in our legislative business. And so I think there are two main ways in which that can be done.



*Matt Lira*

**“As a result of bringing the public in at the beginning and allowing them to engage in that process, we built an audience of people who feel a sense of ownership over the legislative outcome...”**

“The first is in the building of public stakeholders. As you are planning out your agenda, introduce opportunities to create stakeholders at the grassroots level in your districts. There are several ways to do that. One that we have done out of the Leader’s office is the YouCut program. We allowed

the public to vote substantively in the legislative process. So the outcome isn’t a press release or a survey results page. The outcome is an actual legislative outcome. As a result of bringing the public in at the beginning and allowing them to engage in that process, we built an audience of people who feel a sense of ownership over the legislative outcome and care that a bill is passed.

“If there is one thing that we know, it’s that there is so much work that happens day-to-day on the committees and on the floor that the public is not aware of. So the great opportunity of social media is that you can tie niche audiences that do care about the legislative outcome to the ownership -- give them a sense of ownership over the process, so they care when the bill passes and they celebrate it. If the Senate stops it, they care about that, too. If it makes it all the way to the White House and

is vetoed, they care about that. If it is signed, the public knows that from day one your office was the one championing that, and of course that trickles up to the member as a sense of accomplishment.

“A second way I think that you can utilize social media is in crowd-sourcing some of the workload that

you have in the office. It's no secret to any LD in this room that the workload that you have is probably higher than it's ever been for any congressional office in terms of researching and getting the facts -- whether it's questions for a hearing or research for legislation. So in addition to the great resources that you have around the broader, traditional community, you have I think the opportunity to crowd source some research for your legislative programs.

"It was admittedly an experiment and we didn't promote it at all -- we were just trying to see if it would work -- but we did what we would call a citizen review, where we asked people on our e-mail list essentially to go through an Excel spreadsheet and look for

programs that they thought were wasteful at the National Science Foundation. Within 24 hours, we had 10,000 responses. People may

**"...we asked people on our e-mail list essentially to go through an Excel spreadsheet and look for programs that they thought were wasteful at the National Science Foundation. Within 24 hours, we had 10,000 responses."**

have spent 10 minutes or an hour going through it, but the responses were valid. Hopefully, it will lead to legislative outcomes in the 112<sup>th</sup> Congress directly built on the foundation of research that, frankly, we could not have done in our office because it would have taken one staffer months to go through

thousands of line item spending requests from the National Science Foundation.

"So as you're building you're legislative agenda, really think about, 'Is there an opportunity to involve local stakeholders in the process through the website in a substantive way in legislation?' Not just driving the message, although that is a critical part of it. But actually, how can they help me do my job better as a legislative director for my Member of Congress?"

"As you experiment with that and achieve successes, please let me know, because I love to champion that to anyone I can. If we successfully achieve that, it will help build a stronger foundation for our majority -- hopefully for a long, long time." **RF**



The panel on effective legislative communications featured: (l to r) former House Leadership press secretary John Feehery; former Pentagon spokeswoman Torie Clarke; ; Dan Mattoon, the former Deputy Chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee; and Matt Lira, Director of New Media for the House Majority Leader.

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# Get Me My Legislative Director!

*Two former House Members offer practical advice on what they expected from their top legislative aides*

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MOUNT VERNON, VA -- The Ripon Society's 2011 Legislative Directors Symposium on Leadership closed out the day with a panel presentation geared around practical career advice for LDs.

The presentation, which was titled "Get Me My Legislative Director!," featured former New York Representatives (and husband and wife) Bill Paxon and Susan Molinari, who discussed not only what they expected of their LDs when they served in Congress, but offered up some practical career advice as well.

"As a Legislative Director," Molinari stated, "you would not believe how much a Member of Congress counts on you to keep them out of trouble. So when there's a vote coming up on the floor and they're not exactly sure how they are supposed to vote on it, what the reflection is in the District, what the press is going to say about it, they're going to need your advice in about 30 seconds."

"That piece of advice is very important. Tell the Member exactly how you think that this piece of legislation that they are going to vote on -- or decide to co-sponsor, or write themselves -- is going to have an impact on their career. And I think what you need to do as LDs in particular is put it in the context of, 'My boss is now debating his or her opponent three days before an election, and this comes up. Do I have the answer for why we took this position and how it benefits them?'"

"If you can't answer that question, then you have to go back. Because you will never know how many times we have been in debates when all of a sudden what we thought was sort of an insignificant

vote ... gets pulled out. Knowledge is key, and you are the gatekeeper for your member for that. So number one -- do no harm.

"Number two -- always keep an eye on the District for your Member. There are going to be times when your District is going to dictate something different -- perhaps from the Republican Party, or from other people, or, for example, from upstate versus downstate New York.



Always make sure that in whatever you are doing with the Member, that you have a really good feel for what the men and women in the District ... are going to tolerate or will not tolerate. That means that you have to make sure that you read the local papers, that you read the local blogs, that you are just as ensconced in that Member's District as that Member is."

"And third -- understand the Member's interests. I always had legislative directors who really took to what I wanted to work on. So even if it wasn't germane to my District, obviously the first thing you do is look to help your District, your state, your city. But then if there were issues outside of that that you wanted to work on, help your Member do that so that there is a greater fulfillment there, and a greater opportunity for that

Member to advance in a specific cause."

In his remarks to the group, Paxon not only shared his insights on what he expected from his Legislative Directors while he was in office, but also provided some practical career advice -- namely, that LDs should have an "exit strategy" and be actively planning for the time when they leave their jobs on Capitol Hill.

"Network is not about a TV show," Paxon told the group. "It's what you need to do. If your entire relationships are within your office or a few people on a committee staff, you are not doing yourself justice. You need to network every day in this town -- that's number one."

"Number two -- find a niche to market. In addition to all of the other things you do, find an area that your Member might be interested in or that you might be interested in and dig deep, so that when you get ready to leave -- particularly if you are going to stay in town, or even go back home and find a new opportunity -- that you have a specific area that you are particularly well-versed in."

Paxon concluded his remarks with this admonition:

"You do not want your last name to be your Member's name. You need to have a singular identity, so that when the day comes when you need to leave, or you want to leave, or you have to leave, your last name isn't 'Paxon' or the name of your Member. You have an identity."

"And you can add value to that all the time -- whether it's through additional education or volunteer experiences or other activities. So you build out that biography."

"As important as that Member is, when they are gone, believe me, they are gone."

**RF**

# Ripon Profile

**NAME:** SUSANA MARTINEZ

**OCCUPATION:** GOVERNOR OF NEW MEXICO

**HOMETOWN:** LAS CRUCES, NM

**What is your greatest achievement in the 14 years you spent as a district attorney?** The greatest achievement was making a difference in the lives of victims and their families and being a voice for those who did not have one. For example, one of my greatest achievements as district attorney was prosecuting and convicting the man who killed Katie Sepich, a New Mexico State University student who was brutally raped and murdered in 2003. Subsequently, I fought for the passage of Katie's Law in 2006, which allows for the collection of a DNA sample from anyone arrested for a violent felony in New Mexico. Katie's Law has gotten results, putting some of society's most egregious criminals behind bars and preventing them from causing harm in our communities.

**What issue more than any other contributed to your election victory last Fall?** New Mexicans are tired of politicians who refuse to shake up the system and demand bold change. Whether it was securing our borders, reforming education, ending corruption, or making New Mexico more business-friendly to help create jobs, my platform was one of challenging the status quo to end politics-as-usual in New Mexico.

**Now that you're Governor, how do you plan to stay in touch with the people of your state?** During the campaign, I spent 16 months traveling across New Mexico and listening to the concerns of people who were tired of what was going on in state government. I will continue to visit every corner of the state and listen to the people. But I'm also encouraging people to get involved in the process. We set up a tip line and asked every New Mexican to submit their ideas for cutting waste in state government. I have posted videos of committee hearings on our website and encouraged citizens to contact their legislators. I promised during the campaign to bring the people with me to the Roundhouse and I am keeping that promise.

**If you could have Congress solve one problem affecting New Mexico, what would it be?** We cannot let New Mexico become a haven for crime and illegal activity because we have failed in our most basic duty of protecting our border and keeping our citizens safe. We are working very hard in New Mexico to secure our border, but we can't do it alone. Border security requires the correct approach at both the state level and the federal level.

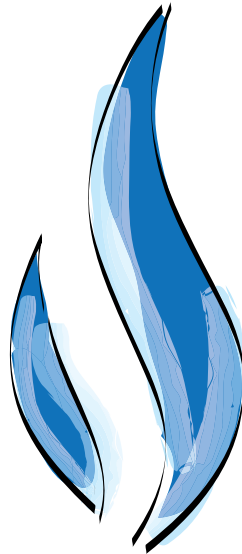
**What else should the Republican Party be doing to win minority support?** As governor, my first concern is creating a better New Mexico for all of our citizens. The way Republicans win support among minorities is to lose the rhetoric and labels and talk honestly about the issues that minorities care about. Issues like responsibly balancing the budget, eliminating wasteful spending, ending corruption, improving education for our children and rebuilding our economy around a vibrant small business community will help create a better life for all New Mexicans and that will earn their support.

**What one lesson for success do you always try to pass along to kids?** I truly believe that by working hard and setting your goals high, there is no limit to what you can achieve. I grew up in a very modest home and both of my parents worked very hard to provide for our family. They never accepted our financial situation or working-class background as an excuse for anything. I had teachers who taught me to always set the bar high and that attitude helped me succeed. I believe every child can succeed, and that's why we must end the culture of low expectations.





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