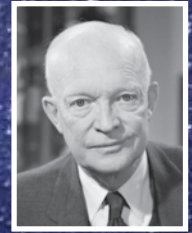


**IKE, WAR AND PEACE IN KOREA:  
Lessons for Iraq?**



# The Rippon Forum

April/May 2008  
Volume 42, No. 2

## A THOUSAND POINTS OF LIGHT



TWENTY YEARS AGO THIS SUMMER, George H.W. Bush gave a speech in which he spoke about the importance of people giving something back to their country. Today, volunteerism is near an all-time high. In this edition of the FORUM, we look at the issue of national service, how the government is encouraging it, and why Washington may be going too far.

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Plus: Bob Dole on the service of our Nation's veterans

And: Robert Scales on reinstating the draft  
and how it would harm our military



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# The Ripon Forum

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Volume 42, No. 2, April/May 2008

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## Note from The Chairman Emeritus

When George H.W. Bush took office as President in 1989, he inherited a country that stood atop the world stage. Economically, the nation was prosperous. Globally, the fall of the Berlin Wall was less than a year away. Times were good.

Yet there was also an undercurrent that many in America were struggling to get by. Then-Vice President Bush identified this sentiment in his acceptance speech at the 1988 Republican National Convention. "There are people who haven't tasted the fruits of the [economic] expansion," he stated. "And we have to help them."

He laid out a vision that involved, among other things, people stepping forward to help those in need. A "Thousand Points of Light" he called them. Service and volunteerism became hallmarks of his Administration. They remain part of his legacy today. Indeed, volunteerism is at or near an all-time high, and the issue of national service has widespread support.

But a downside emerged from all of this. It involved the federal government. What started as a modest proposal that encouraged people to volunteer through the Points of Light program in the first Bush Administration became a more ambitious and expensive program under President Clinton. Called AmeriCorps, it was criticized by many for paying volunteers to work. While the program has changed considerably under the current administration, concerns over the government's role in encouraging service and volunteerism remain.

We examine this issue and take a look at these concerns in this edition of the FORUM. In that regard, we are honored to feature a statement from former President Bush on his continuing support for service to America. We are also very pleased to feature an essay by former Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole about our Nation's Veterans, whose sacrifice will be honored on Memorial Day and whose service is beyond dispute.

Among other topics, this edition of the FORUM also looks at the risks of reinstating the draft with retired Major General Bob Scales. And author/professor Chester Pach examines President Eisenhower's handling of the Korean conflict and whether any lessons can be learned with regard to the conflict in Iraq.

We hope you enjoy this edition and, as always, encourage you to write to [editor@riponsociety.org](mailto:editor@riponsociety.org) with any thoughts or comments you may have.

Bill Frenzel  
Chairman Emeritus  
Ripon Society

# Service and Sacrifice

## What We Honor on Memorial Day

BOB DOLE

Memorial Day is a time to think about the meaning of sacrifice. It is something near and dear to the hearts of all Americans. We wouldn't be here without it. We understand that with liberty comes responsibility, and that entails sacrifice.

No matter what we do, each of us at some point in our lives must ask ourselves what is meaningful. Undoubtedly we find meaning in service to others. We come to recognize the basic values that endure: duty, honor, country, honesty, integrity, personal responsibility.

You don't need a uniform to serve or sacrifice, but we depend upon the willingness of those who defend liberty. We are grateful to the men and women in or out of uniform who make sacrifices and volunteer to serve others.

Four years ago on Memorial Day weekend, we witnessed the Dedication of the National World War II Memorial in Washington, DC and with it the largest reunion of citizen soldiers ever. We commemorated, and celebrated, liberty and the many sacrifices by 16.5 million service men and women which kept us free.

Over the past year, I have greeted thousands of World War II heroes at the World War II Memorial. Thanks

to two men who had an idea, a program called "Honor Flight" brings thousands of World War II veterans – free of charge -- to see the WWII and other war memorials in Washington, DC.

It is with that in mind that I

to freedom and democracy all around the world.

The best way to honor these men and women is to show your support. When you meet a veteran say hello and then the five magic words, "thank you for your service."

Last year, the country was shocked by the unacceptable treatment of some of our returning injured and wounded from the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. The last thing our injured service members and their families need are unnecessary barriers and unjustifiable burdens standing between them and the care and services they deserve.

So, when President Bush asked Donna Shalala and me to identify problems and find solutions, we accepted the challenge. As Co-Chairs of the nine-member "President's Commission on Care for America's Returning Wounded Warriors" our objective was clear - to make sure our returning wounded service members receive the right care and services at the right time and in the right



Second Lieutenant Bob Dole

approach the coming holiday. As someone who has spent a good portion of my life working with veterans -- in many cases, with veterans my age -- I am reminded of the brave Americans who now continue to renew our commitment

place.

We found that advances in battlefield medicine and technology are nothing short of remarkable. And for many, the care is excellent and recovery is swift. Unfortunately, there

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are those who are faced with the unacceptable experience of being lost in the bureaucratic maze of a fragmented health care and benefits delivery systems. For those with complex injuries needing extensive services, system failures lead to unacceptable hardships.

Our site visits, hearings, research and survey identified problems that occurred repeatedly: lack of coordination of care and services; lost or unavailable medical or service records; unprepared, dislocated, and overly burdened families; communication failures both within and between the Departments of Defense and Veterans Affairs; complicated and redundant policies and procedures; confusion and distrust of the disability determination processes; and outdated standards for disability determination and compensation.

In our report, we worked to fix these problems with workable, actionable solutions. We called for: 1) explicit patient care and recovery plans, implemented by recovery coordinators 2) access to post traumatic stress disorder diagnosis and treatment for all those who are sent into combat, along with enhanced care for both post traumatic stress disorder and traumatic brain injury, provided by adequate numbers of health care professionals, 3) expansion of the Family Medical Leave Act, in addition to aid and attendant care, and respite care for families caring for their injured and recovering service member, 4) better use of information technology to support services and care, 5) high level maintenance of Walter Reed Medical Center facilities and workforce until it closes, and 6) modernization of the disability determination and compensation, along with increased financial incentives for completion of vocational rehabilitation and educational programs. These six pragmatic recommendations are broken down into 34 actionable steps

- 28 require administrative action and 6 require new legislation.

The recommendations were widely hailed as thoughtful and reasonable solutions to improving care for our wounded warriors. We are pleased that many of them are being implemented today.

Recovery coordinators have been hired. Information sharing between the DoD and VA has significantly improved. An interactive information portal to provide service members and veterans with information tailored for their individual needs is in the works. Walter Reed is reportedly receiving the full support it needs. Screening and treatment protocols for traumatic brain injury are being

**As we approach  
Memorial Day, we  
remind ourselves that  
there are times when  
duty will require  
sacrifice.**

developed. Additional mental health providers are being hired by both departments. DoD has put added emphasis on educational and support programs for families. And progress is being made to pilot a single physical exam, crafted by both the DoD and the VA, that might become the basis for a more uniform and objective disability determination process in the future.

The White House and Congress are both working on the legislative components. A bipartisan effort was successful in amending and expanding the Family and Medical Leave Act. The large challenge ahead involves disability reform. We recognize that fixing the dysfunctional disability determination and compensation system is an enormous challenge, primarily because it requires cooperation, consensus, and

concessions from many vested interests comfortable with the status quo. The fact is that the current schedule used to rate disabilities needs updating to more consistently determine how an injured service member is compensated for loss of "quality of life." A study is being conducted to examine the quality of life payment issue and fundamental reform will have to wait until it is completed.

While there is indeed progress, much more needs to be done. Our new Veterans Affairs Secretary, James Peake, is working to ensure that the \$87 billion budgeted for the VA will be spent to maximize the health and well being of veterans.

As we approach Memorial Day, we remind ourselves that there are times when duty will require sacrifice. Thankfully, there is no shortage of sacrifice and commitment coming from this younger generation of leaders, individuals whose courage is matched by their hard work, commitment and integrity. I encounter those kinds of men and women almost every day who serve our country in different ways.

I know I speak for many Americans when I say, as we remember all of our past veterans this Memorial Day, that we are a grateful nation and that we pray for the families of those serving today. I am optimistic and confident this country will not falter as long as we have people like them willing to serve and sacrifice for others to meet the challenges that lie ahead. **RF**

*Mr. Dole is the former U.S. Senate Majority Leader from Kansas and 1996 Republican nominee for president. He was a platoon leader in the 10th Mountain Division during WWII and Chairman of the National World War II Memorial in Washington. He is currently special counsel to Alston & Bird LLP.*

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# Should the Unthinkable Occur

## Working to Prevent a Nuclear Terror Strike

SUSAN COLLINS

Terrorists have inflicted painful wounds on the American people and have done severe damage to our economy. They could wreak even more terrible and far-reaching damage, however, if they detonated a nuclear weapon in an American city.

The grim estimate of experts is that a noontime detonation in Manhattan's Times Square of a 10-kiloton device – about two-thirds the size of the bomb that devastated Hiroshima in 1945 – would instantly extinguish half a million lives and damage all buildings within a half-mile radius. Hundreds of thousands of burn victims would need urgent care; people in contact with radioactive dust and debris would need decontamination. Devastating economic and psychological impacts would surely follow.

Al Qaeda and other terrorist groups have spoken openly of their intentions to mount spectacular attacks on Americans, and we know that they seek weapons of mass destruction.

To be sure, our terrorist enemies have other weapons at their disposal. Improvised explosive devices have killed thousands and continue to threaten our troops and civilians throughout the world. Chemical weapons, such as Sarin gas, have been directed against targets like the Tokyo subways. "Dirty bombs," using readily available radiological waste,

could have serious consequences.

Still, the concentrated force of a nuclear explosion, the radioactive contamination, and its psychological and economic impact place nuclear terrorism in a category all its own.

The threat is not new. More than 30 years ago, the Federal Office of Technology Assessment concluded that "a small group of people, none

assembling a bomb, transporting it, and successfully detonating it. They may, of course, try to buy or steal an existing weapon, which is why non-proliferation and nuclear security efforts are so important. And they would face a number of countermeasures such as the radiation monitors already installed at the 22 largest U.S. seaports.

Though the probability of a successful nuclear-terror attack may be low, such an operation is possible and would fulfill Al Qaeda's goal of a "spectacular" attack. We cannot ignore this peril. As one expert stated, the threat of nuclear terrorism is urgent and compelling.

The terrorist nuclear threat places a premium on good intelligence, diplomacy, and technical countermeasures to secure nuclear weapons and fissile materials, prevent



of whom have ever had access to the classified literature, could possibly design and build a crude nuclear explosive device." That is, with a machine shop and less than 100 pounds of enriched uranium, terrorists conceivably could assemble an atomic bomb.

Even determined and resourceful terrorists face challenges in obtaining sufficient fissile material,

theft and black-market sales, detect radioactive shipments, penetrate terrorist networks, and otherwise discourage nuclear proliferation. Close interagency cooperation and information sharing with our allies is a critical part of our defense, as is cooperation with other governments and international organizations to help Russia and other nations to secure stockpiles of fissile materials.



We must plan also as effective a response as possible to a devastating nuclear attack on a U.S. city. The National Response Framework provides the foundation on which the Department of Homeland Security, including the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the Department of Defense, and other critical agencies coordinate their resources to deal with the catastrophic consequences of a nuclear attack.

The U.S. Senate's Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs has heard both public and classified testimony on the nuclear-terror threat and the challenges for response. The testimony depicted horrifying scenarios of death, injury, and destruction, and of massive challenges for responders. Medical personnel would be dealing with mass

trauma casualties. At the same time, major medical facilities in the target city might be destroyed or overwhelmed. Many local first responders might be casualties themselves, while responders from outlying areas would have to cope with floods of refugees, blast

**Though the probability of a successful nuclear-terror attack may be low, such an operation is possible and would fulfill Al Qaeda's goal of a "spectacular" attack.**

debris, and fires – not to mention the daunting prospect of entering a blast zone contaminated with radioactive particles.

The enormous challenges facing emergency managers underscore the need to make our national framework

for rapid and effective response to catastrophe as robust and ready as possible. Federal, state, and local governments, as well as non-profit organizations and private-sector entities with special expertise in logistics, must continue the improved cooperation and coordination that we have put in place since the Hurricane Katrina disaster of 2005.

The government's plain duty to the American people is to exert all possible efforts to detect and disrupt plans for a nuclear terror strike – and to have plans in place if prevention fails. **RF**

*Susan M. Collins serves in the United States Senate from the State of Maine. She is the Ranking Member and former chairman of the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.*

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# Meeting America's Energy Needs with American Energy Sources

CATHY MCMORRIS RODGERS

Today, we're all facing the painful reality of skyrocketing prices at the pump. In the Congressional District I represent, the 5<sup>th</sup> Congressional District in Eastern Washington, families, farmers and small business owners are struggling to pay to fill up their cars, tractors and trucks.

Worldwide, the demand for energy is increasing rapidly. Several countries that used to export natural gas have started to import, which affects the price farmers pay for fertilizer. In fact, the price of natural gas rose more than 400% between 2002 and 2005.

In the 1950's America was one of the leading exporters of oil. Today, we import nearly two thirds of it. Yet, since that time, we have done little to prepare for our country's current or future energy needs. And we are suffering the consequences.

Energy is critical to our social, economic and national security. We can and we must start meeting American energy needs with American resources. It is time that we begin saying yes to American energy. We need a comprehensive energy solution. Right now in Congress, we're debating how to move away from foreign oil, produce

more of our energy here at home, and decrease our carbon emissions.

And these are all great goals – I support them. But the reality is, we need an adequate energy supply – today – at an affordable price. That means unlocking the energy supplies available to us today that

Northwest's "carbon footprint" at half that of the rest of the nation. Removal of the Snake River dams would add 5.4 million tons of CO<sub>2</sub> to the atmosphere each year.

Another renewable source of energy comes from our national forests – but that energy is off limits.

There is a perfect example of that in Eastern Washington.

Avista Utilities opened the first wood-fired energy plant of its type in Kettle Falls in 1983. The plant uses wood chips and debris from mills and salvaged trees following forest fires. Using that waste wood, the plant has generated at least 6.3 million megawatts of power since 1983. When I visited the plant in November, it was shut down because there wasn't enough available wood waste to operate

the plant, despite being located next door to the Colville National Forest. Why? We can't salvage burned timber, or trees the bark beetles are killing. So, operators of the plant in Kettle Falls must haul wood debris from 250 to 300 miles away. Seventy-five percent of the fuel they burn comes from Canada.

Congress says it wants to encourage alternative energy, including biomass, such as this



Congresswoman McMorris Rodgers, during a tour of the Bonneville Power generating facility in 2006.

include petroleum and natural gas sources in places like ANWR and on the Outer Continental Shelf. If carbon emissions are the problem, we should look for ways to sequester that carbon.

Secondly, we need to recognize that the hydroelectric dams in the Pacific Northwest provide us with an abundant supply of clean, affordable, and renewable energy. That clean, renewable hydropower has kept the

project. But the energy bill passed in Congress last year prohibits any biomass from our federal forests. Congress needs to provide incentives – not put federal forests off limits.

Third, it means cutting the red tape to make the permitting process easier and bring more sources of energy online, whether it is wind, solar, biomass or nuclear. When I chaired the task force to update and reform the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), I learned the average time frame for obtaining a permit to produce natural gas has tripled. I learned the NEPA process has caused some producers to wait more than 10 years to get approval to market clean natural gas. Virtually every attempt to tap new sources of clean natural gas on federal lands has been met with expensive, time consuming and frivolous legal challenges. We need to make some changes.

And finally, we all have a role, in conserving the energy we already have, as we look for energy sources of the future. The largest source of energy we already have is the energy we waste every day. In homes today, many of us have replaced our old 60-watt light bulbs with the new coiled bulbs. If every household in America did that, we'd save enough

## It is time that we begin saying yes to American energy.

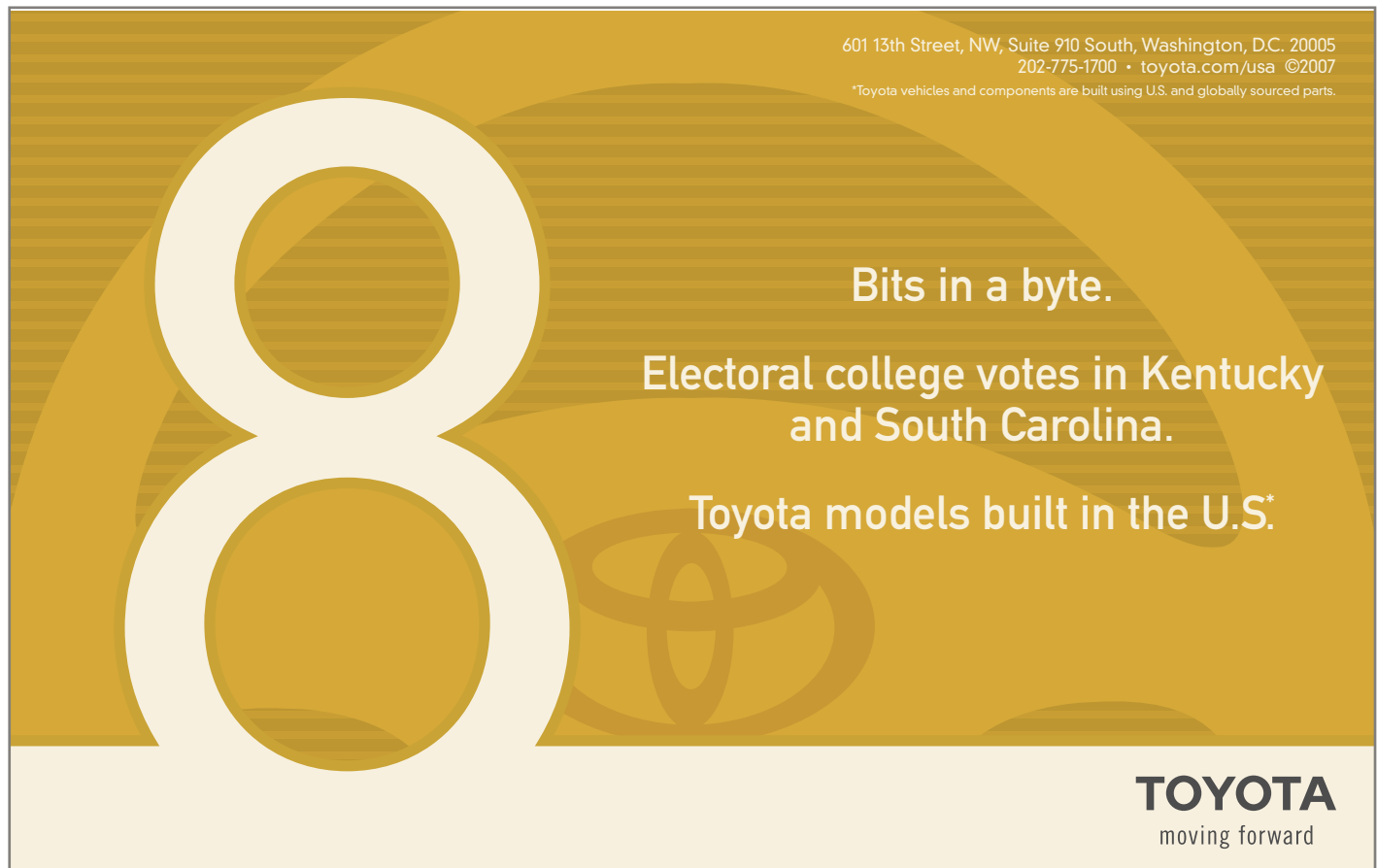
energy to power a city of 1.5 million people.

I am excited about the next generation of fuels being developed – across the nation, and in Eastern Washington. In the Pacific Northwest, innovation is leading the way for the development of

many new alternative energy sources. Right now wind farms in Washington State generate enough power to supply more than 400,000 homes with electricity.

Whether it's oil sands, wind, the development of liquid coal, bio-diesel, hydrogen fuel cells, nuclear power or solar energy all of these sources of energy decrease our dependency on foreign oil and create new markets, stimulate the workforce, pass energy savings to the public, and help contribute to American energy. It is time we meet our growing energy demands with American energy – and no is not an answer. **RF**

*Cathy McMorris Rodgers represents the 5<sup>th</sup> District of Washington in the U.S. House of Representatives. She is the Ranking Republican on the Natural Resources Subcommittee on Water and Power.*



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"I have always said that public service is a noble calling and that there is no definition of a successful life that does not include service to others. It makes me proud to live in this great country when I hear stories of Americans volunteering all across the nation and around the world, working hard to make life better for their fellow man. I still believe that by working together we can solve all our problems – neighbor to neighbor, brick by brick, street by street, community by community."

FORMER PRESIDENT GEORGE H.W. BUSH  
STATEMENT TO THE RIPON FORUM  
APRIL 2008

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TWENTY YEARS AGO THIS SUMMER, then-Vice President George H.W. Bush stood before the Republican National Convention in New Orleans and accepted his party's nomination to be President of the United States. In his acceptance speech, he spoke about the importance of community, and of people giving something back to their country. In the years since, volunteerism in America has increased considerably, and is at or near an all-time high.

In this edition of the FORUM, we look at the issue of national service, what the government is doing to encourage it, and why Washington may be going too far in its efforts to get people to serve — people whom our 41st President called

# A THOUSAND POINTS OF LIGHT

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# National Service for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

## Mobilizing a New Generation of Volunteers

DAVID EISNER

This May, the national celebration of AmeriCorps Week will kick off amid the majestic sandstone monoliths of Red Rocks Amphitheatre in Denver, a venue developed in part by the Depression-era Civilian Conservation Corps.

National service today has as little in common with those CCC boys who worked at Red Rocks as it does with the “Birkenstocks and camp songs” perception of national service 40 years ago. Instead, national service has increasingly evolved into a philosophy and business model that is focused, local, lean and smart.

When President Bush issued his 2002 call to service, he also insisted that the Corporation for National and Community Service manage our programs – which include AmeriCorps, VISTA, NCCC (the National Civilian Community Corps), Senior Corps and Learn and Serve America – in a way that was more entrepreneurial, more responsive to local and state needs, more administratively efficient, more useful to small faith-based and community organizations and, most important, more supportive of the culture of community volunteering that has always made America great.

While AmeriCorps and national service today retain important strands of DNA from the service initiatives of Presidents Clinton, Bush '41, Johnson, Kennedy and Roosevelt, these new, more conservative genes have become dominant. The result is a national service portfolio that is more effective as well as more deserving of bipartisan support.

### Americans Stepping Forward: A Generation of Volunteers

This evolution of service and volunteering in America has been supported in recent years by an unprecedented climate in which volunteer rates hover near 30-year highs, with Baby Boomers volunteering at their highest rate in a generation and at the highest rate of any age group. College student volunteering is up 20 percent and – one of the most significant trends – teens today are twice as likely to volunteer as teens did in the '70s and '80s.

That positive climate is further bolstered by trends in academic work, research and policy development at the federal, state and local levels that increasingly locate citizen engagement near the center of effective solutions for the toughest social problems faced by our communities. These trends



are driving an increasing focus on civic engagement by government agencies, foundations, corporations, and nonprofits that are on the front lines of wrestling with the high-school drop-out crisis, youth violence, prisoner reentry, disaster preparedness and other serious challenges to community success.

The Corporation has effectively capitalized on this once-in-a-generation opportunity to grow and sustain a significant upsurge in overall citizen engagement and has positioned our national service programs as supportive infrastructure for that sustained engagement. In 2006, the Corporation adopted a strategic plan that specified key strategic goals for our programs for the next five years: mobilizing more volunteers; ensuring a brighter future for

America's youth; engaging students in communities; and harnessing Baby Boomers' experience. Last year we added a fifth strategic initiative – preparing for and responding to disasters.

National service today is far from the “paid volunteerism” conservatives used to call AmeriCorps as it was introduced by President Clinton in the '90s. Since volunteering is essential to meeting our country's vital needs, we have successfully refocused our national service programs and AmeriCorps in particular on recruiting, training and managing community volunteers, in addition to providing direct service. AmeriCorps members are a powerful catalyst and force-multiplier for community volunteering in organizations where they serve, from nonprofit giants like Boys and Girls Clubs to small faith-based groups. Over 90 percent of sponsoring organizations say that AmeriCorps members helped them measurably increase the number of persons served by their programs.

**H u r r i c a n e**  
Katrina, which was a defining moment for national service, is a case in point. When disaster hit we were able to respond immediately because we had an existing, organized infrastructure and a cadre of trained AmeriCorps members in place that allowed us to mobilize and effectively manage thousands of Americans who came to serve. Working in cooperation with the Red Cross, FEMA, and local and state authorities, more than 93,000 national service volunteers contributed more than 3.5 million hours to the relief, recovery and rebuilding efforts, and helped coordinate the work of an additional 260,000 community volunteers. AmeriCorps members in the Gulf region continue to support waves of volunteers in the effort to rebuild and revitalize the area.

### Reinforcing Local Efforts

This principle of leverage – using national service participants to support the infrastructure that allows greater engagement and impact by community volunteers

– also drives thousands of initiatives across the rest of the country.

Community volunteering efforts, which are rightly responsive to local needs, often can't be sustained beyond initial bursts of enthusiasm because they are subject to dramatic swings in interest, leadership and resources. The single resource that nonprofit, faith-based and community organizations report they need, even more than money, to make their volunteer-driven activities more effective, valuable and scalable, is longer-term, intense engagement by mission-oriented people who can coordinate and motivate their volunteers.

America is on a path to answering that expressed need through AmeriCorps, VISTA, NCCC and Senior Corps participants. If we really want to empower community volunteers to make an impact on our country's toughest problems, we can use our national service programs to provide strong and consistent scaffolding from which they

can build. This year, 2 million Americans will serve through Corporation programs – 75,000 AmeriCorps members, nearly 500,000 Senior Corps members, and more than a million students who will engage in service-learning activities through Learn and Serve America. They will recruit, coordinate and support another 2 million volunteers who will serve alongside them in communities. These figures reveal the broad impact in human capital alone that national service programs today are

having in communities across America in a way that is in sharp contrast to national service models of the past.

### Being Efficient and Accountable to Taxpayers

As we have made our national service programs more efficient, effective, and accountable, the Corporation itself has become a fundamentally different organization than it was even four years ago. We have dramatically improved our management and operations, increased



An AmeriCorps member inside a house damaged by Hurricane Katrina in Louisiana.

## National service today is far from the “paid volunteerism” conservatives used to call AmeriCorps...

cost-effectiveness, and created an organizational culture that promotes performance and accountability. By every indicator we have been successful – from one of the cleanest audits in the federal government to surveys that show high marks for customer service.

In addition to being focused, local and lean, national service today is smart. In the same way that the Administration has partnered with faith-based and nonprofit organizations through the Compassion Capital Fund, we have partnered with these organizations to expand their volunteer management capacity to help make an even greater impact on key social issues: mentoring children of prisoners, supporting prisoner reentry and meeting needs of young people aging out of foster care. National service today is research and results-based and encourages innovation for our programs, for our grantees, and for the volunteer community as a whole. We run national service programs at a manageable, sustainable level so that we can get it right. We owe it to

the taxpayers, to the organizations we serve, and to our members themselves to make national service a model of effective volunteer management and opportunity.

In the near future, we are likely to see national service and volunteering become more integrated into the solutions to our nation’s challenges, as it has moved from controversy to consensus on Capitol Hill, and as all three major presidential candidates have made national service part of their campaigns. The changes we have made have prepared the Corporation for that next step of growing effective national service to serve America throughout the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

With this transformation in national service since 2001, we are more ready than ever to make the words of William F. Buckley, Jr. come true: “National service, like gravity, is something we could accustom ourselves to, and grow to love.” **RF**

*David Eisner is the Chief Executive Officer of the Corporation for National and Community Service.*

**We owe it to the taxpayers ... to make national service a model of effective volunteer management and opportunity.**

# Working together,

***we can ensure great public schools for every child.***



American public education is the cornerstone of our American democracy.

The National Education Association shares The Ripon Forum's commitment to protecting the safety and future of our children, and promoting and achieving innovation and effectiveness in America's public schools.



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# John McCain and National Service

## A look at his record, and what he is planning to do

CHRISTOPHER SHAYS

The best antidote to terror and hate are acts of kindness and service. In the wake of September 11 and Hurricanes Katrina and Rita, the effects of this antidote ring truer than ever before. No one understands this better than those who dedicate themselves to national service; to a cause that is greater than themselves.

I still remember how I felt as a 14 year-old watching the 1960 Presidential election between Vice President Richard Nixon and Senator John Kennedy. I felt energized listening to Senator Kennedy when he spoke of the Peace Corps and making the world a better and safer place. I wanted to be part of that. Eight years later, my wife Betsi and I joined the Peace Corps.

Today, when I listen to Senator John McCain and reflect on his life, I feel as inspired as when I was that 14 year old

boy dreaming about “making the world a better and safer place.” I am refreshed by a nation renewing its commitment to giving back.

John McCain has demonstrated a deep commitment to promoting National Service as he runs for the most important job in the world. As a candidate for President, he witnesses inequities throughout the country. As a Senator, he advocates for expanding organizations like AmeriCorps. As a veteran, he understands the honor, discipline and sense of duty our armed forces embrace. I can think of no one better to impart those

virtues on tomorrow's leaders because with John, it's not just talk, it's the way he lives his life.

John recently proposed a “Troops to Teachers” program to encourage soldiers returning from the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan to teach. The program would provide referral assistance and placement services to military personnel interested in beginning a second career in public.

The initiative, which is not only beneficial to the thousands of understaffed schools across the nation, but also to veterans who often find their reentry into society post-service a difficult transition, would increase the stock of qualified teachers in our nation's neediest schools.

John also has a particular appreciation for life because of his experience as a

captive in the Hanoi Hilton. This experience left John with physical disabilities, but no scars. He does not dwell on his past experiences and instead has learned from them. His injuries make him more determined to speak out against all forms of tyranny, to encourage more Americans to serve their country, and to address humane needs throughout the world.

But National Service takes many forms. From relocating to an area of national or global need through AmeriCorps or Peace Corps; to teaching an inner-city child to read and write; beautifying the nation's



Senator McCain and Congressman Shays, at a 2006 news conference with Maine Senator Susan Collins and Senator Joe Lieberman of Connecticut.



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national parks; rebuilding after natural disasters; or putting one's life on the line in the military; Senator McCain has dared Americans to take on our nation's challenges and leave it a better place.

Senator McCain understands national service not only helps cleanse the soul, it is a sound investment of federal dollars. It is essential we reap the returns of our investments, and national service is one of the most cost effective investments our government can make. Through service, Americans of all ages, shapes and colors can contribute their individual expertise for the betterment of the country and leverage their talents for greater good.

The passion of participants in Peace Corps, AmeriCorps and other national service programs is undeniable. As they give back to their country they also learn something about themselves, each other, and the world around them. Simultaneously, service participants have the opportunity to earn money towards educational loans and higher education expenses, which enhances the quality of our workforce.

While very few have made the kinds of sacrifices for others as Senator McCain, many have volunteered their time and well-being for the benefit of others. That's what service is all about.

As I reflect upon the impact National Service has had on my life, as well as the inspiration afforded to me by President Kennedy and now Senator McCain, I agree

with someone I admire very much, Joe Lieberman. Senator Lieberman recently said, "Among the candidates running this year the one, in my opinion, closest to the Kennedy legacy, is John McCain, a reformer, somebody who understands 'ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country' and remembers

the other part of the Kennedy inaugural, which said that we will bear any burden, pay any price to assure the survival and sustenance of liberty. That's John McCain."

**RF**

*Christopher Shays represents the 4<sup>th</sup> District of Connecticut in the U.S. House of Representatives.*

**Senator McCain  
understands national  
service not only helps  
cleanse the soul, it is  
a sound investment of  
federal dollars.**



**PSEG**

*We make things work for you.*

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# The National Service Illusion

It sounds great, but it's expensive and will make government even bigger

JAMES BOVARD

National Service is one of the hottest causes of presidential candidates. Both Barack Obama and John McCain are gung-ho for expanding AmeriCorps to hire a quarter million people to perform federally-orchestrated good deeds. Former presidential candidate Senator Chris Dodd wanted to make community service mandatory for high school students and boost AmeriCorps to a million members. John Edwards also favored making national service mandatory.

But does America have a shortage of government workers?

AmeriCorps is the epitome of contemporary federal good intentions. AmeriCorps, which currently has roughly 75,000 paid recruits, has been very popular in Washington in part because it puts a smiley face on Uncle Sam at a time when many government policies are deeply unpopular.

AmeriCorps has consumed more than \$4 billion in tax dollars since its creation in 1993. During the

Clinton administration, AmeriCorps members helped run a program in Buffalo that gave children \$5 for each toy gun they brought in -- as well as a certificate praising their decision not to play with toy guns. In San Diego, AmeriCorps members busied themselves collecting used bras and panties for a homeless shelter. In Los Angeles, AmeriCorps members busied themselves foisting unreliable ultra-low-

flush toilets on poor people. In New Jersey, AmeriCorps members enticed middle-class families to accept subsidized federal health insurance for their children.

President George W. Bush was a vigorous supporter of AmeriCorps in his 2000 campaign, and many Republicans expected that his team would make the program a pride to the nation. But the program is still an administrative train wreck. In 2002, it illegally spent more than \$64 million above what Congress appropriated -- and yet was rewarded with a higher budget.

Bush's first AmeriCorps chief, Leslie Lenkowsky, started out as a visionary idealist who promised great things from the federal program. But, when he resigned in 2003, Lenkowsky conceded that AmeriCorps is just "another cumbersome, unpredictable government bureaucracy."

Though AmeriCorps abounds in "feel good" projects, it has never provided credible evidence of benefit to the United



**AmeriCorps has consumed more than \$4 billion in tax dollars since its creation in 1993.**

States. Instead, it relies on Soviet bloc-style accounting -- merely counting labor inputs and pretending that the raw numbers prove grandiose achievements. The Office of Management and Budget concluded in 2003 that "AmeriCorps has not been able to demonstrate results. Its current focus is on the amount of time a person serves, as opposed to the impact on the community or

participants.” The General Accounting Office noted that AmeriCorps “generally reports the results of its programs and activities by quantifying the amount of services AmeriCorps participants perform.” GAO criticized AmeriCorps for failing to make any effort to measure the actual effect of its members’ actions.

Most AmeriCorps success claims have no more credibility than a political campaign speech. The vast majority of AmeriCorps programs are “self-evaluated”: the only evidence AmeriCorps possesses of what a program achieved is what the grant recipients claim. One of the agency’s consultants encouraged AmeriCorps programs to inflate the number of claimed beneficiaries: “If you feel your program affects a broad group of individuals who may not be receiving personal services from members... then list the whole community.”

The advocates of a vast national service program assume that there are legions of unmet needs that the new government workers could perform. But the reason such needs are currently unmet is that politicians have either considered them not part of government’s obligation or because meeting the need is not considered worth the cost to taxpayers. There are hundreds of thousands of government agencies across the land, counting federal, state, and local governments. There are already more than 20 million people working for government in this country. Yet national service advocates talk as if the public sector is starved of resources.

National Service programs are more profitable for politicians than for citizens. *USA Today* noted in 1998 that AmeriCorps’ “T-shirted brigade is most well known nationally as the youthful backdrop for White House photo ops.” President Bush politically exploited AmeriCorps members almost as often as did Clinton.

Some congressmen also profiteer off AmeriCorps’ image. After some congressmen showed up one day in March 2004 to hammer some nails at a Habitat for Humanity house-building project in Washington, AmeriCorps issued a press release hyping their participation in the good deed. The press release named eight members of Congress

and noted, “Working alongside the elected officials were two dozen AmeriCorps members from the D.C. chapter of Habitat for Humanity and AmeriCorps.” The home they helped build was to be given to a single mother of three. Photos from the appearance could add flourishes to newsletters to constituents or for reelection campaigns. Congressmen also benefit when they announce AmeriCorps grants to organizations in their districts.

Some national service advocates insist that AmeriCorps’ failings should not be held against proposals to expand the federal role in service because their preferred program would leave it up to communities to decide how to use the new “volunteers.”

But if programs are not centrally controlled, local “initiatives” will soon transform it into a national laughingstock. This happened with CETA, a make-work program that was expanded to its doom under President Carter. CETA bankrolled such job-creating activities as building an artificial rock in Oregon for rock climbers to practice on, conducting a nude sculpture class in Miami where aspiring artists practiced Braille reading on each other, and sending CETA workers door-to-door in Florida to recruit people for food stamps.

More than 60 million Americans work as unpaid volunteers each year. Even if AmeriCorps was expanded to a quarter million recruits, it would amount to less than one half of one percent of the total of people who donate their time for what they consider good causes. And there is no reason to assume that paying “volunteers” multiplies productivity.

Rather than expanding national service programs, Congress should pull the plug on AmeriCorps. At a time of soaring deficits, the federal government

can no longer afford to spend half a billion dollars a year on a bogus volunteer program whose results have been AWOL since the last century. **RF**



### **In Los Angeles, AmeriCorps members busied themselves foisting unreliable ultra-low-flush toilets on poor people.**

*James Bovard is the author of Attention Deficit Democracy (Palgrave, 2006), Feeling Your Pain (St. Martin's 2000), Lost Rights (St. Martin's, 1994), and other books.*

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# The Faith-Based Initiative: At a Crossroads or a Deadend?

STANLEY CARLSON-THIES

“Ten years ago, who would have believed we would be researching how faith-based groups serve the community? We hardly even knew they existed!”

Two internationally known American scholars of nonprofit organizations were talking. I just happened to be nearby to overhear it, during a break in a meeting on how social service organizations created by religious communities embody and maintain their faith inspiration.

Of course, faith-based organizations were not absent a decade ago nor were they always ignored, but their extensive service in our society was not well understood and their vital roles in responding to need was often not seen. But no one can ignore or overlook religious social services now. The faith-based initiative — a signature commitment of the Bush presidency that has greatly expanded action started during the previous administration — has brought them to the foreground. No new presidency will overlook service rendered by faith-based organizations.

Care for neighbors sparked by humanitarian or religious motivation is characteristic of American society, as noted long ago by Alexis De Tocqueville. Our national leaders have counted on it and celebrated it. Presidents have enlisted it: JFK’s Peace Corps, Bush 41’s Thousand Points of Light, Bill Clinton’s AmeriCorps. And religious as well as secular nonprofits have long been part of the public social safety net. The faith-based initiative, though, brought and wrought two

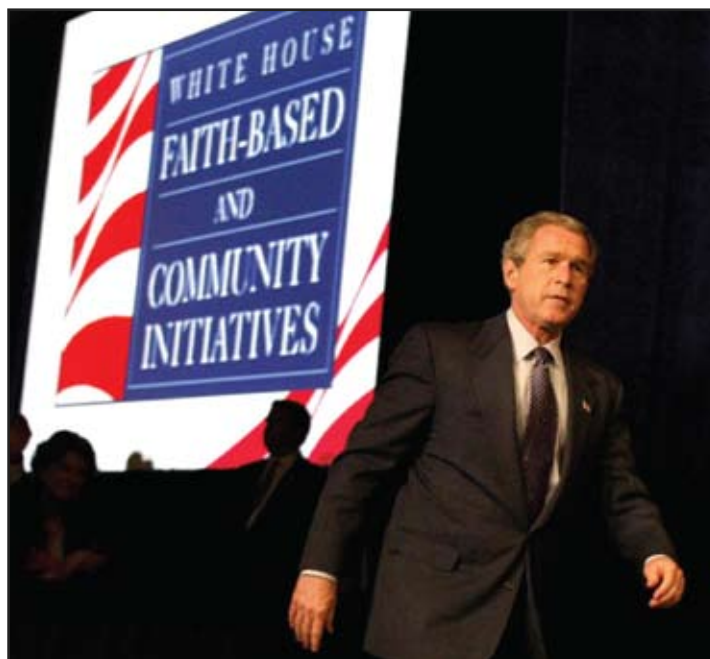
great innovations.

The first is scale, or prominence. President Bush put it this way while still on the campaign trail in 1999: when government is responsible to provide a helping hand, “we will look first to faith-based organizations, to charities, and to community groups.” These groups—their services, their way of assisting, their passion, location, spirit—ought to be central, not marginal,

in our nation’s public strategy of responding to need and strengthening neighborhoods and families. To that end, the administration has invested much in training that improves the capacity and impact of such groups, and enacted legislation to stimulate greater private giving to charities. Such action strengthens civil society itself and its compassionate action independent of government.

It’s the other focus that has drawn the most attention

and controversy: working to increase the number of grassroots groups, including organizations with an obvious faith motivation, that receive government funds to provide social services. For to enable expanded partnerships, the Bush administration has set about redesigning the operational rules of the federal government, changing them to accommodate the distinctive characteristics of faith-based and smaller nonprofit organizations. This is the second great innovation: rather than require those groups to assimilate to the government style, the government’s



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style itself has been modified. An early report from the White House, “Unlevel Playing Field,” detailed fifteen ways that federal rules unjustifiably, and usually unintentionally, obstructed partnerships between federal programs and the faith-based and secular grassroots organizations that can be the major, or only, or best, sources of uplift for the distressed and poor in many places. The Bush administration has undertaken a determined effort to eliminate those barriers and to show, with pilot programs, how small groups can be safely and fruitfully connected to big government.

A vital part of the rules redesign has been to push back secularizing federal requirements. These changes have generated most of the heated opposition. Yet they broadly correspond to the Supreme Court’s shift from strict separationism to a requirement of equal treatment, and constitute the implementation and expansion of the Charitable Choice principles signed into law by President Clinton and hailed by Democratic candidate Al Gore in the 2000 election. Most important: forcing the government to respect the religious freedom of faith-based organizations is an essential way to compel governmental respect for the independence and uniqueness of its nonprofit partners.

### **Unfinished Revolution**

The White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives recently released “The Quiet Revolution,” an overview of goals and achievements. There is much to celebrate. For example, the Compassion Capital Fund has invested federal dollars to expand the ability of private groups to operate effective programs. Ready4Work is an innovative pilot program that builds partnerships between government services, large nonprofits, and networks of small faith-based and secular groups to help ex-prisoners establish a new way of life. Through the Access to Recovery program, many states have created voucher-based drug treatment systems that enable addicts to choose among secular and faith-integrated services to help them kick, and remain free of, illegal drugs. The PEPFAR program — the major US commitment to fighting the AIDS epidemic in Africa — relies on indigenous religious and secular grassroots organizations so that help will come from trusted organizations rooted in the places of need.

To spearhead such operational change and ensure that the focus is on better government results, not mere political agendas, eleven federal departments or agencies and the Corporation for National and Community Service have created their own faith-based offices. Thirty-five states, and some 100 cities, have also created specific offices or positions to evaluate government

rules, devise ways to better utilize the passion and energy of community volunteers and organizations, and to create bridges between government programs and civil society action.

Yet, change has only just begun. In many inner cities, it’s a handful of African-American churches and a scattering of other programs and institutions that are beacons of hope and sources of positive energy and example. Those leaders and struggling programs are still mostly neglected, starved of resources, hardly touched by the changes made in Washington and state capitals. Much additional work, added resources, a firm political commitment, and new policymaking creativity will be needed to effectively connect the vastness of government to those fragile “neighborhood healers.”

### **The Next President . . .**

The idea of government partnership with civil society in aid of the needy is appealing and popular. Making it actually happen, when faith-based organizations comprise such a large and vital part of civil society, has proven controversial to some. Deliberately turning to inner-city congregations — albeit as part of a broad strategy of collaboration with grassroots groups; promulgating administrative regulations that explicitly protect the religious identity of grantee organizations — although the religious freedom of beneficiaries is also for the first time explicitly protected; defending the freedom of faith-based organizations to select staff committed to the their religious identity — even though this is a freedom protected in the 1964 Civil Rights Act and upheld by the courts . . . these and other specific measures have met resistance and sometimes fierce opposition.

Will the next president have the courage to continue the hard work of forcing the government to create a hospitable environment for faith-based compassionate action? Or will he or she merely invite faith-based organizations to partner, while permitting backsliding to secularizing requirements?

The faith-based initiative is indeed at a crossroads. The way forward requires a vigorous commitment to genuine equal opportunity, and thus to safeguarding the religious freedom of faith-based organizations. **RF**

## **No new presidency will overlook service rendered by faith-based organizations.**

*Stanley Carlson-Thies is the Director of Social Policy Studies at the Center for Public Justice. He served with the White House Office of Faith-Based & Community Initiatives from its inception in February 2001 until mid-May 2002.*



## MEDICAL TECHNOLOGY: A PICTURE PERFECT SOLUTION

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# How a Draft would Harm our Military

ROBERT H. SCALES

Before 9/11, the draft was a five letter word that no thinking politician would utter in public.

Now, fear of a broken Army is causing politicians of all stripes as well as bureaucrats in the Pentagon to rethink the issue. The draft would fill the ranks with cheap and plentiful men and women. No wonder the idea is gaining ground.

I've served in both a drafted and a professional Army. There is no comparison. Professionals make much better soldiers for many reasons. Choosing to serve begins the process of making a soldier a member of a calling, a band of brothers that demands far more from a young man or woman than putting in time. Warfare has become so complex and demanding that just two years of short service is not enough to make a competent soldier. The "Willie and Joe" generation carried a rifle for Uncle Sam. Today's soldiers are required to fight to be sure, but they also must learn to interact with alien cultures, to be builders, advisors and trainers.

In past wars, soldiers relied on leaders to make key life and death decisions for them. Today, a young soldier standing guard at a checkpoint in Baghdad often must make a split second life altering

decision – alone. Wrong decisions have strategic consequences, as we've seen so often in Iraq and Afghanistan. Making soldiers good at crisis decisionmaking takes time and requires soldiers who have the "right stuff." Soldiers like these cannot be mass produced in a few weeks of basic training. Good soldiers, like good wine, take time



to mature. America's great wartime vulnerability is dead soldiers, and the enemy knows it. Ask any professional soldier and he will tell you that long service professionals fight more effectively and are far less likely to die in combat than amateurs.

Those who call for a renewal of the draft proclaim that the social and racial inequities of the Vietnam era draft would not happen again. The realities of how wars are fought make such pronouncements nonsense. In the two draft-era wars

fought since the end of World War II, four out of five service members who died at the hands of the enemy were infantrymen, a group that comprises less than 4% of those in uniform. There is no way that a draft could fairly discriminate between those who are likely to die and those who aren't. Infantry units in a drafted Army would be comprised overwhelmingly of draftees, most of them poor, disadvantaged and collectively incapable of dealing with the complexities of modern war.

But can we fill the ranks given the reluctance of America's youth to join in wartime? Yes, we can if we are willing to accept a peacetime rather than a wartime system of recruiting:

*Pay soldiers for risk as well as skill.* Private security firms in Iraq have no problem finding good quality volunteers because they are willing to pay handsomely for the risk. In today's military, a computer programmer in the Pentagon makes a great deal more than an infantryman humping a 100 pound rucksack in 130 degree Iraqi heat. No wonder infantrymen are hard to recruit and keep. Lately, the Pentagon has tried to solve the problem by offering substantial recruiting bonuses. Bonuses are bribes. Increased pay over the course of a career is an

investment. Those who continually go into harm's way should also be allowed to retire earlier. Selling back three years for each year in a close combat unit would be about right. In such a scheme, an infantry soldier would be able to return to civilian life before his psyche or his body is broken.

*Recruit foreigners.* For millennia, great powers have allowed indigenous soldiers in their ranks. To this day, the British Army retains Gurkha regiments from Nepal and the French Army still has its Foreign Legion – both highly respected and competent fighting formations. During the Cold War we recruited special forces soldiers from Eastern Europe and later from Cuba because their intimate knowledge of prospective theaters of war could not be replicated from the general

population. We could leverage the power of citizenship as an inducement for filling the ranks with young men who are intimately familiar with places like Africa and the Middle East.

*Increase the numbers of close combat soldiers.* Recruiting more fighters to retain those whom we

**Warfare has become so complex and demanding that just two years of short service is not enough to make a competent soldier.**

need most would give those most likely to die time to recover between deployments to reconnect with their loved ones before returning to combat. More time at home would be a long term investment that would prevent experienced soldiers

from voting with their feet.

Were we to be so foolish as to return to the draft we would bring back an Army of amateurs. The Army that we see performing so magnificently in Iraq and Afghanistan would be a thing of the past. Surely a nation of 300 million should be able to recruit and retain the very few long service professionals we must have to fight our wars. **RF**

*Robert H. Scales spent 30 years in the Army, retiring at the rank of Major General as Commandant of the U.S. Army War College. The author of two books and a senior military analyst for Fox News, he is currently the President of Colgen, LP, a consulting firm specializing in issues relating to landpower, wargaming and strategic leadership.*





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# Rounding Out the Ticket

## The Veepstakes is on — and so is the speculation

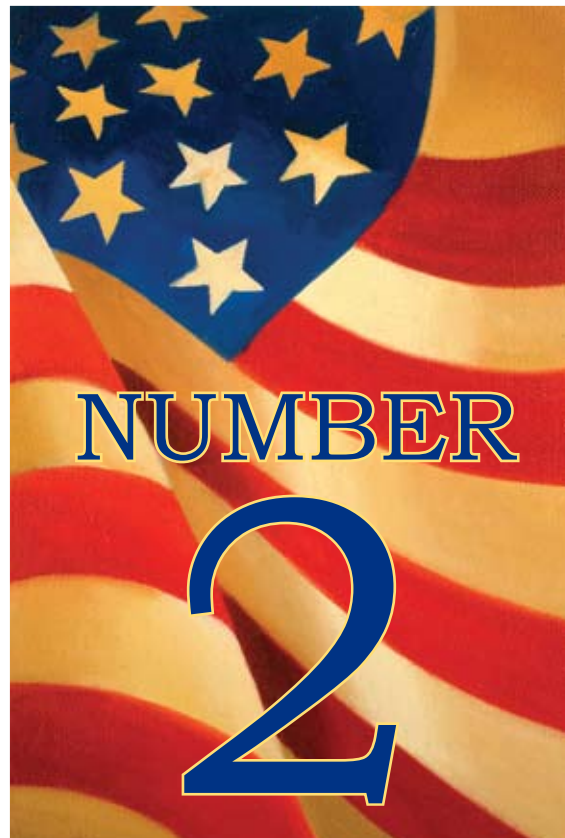
DAN SCHNUR

In many circles, playing “Name the Running Mate” ranks behind only the NCAA college basketball tournament brackets as a perennial parlor game for pundits, fans, and other observers. Usually, it’s nothing more than a convenient way to pass the months between the end of the primary season and the party convention. Most political professionals know that a vice presidential nominee will have little impact on the outcome of the campaign: the selection will matter little unless that running mate eventually assumes the presidency.

But John McCain, who would be the oldest person ever sworn in for a first term as President, the decision may be of greater import. For all of McCain’s strengths as a candidate, he has had a historically uneasy relationship with his party’s conservative base. Despite his reputation as a maverick and an insurgent, his quarter century on Capitol Hill makes it more challenging to sell a message of change to the voters. And while his self-deprecating jokes about his lack of familiarity with economic issues have been taken out of context by his political opponents, the declining U.S. economy puts a premium on expertise in this policy area.

Add it all up, and McCain’s

choice seems obvious. He needs a younger, conservative jobs creator from outside of Washington, preferably one who can help deliver a key swing state. Which is easier said



than done. Based on these criteria, his ideal running mate would be former Governor Jeb Smith of Florida. But since Jeb’s last name is not Smith, this option becomes problematic for other reasons. So who else?

Conventional wisdom is always a risky proposition in the world of McCain, but logic would suggest

a small number of Republican governors who fit the bill. Mark Sanford of South Carolina, Haley Barbour of Mississippi, and Jon Huntsman of Utah all represent safe Republican states. But all are strong conservatives with strong economic credentials. As a Congressman, Sanford endorsed McCain eight years ago, but stayed neutral this year, and gossip has it that McCain is holding a grudge. Barbour’s history as a lobbyist before running for elected office may be a difficult fit for a reform-oriented campaign message. Huntsman gets less attention than the others, but he bucked fellow Utahn Mitt Romney to endorse McCain and may get a long look from the grateful nominee.

Two other governors to watch are Tim Pawlenty of Minnesota and Bobby Jindal of Louisiana. Both have compiled impressive records in office and are well-liked by conservatives. Jindal is of Indian-American descent, which could add an appealing cross-ethnic element to the ticket, especially helpful in a race against Barack Obama. But Jindal is only thirty-six years old (the U.S. Constitution requires a President be at least thirty-five) and his youth would make it hard for McCain to argue that Obama is too inexperienced for the Oval Office. Pawlenty, an early supporter who stuck with McCain

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even during last summer's campaign meltdown, also has a high profile spot as the host of this year's GOP convention in Minneapolis, strikes many as an early front-runner.

Two other Washington outsiders remain part of the early speculation as well. Romney is said to be the favorite of Bush Administration insiders, and there's no question that he brings strong economic credentials to the table. But more than most, McCain is a visceral emotional politician who relies strongly on personal instinct. He and Romney developed an intense dislike for each other during the primary season and it's difficult to see the two of them repairing that breach anytime soon. And like another former opponent, Mike Huckabee (who McCain does like and respect), Romney has his own difficulties with conservative voters, so it's not clear how much his selection would help with the base.

The other plausible Washington outsider is the current Florida governor, Charlie Crist. Crist endorsed McCain right before his state's pivotal primary and is widely credited with delivering Florida for McCain. He has been a regular presence on the campaign trail

ever since. But Crist is also considered one of the party's leading moderate voices and Republican conservatives could revolt if McCain moved left instead of right with his pick. Similar concerns make media favorites like Rudy Giuliani, Joe Lieberman, and Tom Ridge non-starters, but Crist remains a possibility because of Florida's well-documented role as a general election prize.

### ...one of the best things about John McCain is his disdain for political orthodoxy.

Other names that surface regularly are Florida Senator Mel Martinez and Texas Senator Kay Bailey Hutchinson, both for demographic reasons, and conservative economic experts Rob Portman, the former director of the Office of Management and Budget, and Securities and Exchange Commission head Christopher Cox. Condoleezza Rice has said she's

not interested, but rumors are flying that she might end up on a short list. Colin Powell is unlikely, Michael Bloomberg is a non-starter, and South Carolina Senator Lindsay Graham is a virtual lock for Attorney General. (Look for Lieberman to end up in a McCain cabinet as well. Congressmen Paul Ryan of Wisconsin and Mike Pence of Indiana show up on some lists too, but are more likely to join an administration in other roles.)

But one of the best things about John McCain is his disdain for political orthodoxy. So attempting to predict his thinking on such a consequential matter is about as fruitful as filling out your NCAA bracket before the season starts. Only one thing is certain: McCain's running mate will be someone who the candidate himself believes is qualified to assume the presidency. The rest is just guesswork. **RF**

*Dan Schnur is a Republican political strategist and lecturer at the University of California-Berkeley. In 2000, he served as Communications Director for Senator John McCain's presidential campaign.*

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# IKE, WAR, PEACE AND KOREA: *Lessons for Iraq?*

CHESTER PACH

On January 20, 2009, our new president will face difficult issues of war and peace similar to those that confronted a popular predecessor whose name has hardly been mentioned during the current campaign.

Like President Dwight D. Eisenhower 56 years earlier, the next chief executive will have to deal with a prolonged and divisive war inherited from the preceding administration. Eisenhower made his decisions about the Korean War, a conflict that started when North Korean forces invaded South Korea in June 1950 and that within a year became a bloody stalemate. By the time Eisenhower took office in January 1953, the American people were weary of the deadlocked fighting and stalled peace talks, yet they also wanted an honorable settlement. Just six months after he became president, Eisenhower achieved one, which preserved South Korean security and allowed U.S. troops to begin coming home.

The differences between the Korean and Iraq wars could hardly be greater. Korea began as a defensive war for the United States, fought to protect the South Korean government it supported and sustained. The Iraq War started when U.S. forces launched a preventive strike to topple the regime

of an odious dictator who had reputedly obtained weapons of mass destruction. In Korea, U.S. troops fought mainly a conventional war against the armies of North Korea and the People's Republic of China. In Iraq, Americans have waged a war of shifting strategies to suppress insurgents, militias, and terrorists. The resolution of the war in Iraq will be very different than

in which U.S. objectives had changed from "police action" to liberation to containment while Harry S. Truman was commander-in-chief. On the campaign trail, Eisenhower avoided specifics about what he might do in Korea. His most important statement occurred just ten days before the election when he declared, "I shall go to Korea." This promise reassured

voters that one of the greatest generals in American history would make a first-hand assessment of the war. Eisenhower fulfilled his pledge a month later, yet he began his presidency without a plan to end the war.

Before long, however, Eisenhower's aides sent signals that the president was prepared to escalate the war if the Chinese and North Koreans did not accept American terms for an armistice. The main issue that had

prevented an armistice almost since the peace talks began in 1951 was U.S. insistence on voluntary repatriation so that no prisoner of war would be forced to return to Communist rule.

Yet even as he seemed ready to authorize stronger military action that might lengthen or widen the war, Eisenhower hoped for a settlement that would strengthen the United States in its global, Cold War struggle against communism. Eisenhower was



Eisenhower, second from left, reviewing troops in Korea shortly after his election as President in the Fall of 1952.

the settlement in Korea. Yet it is still instructive to recall how Eisenhower made decisions about Korea, since the next president, like Eisenhower, will have to make hard choices about the global consequences of a limited war.

In 1952, so many Americans "liked Ike" that he won a landslide victory in the presidential election. They also trusted Ike to make the right decisions that would break the deadlock in Korea, a confusing war

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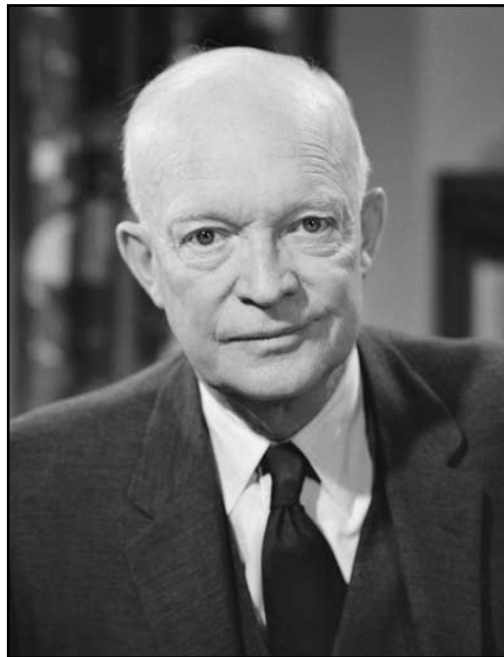
a shrewd strategist who knew that U.S. success in the Cold War required a careful calibration of ends and means that preserved a winning asset – the formidable power of the American economy. Lengthy, indecisive conflicts in places that Communist adversaries chose only drained American strength to the detriment of that larger global struggle. As Eisenhower explained in his First State of the Union message in February 1953, “To amass military power without regard to our economic capacity would be to defend ourselves against one kind of disaster by inviting another.”

Eisenhower got some unexpected help in his efforts to break the deadlock in the Korean armistice negotiations. On March 5, 1953, the Soviet dictator, Josef Stalin, died. Stalin had urged his North Korean clients to continue fighting despite their war weariness. Stalin’s successors sent a different message, as they realized that a relaxation of tensions with the United States and its allies was essential if they were to have any hope of overcoming the intractable economic problems of their Communist system.

The change in Soviet policy encouraged the North Koreans and the Chinese, both of whom had absorbed enormous losses and understood the power of the United States and its allies to inflict more, to accept the establishment of a commission with members from five neutral nations to determine whether individual POWs would be repatriated. The fighting in Korea finally stopped when negotiators at Panmunjom signed an armistice on July 27, 1953.

Eisenhower counted the Korean armistice as one of his greatest successes, and in the months that followed, the president and his aides completed a sweeping reassessment

of U.S. national security policy. On October 30, Eisenhower approved his administration’s basic Cold War strategy, popularly known as the “New Look.” He authorized greater reliance on nuclear weapons as well as on strengthened alliances and covert operations to prevent the kind of



**Eisenhower was a shrewd strategist who knew that U.S. success in the Cold War required a careful calibration of ends and means that preserved a winning asset – the formidable power of the American economy.**

aggression that had led to war in Korea and to protect the United States and its allies against global dangers. The New Look rested on one of the president’s fundamental principles: “A strong, healthy, and expanding economy is essential to the security and stability of the free world.” This strategy protected the United States and its allies during the rest of Eisenhower’s presidency, and no American died in combat during that time. No wonder so many people

still remember the Eisenhower years as an era of peace and prosperity.

Eisenhower’s experience in ending the Korean War suggests no obvious, much less easy solutions to the war in Iraq. There are no current negotiations, like those more than 50 years ago in Korea, that will facilitate a U.S. exit from Iraq. What will determine how many U.S. troops are engaged in Iraq and how long they remain there will be strength of the insurgency, the capability of Iraqi forces to maintain internal order, and the effectiveness of the Iraqi government in overcoming sectarian and ethnic divisions and in providing basic services. Even more important may be the patience of the American people and whether they believe the continued sacrifices of this war, human and material, are producing sufficient progress in Iraq and gains for U.S. security.

The next president, like Eisenhower, will need a broad and keen strategic vision. Just as Ike balanced the war in Korea against the demands of global security, the new chief executive will have to weigh the costs and benefits of the conflict in Iraq in the continuing war on terrorism. Success in that worldwide struggle will require, as Eisenhower said during the Cold War, a vibrant, expanding American economy. The dangers to the economy are even greater than they were a half century ago, since the costs of the current war – by some estimates more than \$3 trillion – already are staggering.

We can only hope that the next president will recall Ike’s leadership during perilous times in Korea and will strive for similar success. **RF**

*Chester Pach is a member of the Department of History at Ohio University. He is the author of *The Presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower*, rev. ed., and is writing a history of the presidency of Ronald Reagan.*

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## Profile

**Name:** Michael Steele

**Hometown:** Upper Marlboro, Maryland

**Occupation:** Partner, Dewey & LeBoeuf, LLP and Chairman, GOPAC

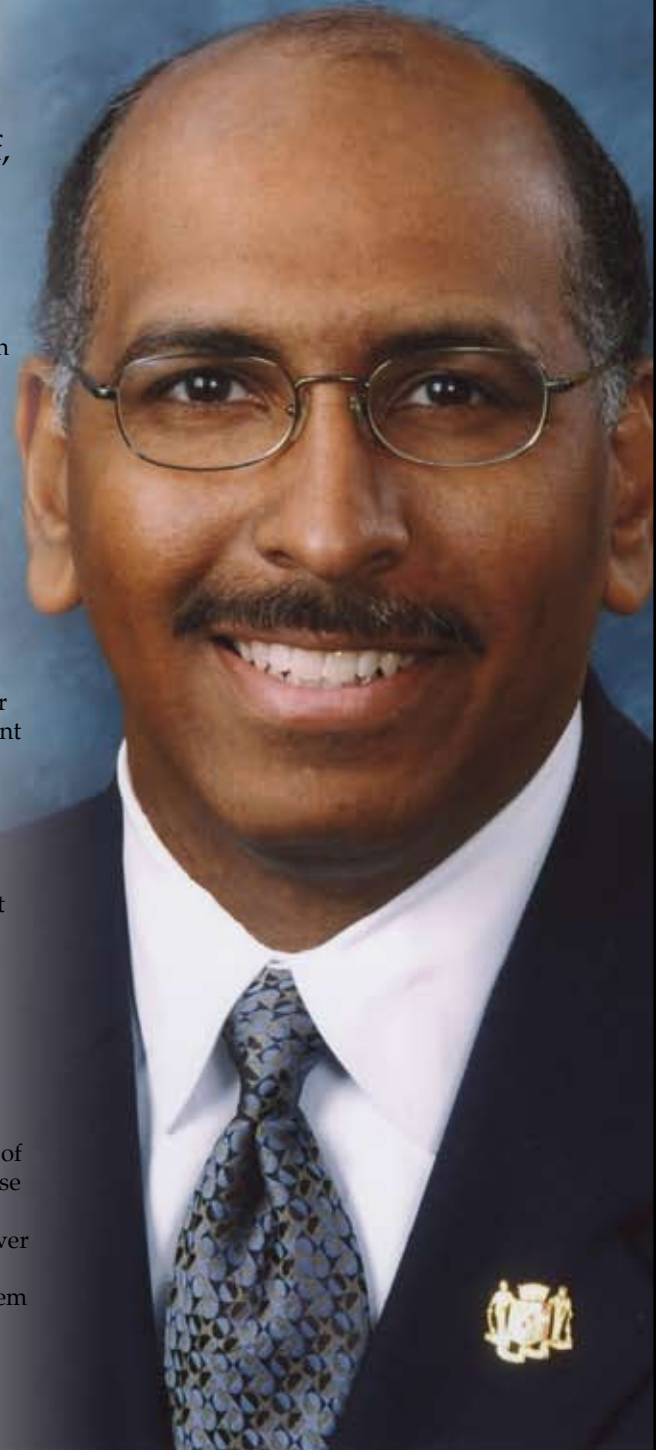
**Previous Jobs:** Lt. Governor of Maryland, 2003-2007

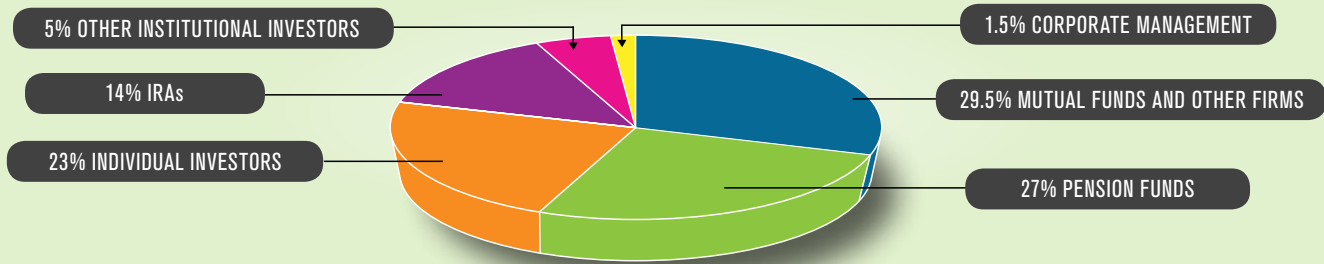
**Individual(s) who inspired me as a child:** My mother, Maebell, who was a sharecropper's daughter with only a fifth grade education. As a mother, she raised her children to believe in the American Dream even though much of that dream had been denied to her. She also taught the lesson of legacy and the value of having one.

**Historical figure(s) I would most like to meet:** Abraham Lincoln, because the unfolding of his views on Race, war and the Union are a lesson in self-awareness, political gamesmanship and perseverance.

**Issue facing America that no one is talking about:** Education. It's not so much that we aren't talking about it, we are. It's that we're not doing anything about it! Graduation rates, test scores, school management, teacher training, "teaching to the test" among other issues confront not just school boards and superintendents, but most especially parents and students. While principals must be empowered to manage their schools and teachers empowered to teach their students, it is the parent who must be reengaged in the education of their children. Children need many kinds of support as they mature, but parental support is the most important.

**What the GOP must do to reclaim its congressional majority:** As the party of Lincoln stood with those whose hands and feet were shackled over a century ago, today we must stand with those who are shackled by a poor education, the corrosive effects of addiction and the hopelessness of lost opportunity at the hands of an opportunistic government. For Republicans, the promise of America is the promise of endless possibilities; the promise of limited government so that it never becomes powerful enough to infringe on the rights of the individual and lower taxes so that individuals might keep more of their own money. Through our words and deeds, we must show them we are leaders who are in touch with the values of their community; leaders who will bring us together; leaders who will turn hope into action.





U.S. Oil Company Ownership, 2007

## Do you own an oil company?

If you've ever wondered who owns America's oil and natural gas companies, chances are the answer is, "you do."

Surprised?

The fact is that if you have a mutual fund account – and 55 million American households, with a median income of under \$70,000, do – there's a good chance it invests in oil and natural gas company stocks. If you have an IRA or personal retirement account – and 45 million U.S. households do – there is a good chance it invests in energy stocks.

All this comes from a recent study\* of U.S. oil and natural gas company ownership headed by Robert J. Shapiro, undersecretary of commerce for economic affairs under President Bill Clinton.

According to the study, the majority of the industry's shareholders are "middle-class U.S. households with mutual fund investments, pension accounts, other personal retirement accounts, and small personal portfolios."

What many may find particularly surprising is that our industry's corporate management owns only a tiny fraction of company shares.

Specifically, here is what the

study found:

- 29.5 percent of U.S. oil and natural gas company shares are owned by mutual funds and other firms
- 27 percent are owned by pension funds
- Individual investors own 23 percent
- 14 percent are held in IRA accounts
- 5 percent are owned by other institutional investors
- 1.5 percent are held by corporate management (significantly less in the largest companies)

These findings tell us something very important: tens of millions of Americans have a stake in the U.S. oil and natural gas industry. When the industry's earnings are strong, the real winners are middle-class Americans, people investing in their retirement security or saving for their children's college education.

So when the political rhetoric gets hot about increasing energy taxes or taking "excess profits" from U.S. oil companies, it is important to step back, look at the facts, and ask yourself, "who does that really hurt?"

To read the full study, visit [EnergyTomorrow.org](http://EnergyTomorrow.org).

THE *people* OF AMERICA'S  
OIL AND NATURAL GAS INDUSTRY

\*SONECON: *The Distribution of Ownership of U.S. Oil and Natural Gas Companies, September 2007*

**Tens of millions of Americans own a piece of the U.S. oil and natural gas industry**

## First thing to remember, we were here second.

Protecting the environment is a big part of how we develop energy. So while we help meet the world's growing energy demands, we never lose sight of our natural resources. With some of the industry's highest environmental standards, we're using our human energy to create a better future for us all. To learn more, visit us at [chevron.com](http://chevron.com).



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