

RIPON FORUM

Can you be a Republican
and still like the Boss?



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June/July 2006



BRANDING AMERICA

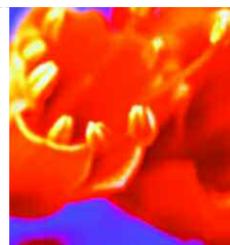
Karen Hughes leads the effort to promote freedom and democracy during the Global War on Terror.

Plus: Pat Roberts assesses the current situation in Iran, Jack McKenzie and Mike Hais explain how the millennials get their news, and Bill Thomas discusses his career in politics and thoughts on the mid-term elections.

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*“Ideas that matter,
since 1965.”*

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Note from the Chairman

From the moment the United States was attacked on September 11, 2001, Americans have known that we were in a different kind of war. But in at least one respect, the war we are fighting today bears some resemblance to wars we have fought in the past.

As in all wars, there is a battle underway for the hearts and minds both of those who are engaged in the struggle, and of those who sit on the sidelines. It is a battle waged with ideas and intellect and argument. It is a battle to be won with good communications and public diplomacy, which is defined as the promotion of America's interests, culture and policies abroad.

In this issue of the *Forum*, we examine what the United States is doing to wage and win this part of the War on Terrorism.

We begin with a focus on Karen Hughes, who, as the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, is spearheading this U.S. effort. We also hear what others have to say on the topic. Harvard professor Joseph Nye talks about the importance of soft power in the Global War on Terror; Iraq vet Wade Zirkle discusses the role of the military in promoting freedom and democracy; and advertising icon Hank Wasiak gives Madison Avenue's take on Brand America and the messages he believes must be conveyed around the world.

We also take a look at some other areas of concern around the globe. Kansas Senator Pat Roberts assesses the Iranian threat, and Hoover fellow Michael McFaul discusses the changing face of U.S.-Russia relations in advance of the G-8 Summit in St. Petersburg in July.

Closer to home, Tamar Jacoby provides an update on immigration reform, while Jack McKenzie and Mike Hais explain how the younger generation of Americans known as the Millennials get their news (hint – it's not Katie Couric).

Finally, we feature an interview with Bill Thomas, the respected and, regrettably, retiring Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. A thoughtful political observer, Thomas shares his experiences, and his ideas about what the future holds on Capitol Hill, with *Forum* readers.

As always, we appreciate your interest in the *Ripon Forum*, and hope you enjoy this issue.

Bill Frenzel
Chairman Emeritus
Ripon Society

Branding America

The effort to promote freedom and democracy during the Global War on Terror.

LOUIS M. ZICKAR

Mohamad Atta. Hanji Hanjour. Ahmed Alhaznawi.

After nearly five years, we no longer remember all their names. But we remember their faces. And we will never forget their eyes.

They are the eyes of killers. They are the eyes of the 19 hijackers who commandeered four planes on September 11, 2001, taking the lives of over 3,000 people and taking us into a war which we continue to fight to this day.

In their eyes, we see not just the hatred we face, but the challenge we must overcome. It is the challenge of winning the hearts and minds of those who think us evil; of men and women who would do us harm; of children who want nothing more than to grow up and sacrifice their lives in the struggle against a country they've been taught to believe is Satan.

It is the challenge Karen Hughes faces in her job as Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. Appointed to her position by the President in March 2005, Hughes' job is to promote the U.S. and our democratic system of government during the Global War on Terror. But at its most basic, her mission is to prevent another generation of Mohamad Attas from taking root in the Middle East and elsewhere around the world.

Strategic Imperatives

In speeches since taking office and in testimony on Capitol Hill, Hughes has outlined three "strategic imperatives" she intends to follow as she undertakes this mission and seeks to accomplish this goal. The first imperative is to offer people throughout the world a positive vision of hope and opportunity that is rooted

in America's belief in freedom, justice, opportunity and respect for all. Hughes expanded on this imperative in a May 10 speech before the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. "People around the world need to know that America proudly stands for not only our own rights," she stated, "but also for human rights, human freedom, human dignity, the value of every person everywhere."

The second strategic imperative is to isolate and marginalize violent extremists, while at the same time undermining the attempt by extremists to portray the West as being in conflict with Islam. To achieve this objective, Hughes believes it is critical that the U.S. not just empower mainstream voices in the Muslim community, but also demonstrate respect for Muslim cultures and their contributions to American society and societies around the world. "Theirs is a message of destruction and death," Hughes declared to the

Council on Foreign Relations last month, referring to the extremists, "ours a message of life and opportunity. And more and more people, including more and more Muslims across our world, are speaking up and saying that. And I think it's very important that we empower the voices of our fellow Americans to join us in saying that."

Hughes' final imperative in this effort is to foster a sense of common interests and common values between Americans and people of different countries, cultures and faiths throughout the world. "We share so much," Hughes told the House

Committee on International Relations during a hearing last November. "People the world over want education and better lives for our children, people everywhere want to live in security, we all want jobs and economic opportunity."

In carrying out these imperatives and meeting this challenge, Hughes faces an uphill battle, to be sure. In a well-publicized meeting with women's rights activists in Turkey last September, for example, Hughes was sharply criticized for the U.S. invasion of Iraq and the instability some of those in attendance believed it has caused in the region. More recently and closer to home, the Government Accountability Office released a report in May in which it found that the State Department's



public diplomacy efforts, “generally lacked important strategic communication elements found in the private sector.” Among other things, the GAO found that State Department “posts in the Muslim world face several challenges in implementing their public diplomacy programs, including the need to balance security with public outreach and concerns related to staff numbers and language capabilities.” As an example, the report pointed out that “30 percent of language designated public diplomacy positions in the Muslim world were filled by officers without the requisite language skills.”

More Funding and New Initiatives

Hughes will be the first to admit that there is room for improvement in the Administration’s approach. Indeed, she said as much in her speech in New York last month. “We have much more to do,” she conceded. “This is a very long-term challenge.” To her credit, and to the credit of Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and President Bush, Hughes is seeing to it that the effort she is spearheading to promote the U.S. and our system of government during the Global War on Terror – to “brand America,” if you will – receives the funding and resources it requires.

In fact, in the same report in which it criticizes the State Department for some of its public diplomacy efforts, the GAO acknowledges that the Bush Administration has increased public diplomacy resources to countries with significant Muslim populations in recent years. “Comparing data from fiscal years 2004 and 2006,” the GAO found, “regional bureau budgets for overseas operations increased by 21 percent in total, with the largest percentage going to the South Asia (39 percent), East Asia and the Pacific (28 percent), and Near East (25 percent) regions, each of which includes countries with large Muslim populations.”

At the same time, the Administration has established a number of new and innovative programs and initiatives intended to help the U.S. better communicate and interact with key audiences in the Muslim community and elsewhere around the world. These initiatives include

a rapid response office within the State Department that will monitor international media, watching for news stories that portray the U.S. in an inaccurate light and issuing responses on an as needed and real time basis to set the record straight.

The Department has also established the Edward R. Murrow program, launched in conjunction with the Aspen Institute and six American universities, that will bring over 100 international media professionals to spend time at leading journalism schools in the U.S. The goal of this program is to encourage good journalistic practices around the world, and give journalists around the world a better understanding of our country. To encourage women’s entrepreneurship around the world, the Department has also established a women’s business exchange in conjunction with *Fortune Magazine*.

Assisting Hughes in overseeing these initiatives and programs is Dina Habib Powell, the Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs. Powell was born in Egypt and is fluent in Arabic. In the words of Condoleezza Rice, she represents “the embodiment of what it means to be an American and to be part of a multiethnic democracy.” Increasingly, she is also joining Secretary Rice and Undersecretary Hughes in serving as a public face and voice of U.S. public diplomacy efforts in the Middle East.

Their challenge is a great one. And, in the end, it will take more than television appearances and talking points to win the hearts and minds of those whose only feeling toward the United States is one of hate. It will take actions, as well – actions by diplomats, actions by soldiers, actions by every American.

For we all have a stake in the war we are fighting, and we all have a role to play in spreading the principles of freedom and democracy – principles that, in the long run, will not only help change the conditions that promote extremism and terror, but principles that, for the past 230 years, have helped make America great. **RF**

Louis M. Zickar is the Editor of the Ripon Forum.



At its most basic, her [Hughes’] mission is to prevent another generation of Mohamad Attas from taking root in the Middle East and elsewhere around the world.

Karen Hughes' Challenge

BY JOSEPH S. NYE

Since Sept. 11, 2001, it has become commonplace to say that the United States is engaged in a war of ideas for the hearts and minds of moderate Muslims.

Even Donald Rumsfeld has admitted that the metric for measuring success in a war against jihadist terrorism is whether the numbers we kill or deter are greater than the numbers that the jihadists recruit.

We cannot attract the hard core jihadists: they have to be dealt with by hard power. But we cannot win the war unless we win the hearts and minds of the moderates. The polls suggest that we are not doing well.

In key countries like Jordan and Pakistan, more people say they have confidence in Osama bin Laden than in George W. Bush. While some polls show a slight improvement in America's image in countries like Indonesia and Lebanon, large majorities in the Muslim world remain skeptical about the United States.

Karen Hughes, the Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy, has a daunting task. The United States spends only a little over a billion dollars a year on public diplomacy to get our message out, about the same as Britain or France though we are five times larger. We spend nearly 500 times more than that on our hard military power.

The U.S. Information Agency (USIA) was abolished during the Clinton Administration. Proponents argued that giving its functions to an undersecretary in the State Department would integrate them more closely with overall diplomacy. But this change neglected the low value attributed to public diplomacy in the traditional

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culture of the State Department. The job Hughes now occupies was left vacant for nearly half of the four years of the first Bush Administration. The priorities in Bush's first term were on America's hard power, not its soft or attractive power.



President Bush began to pay more attention to soft power in his second term. In addition to rhetoric about promoting democracy and freedom, he made a modest increase in funding for public diplomacy, including both international broadcasting and the State Department's educational and cultural exchange programs. In the president's words, "rarely has the need for a sustained effort to ensure foreign understanding for our country and society been so clearly evident." But even with these increases there is a long way to go.

The U.S. started new broadcasting outlets like Radio Sawa and Al Hurra television for the Arab world, but the latter is widely mistrusted as American propaganda. In any event, better broadcasting is not enough. As U.S. Ambassador to Russia William Burns has pointed out, public diplomacy must be accompanied by "a wider positive agenda for the region, alongside rebuilding Iraq, achieving the President's two-state vision for Israelis and Palestinians; and modernizing Arab economies." Even the best advertising cannot sell if the product is poor.

Edward R. Murrow, the noted broadcaster who once headed the USIA, argued that the most effective dimension of public diplomacy is not broadcasting but "the last three feet" of face to face communication. To promote this, Hughes has to work with the private and non-profit sectors. To accomplish our objective of promoting democracy in the region, the U.S. must develop a long-term strategy of cultural and educational exchanges aimed at creating a richer and more open civil society in Middle Eastern countries. We need local people who understand America's virtues as well as our faults. Visa policies that have cut back on the number of Muslim students in the United States do us more harm than good.

Much of the work of developing an open civil

society can be promoted by corporations, foundations, universities and other non-profit organizations, as well as by governments. Companies and foundations can offer technology to help modernize Arab educational systems. American universities can establish more exchange programs for students and faculty. Foundations can support the development of institutions of American studies in Muslim countries, or programs that enhance the professionalism of journalists. Private groups can promote the teaching of the English language, and encourage student exchanges.

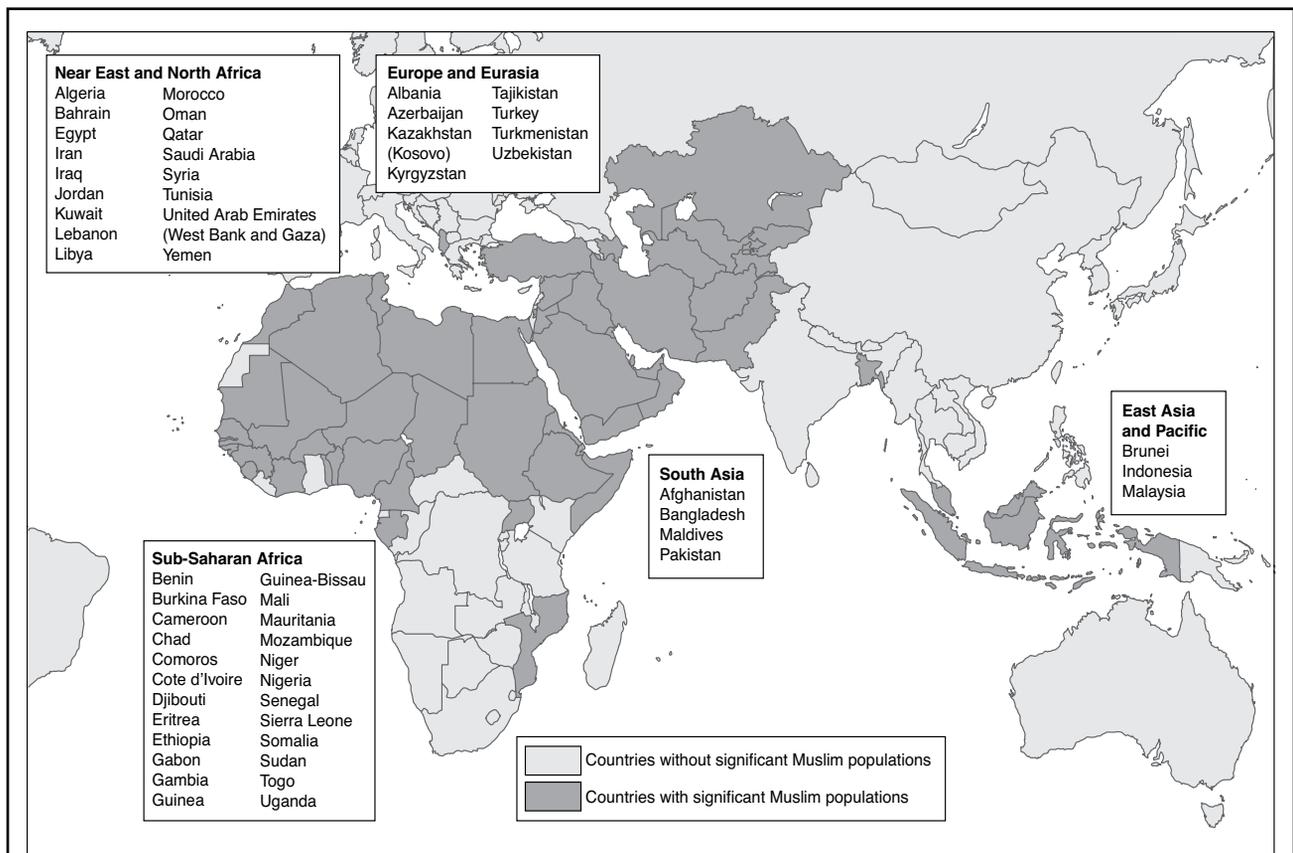
Karen Hughes will find that America's soft power is difficult to wield because the government does not control all the levers. But that may not be a bad

thing. Government propaganda is rarely convincing. America's strength lies in our civil society. Even when our policies are unpopular, our ability to be self critical as a free society can earn us grudging praise.

Government propaganda is rarely convincing. America's strength lies in our civil society. Even when our policies are unpopular, our ability to be self critical as a free society can earn us grudging praise.

Our diversity is our strength. Only when we manage to unleash this type of soft power and combine it with our hard power will we be successful in meeting the challenge of jihadist terrorism. Then we will be a "smart power." RF

Joseph S. Nye teaches at Harvard University and is the author of Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics, and The Power Game: A Washington Novel.



"State's public diplomacy investment in these 58 countries and territories has increased in recent years. According to department data, State provided funds for 179 speakers to travel to these countries in fiscal year 2005, up from 157 in fiscal year 2004. Additionally, the department funded nearly 5,800 exchange participants from these countries in fiscal year 2005, up from about 5,100 in fiscal year 2004. The department spent nearly \$115 million on exchange and information programs in these countries in fiscal year 2005."

Source: GAO report on Public Diplomacy, May 2006

On the Frontlines of Freedom

Today's military is the public face of the U.S. in many parts of the world.

WADE ZIRKLE

*"Demonstrate to the world that there is
'No Better Friend, No Worse Enemy'
than a U.S. Marine."*

These words by General James Mattis, issued to his Marines massed on the Iraq-Kuwait border prior to the invasion of 2003, uniquely capture the creed embraced by today's U.S. fighting force.

Yet today on the world stage, particularly in Muslim nations, our military is too often viewed only as the enemy, a disturbing fact not lost on those who now wear the uniform. Make no mistake -- death and violence are products of any war. But lost within today's highly partisan environment are such deeply held goals as freedom and democracy. While policymakers and pundits attempt to score political points highlighting the former, today's military is busily dedicated to securing the latter.

Those who serve in the U.S. military do so for a number of reasons. Foremost among them is that individuals both past and present have had a desire to serve their nation and the democratic principals for which it stands. And despite the media's almost exclusive focus

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on death and despair, those of us who have served know full well that a good day on the battlefield is one in which there are no casualties. Further, we see much of the human dignity that is recovered once tyranny is vanquished in the name of freedom -- when citizens can vote for the first time, schools open for all children and businesses begin to thrive.



Yet, these are not the convictions or images conveyed by our own policymakers or the media to the world. As a result, an information void has been left from which the role of the U.S. military is too often projected as that of the aggressor versus that of the liberator.

Global opinion of the U.S. remains exceedingly poor, particularly among Muslims. With a worldwide Muslim population that is very young and growing rapidly, it is imperative that our nation articulate a clear vision that highlights our true intent of bringing liberty and restoring sovereignty for these citizens, while embracing their sincere cultural and religious beliefs. Otherwise, much of this huge demographic will remain isolated and vulnerable to fanatical rule, void of the civil liberties or economic infrastructures that provide new opportunities. While progress and political change do not occur in a vacuum, hatred often does. Aiding this dilemma is a media saturated world where car-bombs and body counts trump broader evidence of democratic reform and burgeoning political stability.

How can we more accurately portray the true role and character of the U.S. military to the world? First and foremost, the media can and should reassert their efforts to cover the Iraq War and other deployments from the perspective of those engaged -- our Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen and Marines.

While countless journalists were embedded with U.S. military units during the initial invasion of Iraq, today such deployments are few and far between. In fact, the widely-praised embed program is almost non-existent

– from 692 journalists embedded with coalition units during the invasion of Iraq compared to only 32 today, according to the U.S. Department of Defense. What is now portrayed as “on-the-ground” reports courtesy of the nightly news or printed in our daily papers is more often what we veterans call “balcony reporting.”

The purpose behind the embed program established prior to the 2003 invasion was for journalists to live, eat, sleep and patrol with a company or platoon-size unit for an extended period of time. In the process, reporters would get to know the soldiers personally and learn to evaluate the battlefield from their perspective – the good, the bad and the ugly. Such a unique vantage point gave journalists a sincere understanding of the decision-making process in full view of the combat implications as they occur in real-time. Further, it gave them insights into the areas of operations and direct contact with the citizens of the regions.

Finally, it gave them an appreciation for the important role today’s military plays in promoting our country overseas. The U.S. Military is the public face of America in many parts of the world, and how we interact with the people we meet has a real impact on how America is viewed. To that end, having a journalist on hand to cover these everyday interactions – whether it is a corporal playing soccer with a child on a dirt road in Kabul or a colonel sitting down with the mayor in Tal Afar – would go a long way to conveying the true nature America’s mission: that of a liberator, not a conqueror.

It is true that some dedicated journalists still feel it imperative to journey out with those deployed in combat zones to see what they see, hear what they hear, and live through what they must live through. Some have paid the same price through death and wounds that so many of our colleagues in combat also have paid. NBC’s David Bloom, *National Journal’s* Michael Kelly and ABC’s Bob Woodruff come most readily to mind. Such committed professionals, both past and present, should be commended and honored.

With increasing regularity, however, some in the media now stationed with U.S. troops position themselves in secure bases established outside of hot zones and

attempt to interview troops not in the field, but only as they return from missions. Countless grunts have spoken openly about this “vulture syndrome” as they describe it, noting how reporters now largely go from one returning patrol to another hoping to find a unit that had recently been engaged in combat. If there was violence, there is interest. Anything positive or anything outside of deaths, however, is often of little use and thus not reported.

Otherwise, hosts of policymakers and the media appear more generally intent on a hindsight review of past military actions and decisions as opposed to covering more current and pressing events. It is almost as if they have given up on the mission in Iraq, and are now merely penning its obituary. There seems to be an almost wholesale dismissal by many policymakers and the media of anything positive about U.S. military missions, the situation on the ground or our global security strategy.

The resulting domestic political climate has become so toxic that partisans seemingly identify the enemy as those who sit on the other side of the aisle. This insular attitude is not only shameful, but reckless, jeopardizing the long-term security of our nation and undercutting our leadership in the world. Sadly, the resulting perceptions held by those outside our borders are often placed upon the shoulders of our men and women in the military.

Not until our own political leaders engage in debates over U.S. military strategy in a responsible, non-partisan manner, and the media provides a broader perspective of the Global War on Terror, will the rest of the world more fully understand and appreciate the role today’s men and women in uniform play in defending America and promoting freedom and democracy around the globe.

RF

Wade Zirkle is founder of Vets for Freedom (www.vetsforfreedom.org). He served two deployments as a U.S. Marine in Iraq before being wounded in action. He plans to return to Iraq this summer to report from the frontlines.

Madison Avenue's Take on Brand America

An advertising icon shares his thoughts on the effort to promote our democracy abroad

HANK WASIAK

If any country in the world can be viewed as a brand, it's America. After all, we invented "branding." So why, when we are the most powerful nation on earth and facing precarious times, can't we leverage America's brand assets? For inspiration and guidance, I returned to the basics of brand building that have worked so well for so many American companies and products.

One must distinguish between "Brand America" and the "brands" of America. Think of Brand America as any corporation with a host of products, services, brands, divisions, etc., in its portfolio. We were the original "start-up" 230 years ago and have grown into the most recognized, powerful brand in the world. Simultaneously, each and every citizen *contributes* to its being. We are its employees and own it, lock, stock and barrel. We must never forget that.

The American portfolio of brand icons is amazing. Here is an eclectic sampling: The Statue of Liberty, Jazz, Country Music, Hollywood, Vegas, The Big Apple, Apple, Mickey Mouse, Bart Simpson, Starbucks, Coca Cola, Levi's, E-Bay, Google, Hip-Hop. These icons are eagerly purchased, consumed and welcomed into homes, families and businesses around the world. So why hasn't the "company" that makes all of this possible -- that is, America itself -- been welcomed with the same enthusiasm?

Brand America is hard to capture in a snappy sentence. Yet our essence pours forth from the documents, institutions and actions that have been part of our brand since the Revolution.

As I have traveled the world over the past 30 years helping build brands, this disconnect between the brand icons of America and the icon of Brand America has always gnawed at me.

So, here is a simple, dispassionate, non-partisan three-step primer on how we can go about building and improving upon Brand America:



Defining our Brand Essence

First, we need to clearly define what our country's brand essence actually is, and then live it 24/7.

The brand essence is the epicenter of brand building. Brand America is hard to capture in a snappy sentence. Yet our essence pours forth from the documents, institutions and actions that have been part of our brand since the Revolution.

We don't have a credo -- we have something better. America has a powerful compass anchored in guideposts that remind us of how we should behave -- as individuals, institutions and governments. Here are excerpts from five of these guideposts that resonate with all of us.

The Declaration Of Independence -- "Our Reason d'etre"

"...all men are created equal...endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights....among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.-- Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

The Constitution -- "Our Rules"

"We the People....in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity.... establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

The Gettysburg Address – “Our Guidance”

“Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.... we here highly resolve....that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom — and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”

The Statue of Liberty – “Our Beacon.”

“Give me your tired, your poor, Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, The wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door!”

The Pledge of Allegiance – “Our Daily Reminder.”

“I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America, and to The Republic for which it stands, one Nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.”

The words are simple, but their effect is profound. Brand America exists to provide for, nourish, and safeguard a way of life dedicated to the freedom of all people to flourish and live rewarding lives that can be passed on to future generations. It is our duty and destiny to welcome all people of like mind to participate, to respect the rights of others to follow another path if they so choose, and to protect us from those who would seek to undermine or destroy our way of life.

It just doesn't get any clearer. I'd give Brand America a solid “A” for defining its essence. When it comes to living it 24/7? Well, that's another story entirely, and something that is entirely up to 300 million of us to achieve.



Serving our Core Consumer Franchise

There are four keys to any successful branding campaign: listening, learning, insight, and applying the 80/20 rule. What is the 80/20 rule? Essentially, it states that 20 percent of consumers account for about 80 percent of a Brand's committed acceptors and immovable rejecters, with 60 percent at various stages of commitment and/or ambivalence. In applying this rule, it is equally important to follow three basic steps.

Step 1 -- *Take care of the core franchise above all...this includes stakeholders at home and abroad.* We do a pretty good job of this and should never take it for granted.

Step 2 -- *Don't “market” to hard core rejecters... BUT, understand them, be vigilant regarding threats to the brand's core franchise, and never compromise the Brand's essence to cultivate them.* We've not done a great job in this regard and must get better at making our vigilance a virtue.

Step 3 -- *Use the “Laws of Attraction” to convert “occasional” consumers to “regular” users.* Our track record here has been spotty, sometimes employing the “laws of intimidation” and too often focused on short-term results.

Provide Consistent Leadership and Implementation

Throughout history we've been fortunate to have leaders who are committed to -- and passionate about -- Brand America.

As with any company, some have been better than others at choosing their executive teams, developing different implementation tactics and delivering results. We get to pass judgment on these performances each and every election day, so, ultimately, Brand America is in our hands – and no one else's. So, before we pull the lever on the voting machine, we need to first contemplate America's Brand essence, then vote for the people we feel will be best serve it.

Finally, I couldn't resist the urge to suggest a piece of communication to use in this effort. Rather than an ad, I chose to do a makeover of a popular bumper sticker. Let's set aside “*America. Love it or Leave it!*” and replace

it with an exhortation that encourages people not to turn their back on our Nation, but to turn their energies toward improving it -- “*America. Love it and Live up to it!*”

RF

Hank Wasiak is co-founder of an award winning creative development company, The Concept Farm, an Emmy award winning TV host, retired Vice Chairman of McCann Erickson Worldgroup, former president of Ketchum Communications and 7-time Emmy-nominated Executive Producer. Along with Dr. Kathryn D. Cramer, he also is author of a best selling new motivational book, Change The Way You See Everything.

A View From Abroad

JAMES SODERHOLM

It is too late to walk or talk softly. The big stick—the enormous military might of the U.S.—bears its own ominous message, but the U.S. might try to promote its democratic ideals with more skill, conviction, and volume. Even the British, our most loyal consumers and faithful allies, are losing the faith, despite their relative appreciation of American businesses along their high streets.

As an American living in Canterbury, I have listened to and read in the newspapers an almost unrelieved litany of despair and concern about U.S. global power and its mostly unilateral initiatives. Most British citizens have, moreover, precious little to say about either George Bush or Tony Blair that is not laced with invective. The U.S.'s most reliable ally for its foreign policy, Britain, would seem to be a place where the animosity one expects to see in both France and Germany—never mind the Middle East—is somewhat less virulent.

Yet Secretary Rice's visit earlier this spring to Jack Straw's Western province in England suggests just how unhappy many Britons are regarding the Bush-Blair alliance and the war in Iraq. Protesters confronted Rice at nearly every turn of her trip and forced her to cancel a visit to a mosque. This anti-American stance is growing in Britain. Even as one can be generally sympathetic to U.S. foreign policy and believe that democratizing the Middle East is of world-historical importance, it is still important to understand the nature and consequences of dissent abroad. Although much of it is juvenile and ill-informed, there are forms of skepticism and hostility worthy of attention. The fortunes and misfortunes of Brand America comprise one such form.

Thomas Friedman called the felicitous synergy of Brand America and globalization "The Golden Arches Theory of Conflict Prevention." The idea was that no

two countries that had a McDonald's in their major cities would wage war against each other. Friedman recently abandoned this convenient formulation in favor of "The Dell Theory," which stipulates that "no two countries that are both part of a major global supply chain, like Dell's, will ever fight a war against each other as long as they are both part of the same global supply chain." In other words, the more the entire globe partakes in the economic prosperity hawked by Brand America - the more we all drink coffee from Starbucks while hammering away on our Dell notebooks -- the more peaceful the planet will be. Western-style capitalism thus exercises a "soft power" that gives empire-building the good name it deserves.



Protesters gather outside a fast food restaurant in Blackburn England, during Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's visit to the town in April.

The problem is that the current administration does not seem to be transmitting this message to friends and foes alike with much agility, clarity, and gusto. Early last year, President Bush appointed Karen Hughes as the Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy. When she announced this

choice last March, Condoleezza Rice said, "We must do more to confront the hateful propaganda, dispel dangerous myths, and get out the truth." In her remarks last February at the U.S.-Islamic World Forum, Hughes said: "I view my job as waging peace....America works and will continue to work with the many nations of the Islamic world in a spirit of partnership -- we seek to be a partner for peace, a partner for progress, a partner for a better life for all our peoples." To wage peace is to combine diplomacy and marketing as a way to re-Brand America. Hughes claims to be guided by "four strategic pillars" that she called "the four 'E's'" - engagement, exchanges, education and empowerment. This is the rhetoric—not particularly compelling—of soft power. It finds more articulate expression in the "realistic Wilsonianism" and "democracy promotion" that Francis Fukuyama proposes in his recent book,

After the Neocons: Where The Right Went Wrong.

One imagines that the message Secretary Rice wants to broadcast, or advertise, is the truth of freedom, democracy, and economic prosperity, a truth that the United States enacted as the Marshall Plan and successfully promoted during the Cold War. But much of the Arab world—and even significant elements of the British world—now see U.S. foreign policy in anything but favorable terms. To read *The Guardian*, England's far-Left daily—is to see Bush as a mixture of Genghis Khan and Holy Crusader. To talk to many citizens in the U.K. is to confront tonic hostility to the Blair-Bush friendship and its consequences. In an attempt to improve his country's image, Tony Blair has established a Public Diplomacy Strategy Board, an outgrowth of his earlier "Cool Britannia" campaign. The problem is that diplomatically and militarily, Great Britain is not too cool to rule, and continues to be jeopardized by its close association with U.S. interests.

As far as corporate concerns, Brand America seems to flourish in Britain. On the same high street in Canterbury where one sees plenty of American businesses (such as Subway, Pizza Hut, McDonald's, Burger King, and The Gap, to name a few), one also sees card tables set up in front of the public library, staffed by anti-Bush advocates purveying "hateful propaganda" about the U.S. and displaying posters of Bush as "The World's Greatest Terrorist." Most tourists and townspeople stroll placidly by, either allergic or immune to these displays. But the very presence of these posters and protesters in the heart of the wealthiest county in England suggests something more than sensationalism. It is a growing

rebellion not against the message or marketing of Brand America, but against its product.

Secretary Rice may have seen the protesters crossing her path, but she spoke to captive audiences. It is becoming harder and harder to sell American foreign policy to our strongest ally even as American businesses flourish along every high street in Great Britain. So far, business interests outstrip all other concerns, and most people glide by the posters and demagoguery to go shopping and have a coffee at Starbucks. We can rest assured that Canterbury and Seattle will never wage war on each other.

But the talk on and off the high street, all over Britain, suggests profound skepticism and disillusion about the way the U.S. wields its big stick. Perhaps that stick is so big it does not require any softer promotion. As Bush said, "I don't do nuance." But the President's approval ratings at home—and his worsening reputation abroad—suggests that he might do well to have others—his image-makers and public diplomacy experts—advertise his policies, if not skillfully, at least more loudly.

Otherwise, American democratic ideals will degenerate into saber-rattling, saber-wielding, slogans, logos, and brand names, meaning it will be nothing more than a big stick. **RF**

James Soderholm is a free-lance writer and Professor at The King's School of Canterbury.

RIPON
FORUM
Ideas that matter, since 1965.



Q&A

With Bill Thomas

Earlier this year, Congressman Bill Thomas announced his retirement after nearly 30 years in the U.S. House of Representatives. First elected in 1978, Thomas has served as Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee since 2001. He recently sat down with the *Ripon Forum* to discuss his experiences in politics and share his thoughts on what the future holds on Capitol Hill – not just in this year’s mid-term elections, but in the years ahead, as well.

RF: *What drove you to get into politics in the first place?*

Thomas: I’ve always been interested in politics. I remember listening to broadcasts when I was younger and watching the 1952 national conventions on television. In high school, I was involved in student government. When I was a teacher, I advised my students to get involved in government themselves.

Following the elections of 1972, some of my former students came to me and asked, “How do we make sure that we are not taken over by outside groups?” At the time, local groups were taken over by national ones. For example, the Committee to Reelect the President came in, literally took over the operation, sucked out all the money, and wouldn’t share any of it with the locals.

So in talking to some of them, I said we should build a structure of our own and run it ourselves. I had been involved in campaigns in Kern County since 1965. And I had been involved in state races advising candidates on

issues, aspects, that sort of thing; how do you rank precincts, all the stuff that’s not really common.

Of course, we didn’t have computers back then; we didn’t color code maps. So I brought a lot of techniques to the area that had been never done before.

In January of 1973, we decided that I would go ahead and run for the GOP

I was the only non-incumbent Republican to win anything in California in 1974. I served two terms in the Assembly and had no interest in running for Congress. But then the incumbent Congressman died ... I got selected to go on the ballot in November without going through a primary. And I won.



Chairman Thomas, speaking at a Ripon Society Policy Series Dinner in Washington earlier this year.

central committee. I was teaching college at the time and didn’t want people to know my partisan affiliation. But it was a pretty serious situation, so I got elected to fill a vacancy on the central committee. And I wound up party chairman. As part of this job, I was supposed to recruit somebody to run for office. I wound up going on the ballot myself and running for the State Assembly against an incumbent Democrat. I made his positions and voting record issues in the campaign. We also had the ability to organize. Plus, it was the last year of Ronald Reagan’s governorship, and he came down for my first campaign event – \$25 a head. We got a lot of publicity out of that. The entire campaign cost \$39,000. I didn’t spend a dime I didn’t already have. I was my own campaign manager. I wasn’t going to let anybody come in front. It was a well-run and well-managed campaign against an incumbent who was more vulnerable than he thought he was.

I was the only non-incumbent Republican to win anything in California in 1974. I served two terms in the Assembly and had no interest in running for Congress. But then the incumbent Congressman died after the primary in July of 1978. We had a convention, and I got selected to go on the ballot in November without going through a primary.

And I won.

We've seen some controversy about retirements in this institution. You don't negotiate your next job while you're still in this one. You do the work even though you're a short timer ... And then you talk about doing other stuff so that people can begin to see how it is that we probably should conduct ourselves as Members of an institution such as this.

and Means Committee. But also, you have to back up.

I came here in 1978. I had 16 years in the minority. I'm almost now equaling that in the majority. I went through three terms as Chairman of the House Administration Committee. We fundamentally reorganized the institution. My colleagues let me Chair the House of Representatives when the first Republican majority came in. Then I became Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. While I was Chairman of House Administration, I was Chairman of the Health Subcommittee of Ways and Means. So I was Chairman of a full committee and Chairman of a subcommittee when we were battling Hillary Clinton and "Clinton Care" and all of that.

In 2001, I became Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. When we became a majority, there was a majority Republican Senate at the same time. But obviously, coincidentally, at the same time I became Chairman, we had a Republican President elected. I never thought we were going to be in the majority in the House in my lifetime, let alone the House and Senate and Presidency, as well. So we had an opportunity to make law, without excuses, that would be signed. Before, we were trying to make laws with a Democratic President. We were able to get him to sign certain things, but it was very difficult. So I've had an opportunity for six years, and I guess the only perfect ending would be that I'm also Chairman in the last two years of Bush's Presidency. So this is about as close as it comes in reality.

Sandy Koufax was one of my favorite pitchers. He quit when he could still pitch and win games. He didn't quit because he couldn't pitch. And I think he has always been looked up to as the way you gotta go

RF: *Why are you retiring now?*

Thomas: Republicans, before they were a majority, decided to put term limits on Committee Chairmen. I have some beliefs about that. I thought it was absolutely essential when we came in. I think we now have to begin to look at losing institutional knowledge if you lock it in as an absolute rule. So, this is the end of my three terms as Chairman of the Ways

and Means Committee. But also, you have to back up. out. We've seen some controversy about retirements in this institution. You don't negotiate your next job while you're still in this one. You do the work even though you're a short timer. You show up, you do the things you need to do, and then it ends. And then you talk about doing other stuff so that people can begin to see how it is that we probably should conduct ourselves as Members of an institution such as this.

RF: *Looking back on it, what do you consider the greatest accomplishments of your career?*

Thomas: One of the things that very few people focus on, but something which I was very proud of at the time, had to do with the economy and the need to stimulate the economy. Ever since [John Kenneth] Galbraith wrote about the macro economy versus the micro economy and the emergence of the Federal Reserve Board, the way you dealt with trying to counter economic cycles was through monetary policy. We're seeing that now, when they tighten things up to restrict the money supply and when they lower the discount rate to expand the money supply.

No one ever looked at fiscal policy as something that can be used. And although it is ancient history to a lot of people, when we came in in 2001, we had begun a significant down cycle while Clinton was still president. The Federal Reserve had been lowering the rate. And they had been lowering it as they had been raising it - - in a very predetermined fashion. As a result, what the Federal Reserve was going to do had often already been discounted in the market place because they knew what the Fed was going to do. Consequently, it didn't have the kind of impact that we needed. But when we came in, and by May of 2001, we had sent to the President's desk a significant individual tax reduction package which produced rebate checks in the hands of consumers by August, in time for back to school. Although the package



With Comptroller General David Walker before a 2005 hearing of the Ways and Means Committee on the future of Social Security.



At the White House in May for the signing of the Tax Increase Prevention and Reconciliation Act.

was ultimately worth trillions of dollars, it had an impact far beyond the actual amount of money involved because we used fiscal policy as a tactical measure rather than a strategic measure. No one had really written or thought about it because Congress was always reactive rather than active. It took too long. If they tried to do it, they always missed the target. Too high, too late, not enough – it just wasn't a tool that you could fine tune.

If you were to talk to Greenspan – one of the fun conversations we've had over the years is how he never thought the Congress could perform that kind of a function. And frankly, he'd be loathe to talk about it because the people who are going to try it will get it wrong. But I planned it, we worked on it, and we got it to happen. And I thought it was important to get money into consumers' hands to continue to make a better economy. Now, following that, we had to do something about business, investment and savings, and we did with subsequent legislation. But the idea that you can – in a coordinated way, when the government is in the hands of one party -- be responsible about using fiscal policy to stabilize, maintain and develop growth in the economy, was something that nobody talked about which we actually accomplished. That was very, very hard to do. Being able to utilize fiscal policy as an instrument of moderating economic stimulants was pretty tough.

RF: *Looking beyond the horizon, what two or three issues do you see out there that need to be addressed but, for whatever reason, have not yet been addressed?*

Thomas: The current one that we may or may not address is immigration, which is something that has been out there but hasn't come to a head. We don't like to see it come to a head in partisan argument of security and a terrorism scenario, but in part that's what happened. We've had fits and starts in trying to deal with it. And when you don't deal with it, the next time you visit it, the accumulated concerns become kind of a test. But you don't see reasonable discussions that often in that regard. So that is one concern of mine.

Obviously, from a jurisdictional examination, we have not dealt with safety net issues -- Social Security, especially. We've begun to address Medicare. It is pleasing to see that the competitive model we've put into Medicare prescription drugs continues to lower costs despite the predictions of those who don't truly believe the marketplace can have a positive effect on prices. And so we have to address that.

And, you know, the tax structure. The rest of the world got destroyed in either World War I or World War II. They rebuilt their economic machines, and we helped them with the Marshall Plan and other forms of assistance. They also rebuilt their governments and tax structures because they were in shambles. Ours wasn't. So, although we no longer have the Bessemer burners and all of the old stuff that we had in the industrial marketplace, we still have the old, creaky 19th century tax structure based on income that most other countries don't have, and we do have to modernize that to be more effective. In the area, we still lead the world, we are the world's largest importer and world's largest exporter, but we have a very antiquated tax structure which will not serve us well. It does it now, but will get worse if we don't make some critical changes.

RF: *If you believe the polls, Republicans face a real challenge in the mid-term elections this fall. What do you think the party needs to do to hold and build upon its majority in the House and Senate?*

Thomas: I don't pay a lot of attention to polls because polls are a snapshot at

...the idea that you can -- in a coordinated way, when the government is in the hands of one party -- be responsible about using fiscal policy to stabilize, maintain and develop growth in the economy, was something that nobody talked about which we actually accomplished.

I firmly believe incumbents are not beaten. Incumbents beat themselves. You do stupid things; stupid things happen. If the majority does not use its majority to pass legislation, which voters think they are responsible for, then the majority may get voted out.

their primary candidates on what they know now versus what they knew in November or December. And so, if you look at the match ups between us and them, and the understanding that you have to win a majority of seats to be a majority, it's very difficult for me to see how they could achieve that. That's number one.

Number two: I firmly believe incumbents are not beaten. Incumbents beat themselves. You do stupid things; stupid things happen. If the majority does not use its majority to pass legislation, which voters think they are responsible for, then the majority may get voted out. But that's the majority doing it to itself because it didn't do what it was supposed to do. I don't see any of those fundamental flaws in the game plan. I see journalists and others trying to paint a picture that looks like that. And obviously, we aren't coming in as odds on favorites, but on the margin, I don't see the profile that would lead to changing of the majority in either the House or Senate.

RF: *What's been the biggest change in Washington since you were first elected?*

Thomas: Going from the minority to the majority. That makes all the difference in the world. When I came here, there had been no Republican majorities for 40 years. Not one of the Members of the House had ever served in the majority. There was only one Democrat who had served in the minority – Abner Mikva. So I went to talk to him about how it was being in the minority, and he said, “Bill, I honestly don't remember.” And so you had a culture of minority-think with Republicans. If you were any good, you didn't stay in the House. You ran for Senate, you ran for Governor. You went back to whatever you were doing. Over the years, you had an accumulation of folks who either thought this was really good or were comfortable in being the minority. That's part of the reason we had to have term limits on the chairs. It isn't

any given time. The elections are not soccer games. You don't win them 1-0. They're more like basketball games. You win them 87-85 – sometimes in overtime. So, it's what you do over time in an accumulated way. However, like a basketball game, the team you start with is the team you end with. Using another analogy, this isn't draw poker. The Democrats don't get to go back and pick

as critical any more. We need to be able to assess that.

So we came into the majority without having any knowledge, history, or understanding of how to be the majority. Similarly, Democrats went into the minority not having any idea of how to be the minority. I think a lot of folks on our side thought we'd be in there for one term; looking over their shoulder, you know: “Am I supposed to sit in the chairman's chair? Yeah, yeah you can sit in the Chairman's chair.” The first time we convened the Ways and Means Committee, Sam Gibbons sat in the chair, and I had to go explain to him that you are no longer in this chair. But now that we've been in for more than a decade, you have to realize that one of the reasons Democrats were in the majority for more than 40 years is just what I said earlier -- incumbents only beat themselves. You have resources. You have staff. You have an agenda. You have the gavel. And if you lose, it's your fault.

Republicans haven't lost for more than a decade because we haven't done anything fatally wrong. The newspapers are anxious to paint every step as being a fatally wrong step. I saw a headline in today's *Washington Post* trying to generate a bandwagon effect. I don't see that. The job is to counsel periodically the majority and leadership to realize that majorities are not sustainable if you do nothing. We lost the Senate majority because the Senate Republicans after that first two years did nothing. I mean, how do you run a campaign when you go out and you say, “We're the majority and we did nothing. Send us back and we'll do nothing for another two years.” They lost, they then began to do something, and lo and behold, they've been in and they've stayed in.

I got involved in the leadership race because I thought it was necessary to put some fresh thinking in there and to get someone who had actually been a Chairman of a Committee; someone who understands that when you're



Presenting a Purple Heart to World War II Veteran and constituent Earle Massa.

one week on and one week off, two weeks on and two weeks off, you can't function in producing the product that the majority has the ability to produce – a product which helps sustain the majority. There had been an unhealthy separation between leadership and the committee chairs, so that was one modest way to pull it together.

So, being the majority, knowing how to sustain the majority, and putting out the product that got you in the majority in the first place is a major difference between now and when we first got here.

RF: *In a tribute you paid to Ronald Reagan after he passed away two years ago, you stated that he should be remembered not only for being a great communicator, but for being a great compromiser, as well. Do you think compromise in Washington is harder today than it used to be? If so, why is it harder, and what can or should be done to change it?*

Thomas: President Reagan had a way of conveying that he was not a compromiser, but he did an awful lot of it. And that's how you make things work. Accommodation and compromise are part of the American political tradition. You can't win without a majority. We don't have proportional representation in the legislature; you get 20% of the votes, you get 20% of the seats like a lot of other countries. The winner-take-all-requirement forces you to make concessions to be able to control.

So you get broad coalitions, but you strive to have the coalitions in your party to achieve a majority, not after you get elected because it is a win or lose system. Other people think that's horrendous. I think it's significant because it forces you to a common position in which whatever party wins, it isn't a significant and dramatic shift in policy. Tweedle Dum and Tweedle Dee isn't too bad if you've got the basic structure pretty right in terms of a democracy, frequent elections and that sort of thing. You've got liberals and moderates and conservatives in both parties. They may be salted slightly differently, but they still have similar structures. We like to stress differences. If you stress similarities, it would be amazing how much we are alike versus European systems.

And of course, the result is, someone wins and someone loses, but they show up in January and shake hands and transform the government. We don't shoot our way out of one majority into another. We don't imprison the losers and that sort of thing. So that's pretty positive about our system. And if you need a majority, you have to have accommodation and compromise. The

other thing is, if you are opposed to someone today, don't get too carried away on the opposition because you may need them tomorrow. And those I think are positive in making the fundamental system work.

RF: *Finally, what advice would you have for a young person thinking about getting into politics today?*

Thomas: There are a lot of ways to get into politics. A lot of people have a negative attitude about it. But of course, the argument is, if in fact it isn't as good as it could be, then that's an opportunity for you to get in and make it better. So rather than shy away from involvement, if you do think you could make a difference, that's a responsibility to get involved.

So what I've tried to do over the years is give young people as much of an opportunity as possible to get involved to see if they like it. If they don't like it, fine, then they walk away with knowledge. But a lot of people decide that "it is something I can do." They find it interesting, intriguing, enjoyable, and worthwhile. Then you have a few people who had an opportunity to taste politics.

To me, the prime value of my time has been, when I started out teaching, getting people to get involved in politics to get extra credit. We've been able to bring in young people, to give them an opportunity, and then they can take on politics as a career.

RF

President Reagan had a way of conveying that he was not a compromiser, but he did an awful lot of it. And that's how you make things work. Accommodation and compromise are part of the American political tradition.



At the February 2005 Children's Center of the Antelope Valley ground breaking ceremony in Lancaster, CA.

No More Mistakes

Intelligence community must get it right in assessing Iran's nuclear capabilities.

PAT ROBERTS

As the world becomes increasingly focused on Iran's nuclear activities, we are once again looking to our intelligence to determine what those activities mean.

Clearly, we have a problem on our hands when it comes to Iran. There is no question that the nuclear capabilities Iran is trying to develop are "dual use" – they could be used to produce electrical power or nuclear weapons material.

The Intelligence Community confronts this "dual use" dilemma every day, and it is precisely why we need good intelligence on Iran. When there is more than one plausible explanation for an action, good intelligence is essential for determining the plans and intentions of those that could threaten our national security.

In light of Iran's past actions, particularly their indisputable support of terrorism that has taken American lives, I am not inclined to give them the benefit of the doubt on these dual use nuclear activities. As some might recall, in early 2003, as we faced the prospect of war in Iraq, most of us weren't inclined to give Saddam the benefit of the doubt on his dual use activity either. That's why we depend on the Intelligence Community to help us see through our biases to get at the facts to help us separate what we know from what we think.

I would like to say that the Intelligence Community has its act together in regards to our intelligence assessments about Iran's nuclear activities. But

the fact is, I am concerned. The Senate Intelligence Committee's Iraq investigation revealed that Intelligence Community analysts failed to explain the difference between what they knew, what they didn't know, and what they thought about Iraq weapons of mass destruction. We can't afford to make those same mistakes on Iran.

I have directed the staff of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence to apply the lessons



I would like to say that the Intelligence Community has its act together in regards to our intelligence assessments about Iran's nuclear activities. But the fact is, I am concerned.

we learned in our Iraq review to the intelligence on Iran's nuclear activities. We, as policymakers, must be more proactive in evaluating and analyzing all the intelligence we receive on this threat and others. Unfortunately, some members of the Committee, and of the Senate, are more focused on intelligence failures of the past.

We all know the intelligence

on Iraq was wrong. We know the mistakes that were made. The Committee continues to look at the Iraq intelligence, but it is time to move on. My colleagues across the aisle on the Committee and in the Congress want to continue looking at the past in an attempt to blame policymakers for decisions they made based upon the bad intelligence they received. As a result, we have not made progress on our oversight of critical Iran intelligence.

I intend to complete the ongoing Phase Two inquiry (which includes the review of statements regarding Iraq made by public officials four or five years ago based on bad intelligence) in a timely manner and within the agreed upon scope and turn the Committee's attention to other pressing national security matters such as Iran. We will then be able to bring more of the Committee's assets to bear on questions surrounding Iran and its nuclear activities.

The Intelligence Community has had a significant increase in funding since 9/11. The question now is less a matter of resources. Rather, it is a matter of having thorough analysis that is honest about uncertainties.

We need more aggressive collection that works to reduce those uncertainties. We must make sure we have both with regard to Iran's nuclear plans and intentions. **RF**

Pat Roberts is the U.S. Senator from Kansas and is the Chairman of the Select Committee on Intelligence.

Russia Under Putin: Neither Friend Nor Foe

MICHAEL MCFAUL

Vice President Richard Cheney caused a real stir in Vilnius in May when he delivered a major speech on the former communist world.

In blunt language typical for the Vice President, he stated, “in Russia today, opponents of reform are seeking to reverse the gains of the last decade. In many areas of civil society – from religion and the news media, to advocacy groups and political parties – the government has unfairly and improperly restricted the rights of the people. Other actions by the Russian government have been counterproductive, and could begin to affect relations with other countries. No legitimate interest is served when oil and gas become tools of intimidation or blackmail, either by supply manipulation or attempts to monopolize transportation. And no one can justify actions that undermine the territorial integrity of a neighbor, or interfere with democratic movements.”

Russian President Vladimir Putin and his supporters were “outraged.” A Kremlin spokesperson denounced the speech as “inconceivable” and “subjective” in its interpretations of Russian internal affairs. Others in Moscow, as well as some in the West, called the speech a return to the Cold War. One Moscow headline suggested that U.S.-Russian relations were at their lowest level in the last 20

years.

Cheney’s speech and the reaction to it in Moscow do not mark a restart of the Cold War, but U.S.-Russia relations are changing from the dynamics that shaped them for the past two decades. Understanding the difference between the two – that is, between a return to the Cold War and a recognition that the bilateral relationship has changed fundamentally since the more



optimistic period of the 1990s – will be crucial to developing a realistic relationship between Russia and the United States in the coming years.

First, let’s be clear: the current interaction between the United States and Russia looks nothing like the Cold War. The Cold War, after all, was a battle between two global superpowers espousing two antithetical ideologies. Millions of people -- Russians, Americans, Ukrainians, Koreans, Hungarians, Vietnamese, Czechoslovaks,

Angolans, Afghans, and many others – lost their lives in this so-called “cold” war, while the Soviet Union and the United States threatened each other with nuclear annihilation as a strategy to keep the peace. This situation is not returning. Those who invoke the Cold War as a historical analogy for today’s tensions either are ignorant of what really happened during the Cold War or are nostalgic for an era when Russia was considered a superpower.

Russia today does not possess the military or economic capacity to be a second superpower again (and the idea of an “energy superpower” is a bizarre one, since every other major exporter of raw materials in history was on the periphery of the world economy, not in its core). Nor, despite all the recent worry about Russia’s efforts to stop “colored” revolutions, does the Kremlin have a model of governance or ideology that is in demand abroad.

For American strategic thinkers, therefore, other rising powers such as China, other ideologies such as Osama bin Ladenism, and other foreign policy concerns such as Iraq, occupy their attention, leaving little time to think about rekindling an antagonistic relationship with Russia. Those who worry about a return to the Cold War have an inflated sense of Russia’s importance to American foreign policy.

What Cheney’s speech does signal is that the Bush administration

is scaling back its expectations about Russia as a strategic partner for the simple fact that the United States traditionally has more strained and limited relationships with autocracies than it does with democracies. It is this relationship between Russian internal developments and American foreign policy that must be understood.

Since the latter part of the 1980s, Western leaders, including presidents George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush, believed that first the Soviet Union and then Russia was “in transit” from communism to democracy. To help this process of democratization move forward, Western leaders believed that Russia should be integrated into Western institutions. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian president Boris Yeltsin believed that they were pushing their countries towards democracy internally and towards integration with the West externally. Putin, however, has reversed these trends. He obviously is not seeking to deepen democracy. Nor, however, is Putin pushing for integration in the West, in part because of frustration with the limited results of this foreign policy and in part because Putin now believes that a revived, more powerful Russia today does not need membership into Western clubs to be a great and “sovereign” international player. It took Washington some time to recognize Putin’s agenda at home and the end of the integration project in foreign relations. Now understood, it is only natural that relations should be based on a different set of expectations.

The United States can do business with autocratic regimes. Since the creation of the United States, American leaders have cooperated with autocracies, such as the French monarchy during the American War of Independence, when it was considered to be in the national interest. But this

cooperation always comes with some unease. Relations with democracies are always deeper and more enduring. As Russia has become more autocratic, the strains in bilateral relations were therefore predictable if not inevitable. These strains do not represent a return to the Cold War. Rather, they represent a return to how the United States has traditionally, awkwardly, and often hypocritically dealt with autocracies of strategic importance throughout American history – from Stalin’s Soviet Union to Pakistan today.

American hopes about warmer relations in the 1990s were either a consequence of a more

Without question, Bush and his successor should continue to work with their Russian counterparts on issues of national and mutual interest ... But as long as Russia remains an autocracy, there will be limits to cooperation just as there always has been in American foreign policy, well before and after the Cold War.

democratic regime inside Russia or a misunderstanding of that regime’s autocratic nature. But whether it is perception or reality that has changed, the result is the same—more friction.

Without question, Bush and his successor should continue to work with their Russian counterparts on issues of national and mutual interest, be it nonproliferation, the expansion of energy supplies, or the fight against terrorism. No one sensible in Washington either inside

or outside of the government is calling for a return to containment. But as long as Russia remains an autocracy, there will be limits to cooperation just as there always has been in American foreign policy, well before and after the Cold War.

If the trajectory inside Russia does change in the future, then Washington and the rest of the West must be ready to reengage more robustly in a strategy for integrating Russia into the Western world, including seemingly radical ideas such as Russian membership in NATO and the European Union. Such ideas can only be entertained after Russia recommits to building a liberal democracy and a genuine market economy. When change does occur, these ideas must be considered seriously, with real interim benchmarks for maintaining the integration trajectory and realistic timetables that will have to stretch decades long.

The first attempt to reintegrate Russia after communism failed. The second chance, whenever it comes, cannot result in failure again. **RF**

Michael McFaul is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, an associate professor of political science at Stanford University and a Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

How the Millennials Get Their News

Guess what? It's not Katie Couric.

MICHAEL HAIS, PH.D.
JACK MACKENZIE

Last year's media coverage of the Gulf Coast hurricanes helped re-define the domestic political agenda leading into this year's mid-term elections.

But it wasn't just storm coverage. Political damage control was in full effect, with elected officials from all sides of the political spectrum flocking to cable news channels to assuage public fears, tamp down public outrage and cover their backsides.

Most of these politicians probably didn't even realize their message likely missed an entire generation of Americans. Why? Because there's a new generation of Americans that is depending on television and other "traditional" media less and less and going one place more and more for news and information -- the Internet.

They're called the Millennial generation, or Millennials, for short. Aged 9-28, they are the largest generation in American history. There are one million more Millennials than Baby Boomers, and nearly twice as many Millennials as Gen Xers. While their influence is just beginning to be felt throughout our culture, Millennials are on their

way to becoming the deciding factor in all things related to business, media and politics within a few short years.

Many of the world's leading media and consumer companies are now beginning to recognize the influence this generation will yield. Guided by ongoing research conducted by the Millennial Strategy Program at Frank N. Magid Associates, private enterprise is planning for the future. The political world would do well to stand up and take note as well. To do so, most politicians will have to learn new



While their influence is just beginning to be felt throughout our culture, Millennials are on their way to becoming the deciding factor in all things related to business, media and politics within a few short years.

skills, communicate in new ways on new platforms, and understand that they're moving away from the 30-second television spot and toward searchable, sharable content most likely delivered and viewed over broadband Internet and watched whenever it's convenient.

Millennials are growing up

with great and highly personal expectations. Cable channels just for them, phones with their own ring tones, and t-shirts with their own personal messages are just a hint of how Millennials see the world as theirs to shape and mold. As many as eight in 10 Millennials have access to the Internet at home, work or school. And they use it. Most have access to the Web in several different locations. This everywhere/anytime access is leading to the increased adoption of the device that will champion the change from TV to the Internet -- the laptop computer. A majority of adult Millennials owns a laptop, which, in today's increasingly wireless environment, allows them to connect to the Internet virtually anywhere and anytime.

This has turbocharged the Millennial's transition to Internet-based information acquisition. In fact, for the youngest current voting block in the Millennial generation, 18 to 28 year-olds, the Internet is their first media choice, twice as popular as television.

When Magid asked Millennials how frequently they use specific news sources, they placed Web portals like Yahoo! at the top of the list instead of NBC or ABC. Nearly half of adult Millennials access a Web portal for news everyday, and two-thirds use one at least once a week. To think that this is just a fad would be a gross miscalculation. The greatest number of Millennials says they expect to use the Internet for news even more in the future than they do now. Millennials' use of television for news is expected to stay flat, at best.

Equally as important as reaching Millennials where they are is communicating in a way that resonates with them. A

critical element in determining what's relevant and important to Millennials is to understand the environment in which they've been raised.

The Millennial Generation is the most diverse generation ever, with four in 10 claiming an ethnicity other than white or Caucasian. Given the cultural and athletic opportunities provided to both males and females in this generation, Magid's Millennial Strategy research suggests that the gender gap is less of a factor for Millennials than for older generations. In addition to their diversity, the Millennials are also a generation with a highly developed view of community and sense of service that makes

last year's boomer-driven Katrina fiasco even more potentially powerful in waking and making this generational giant.

Indeed, last year's hurricane season, as influential as it was in helping shape the domestic political agenda, will look like a blip compared to the influence this generation will exert in shaping both American politics and American culture for decades to come. Effectively communicating with this generation is an imperative, in both Corporate America and American politics.

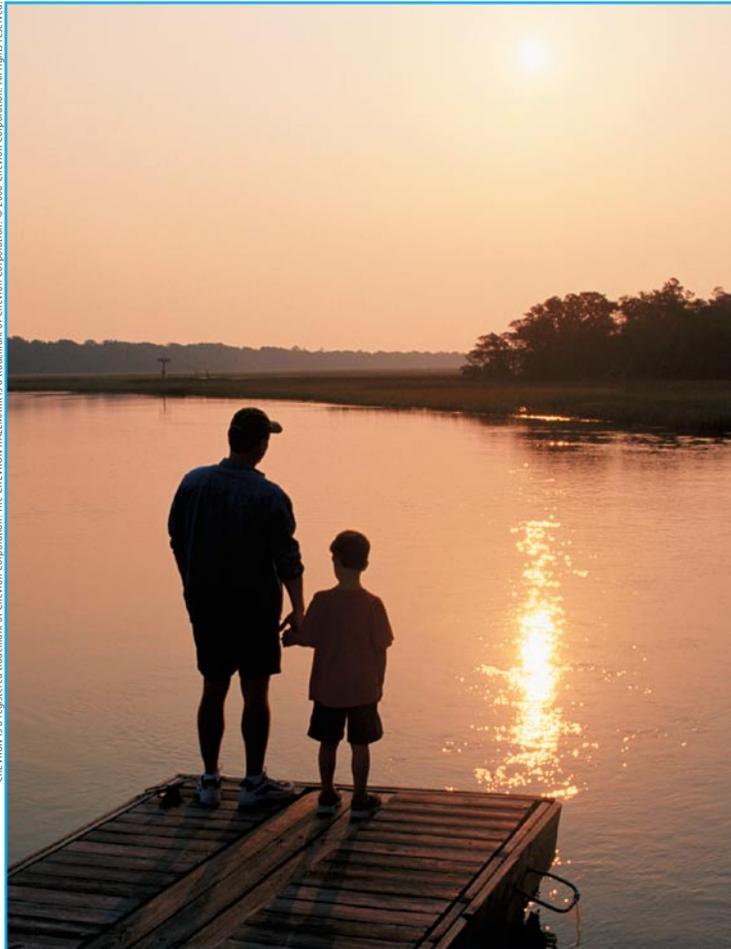
It means getting into the Millennial's communications value chain by engaging them where they are always "on" - the Internet. But getting their

attention is only half the battle. Once you've done that, your message has to resonate, and to resonate you have to be relevant to their unique way of thinking.

If you're not relevant, you're old news. **RF**

Michael Hais recently retired as Vice President of Entertainment Research at Frank N. Magid Associates. Jack MacKenzie created the Millennial Strategy Program at Frank N. Magid Associates and is a Senior Vice President at the firm.

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Immigration Reform: The Challenges Ahead

TAMAR JACOBY

The immigration debate is at a fever pitch as the *Ripon Forum* goes to press. Only a fool would try to predict what will happen next, either in the Senate, which will probably vote this week, or in the skirmishing that could follow if lawmakers then move ahead to try to reconcile the Senate package with the much tougher bill passed by the House last December.

Still, nothing that happens in the next few months will change the big picture. The immigration problem isn't going away; the public is clamoring for a solution. It's time for America to end illegal immigration as we know it. And divided as they are and understandably wary of the issue, no one has a bigger stake than Republicans in being part of that solution.

The party faces three possible options.

We could hew to the hard line charted by House Republicans, who favor tougher enforcement and fewer immigrants in the hope that a tough stance will appeal to voters in November.

We could try to duck the issue. After all, look at the polls, the argument for this option goes, the party's in enough trouble as it is. Why take on a thankless problem like this – it can only divide us.

Or – the third option – we could take the lead in the fight for reform. That's where President Bush has been pointing the party, more and more determinedly as time goes by – and many Republicans are



Tamar Jacoby makes a point on immigration reform during a Ripon Society Conference in Dallas in October 2005. At right is U.S. Rep. Kay Granger (TX).

skeptical. But in fact, on this, he's right: this is a historic opportunity for the GOP to take a stand on the right side of change.

Why not just take the easy out – one of the first two options? Mostly because neither will work, and the long-term consequences would be disastrous.

Talking tough may make for a good campaign spot, but it won't solve the problem of illegal immigration. We've been throwing money at the border for more than a decade now: we've tripled the size of the Border Patrol and quintupled their budget. But we've still made no dent in the number of illegal immigrants who make it across into the U.S. every year: roughly a million, year in, year out. What's more, talking tough isn't likely to win elections, either. Pat Buchanan tried that in 2000 when he ran for president on an anti-immigration platform. So, more recently, did Jerry Kilgore, running for governor of Virginia in 2005. Neither one holds elective office today, and in fact no race in 20 years has turned – either way – on immigration.

As for trying to duck the

issue, it's a little late for that. The immigration legislation passed by House Republicans in December has already made history – and transformed American politics, probably for decades to come – by driving more than two million previously apolitical Hispanics into the streets in protest. And the GOP is on the verge of repeating the mistake it made in California in the mid-90s when then-Governor Pete Wilson pitted the state party against immigrants, driving away the Latino vote for the decade to come.

Not that Republicans should back immigration reform just because it's popular with Latino voters. It also happens to be in America's interest: the reforms on the table in the Senate this week are the only way to deliver the control the public is demanding, holding the line at the border and restoring the rule of law in our communities.

What the president and other GOP immigration reformers understand – and all too many House Republicans don't grasp – is that enforcement alone will not restore the rule of law. Government, no matter how hard it tries, cannot

change the realities of the global economy. The only way to get control is to combine tougher enforcement with more realistic, more enforceable law – law more in sync with our labor needs and the all but inevitable flow of immigrants coming to meet them.

The difference between House and Senate Republicans isn't about who's tougher, it's about who's more pragmatic. Senate reformers like Chuck Hagel, Mel Martinez, John McCain and others say let's recognize the economic facts of life – and once we've written law in line with those facts, let's get tough about enforcing *that*.

Let's own up to our shifting demographics – our aging, shrinking and ever more educated workforce. Let's admit, even in a knowledge economy, our continuing need for

unskilled labor. Let's face the fact that for good or for ill – and mostly for good – we can't isolate our economy from readily available low-wage workers in other countries. Let's recognize the truth about the world we live in – and tailor our law

The difference between House and Senate Republicans isn't about who's tougher, it's about who's more pragmatic. Senate reformers like Chuck Hagel, Mel Martinez, John McCain and others say let's recognize the economic facts of life – and once we've written law in line with those facts, let's get tough about enforcing *that*.

to take advantage of what's true, rather than pretending it doesn't exist.

Immigration reform isn't just about immigrants, it's also about modernity. And it's about being smart enough to understand that if we own up to the reality of the world as it is, we don't have to make a choice between immigration and legality – or between prosperity and the rule of law.

Are Republicans the party that can face the future and solve the problems that come with it – or the party that would rather duck, hiding behind symbolism and easy rhetoric? That's the choice we face as immigration reform makes its way through Congress.

Tamar Jacoby is a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute.

THANK YOU



for Working
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The American Medical Association and doctors across the country thank Ripon Society members for their past efforts to stop Medicare physician payment cuts and ensure that Medicare patients get the care they need.

Beginning on Jan. 1, 2007, Medicare payments to doctors are scheduled to be cut 37% over the next nine years. These cuts threaten seniors' access to care.

We urge Ripon Society members to take action now to stop 2007 physician payment cuts that will hurt Medicare patients.

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Senator Arlen Specter

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Rep. Michael Castle
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Back to the Moon... and Beyond!

KEN CALVERT

A robust space exploration program is crucial to maintaining America's scientific and technological preeminence in the twenty-first century. No other endeavor challenges us to develop innovative new technologies which often improve our quality of life, while simultaneously fulfilling the basic human need to explore new horizons.

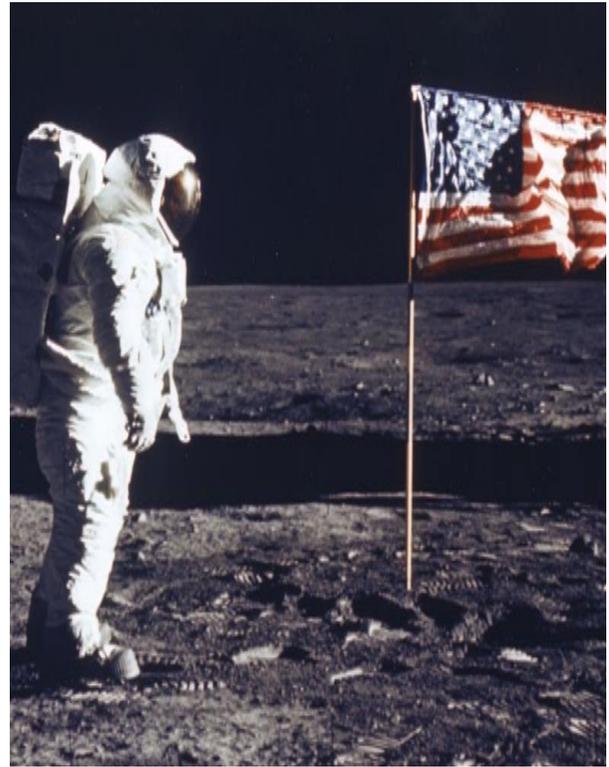
Space exploration is an enterprise capable of capturing the public imagination and inspiring young people to pursue careers in engineering and science. One need only look to the pictures of the Apollo Moon landings and the ubiquitous Hubble Space Telescope images in schools, businesses, products and homes to understand that Americans are intrigued by and support space exploration.

In January 2004, the President announced a Vision for Space Exploration that aimed to refocus NASA on space exploration beyond low earth orbit with the goal of returning humans to the Moon, and later to Mars and beyond. The Vision proposed an approach that utilizes robotic missions to pave the way for manned missions.

In the two years since the Vision was introduced, I have worked with my Congressional colleagues to translate it into our nation's space policy. In 2005, the Congress passed and the President signed into law the first NASA Authorization bill in five years. The bill represents the will of the people and an official endorsement of the Vision as a guide for NASA's structure and organization.

In the NASA Authorization Act of 2005, Congress authorized \$17.9 billion for FY07 NASA funding. This is a little more than \$1 billion over the Administration request of \$16.8 billion.

NASA Administrator Michael Griffin has done a fantastic job in guiding the Agency during this transition period. As I have said many times before, he is the right person, at the right time for this position. He is able to make the tough decisions that must be made as the Agency is restructured to carry out a bold exploration agenda while maintaining leading edge aeronautic and



science research programs.

As we move forward in implementing the Vision, I see three challenges that America will continue to face.

Continuity – The Vision is a decades long endeavor that will cover many administrations and congresses. We need to provide for ongoing funding for NASA, and create continuity in our space policies, which by nature are long term endeavors.

Consensus – Just as Congress was forced to come to a consensus on NASA policy, the core constituencies within NASA must come to a consensus under the leadership of the Administrator on the implementation of the Vision and its balance between exploration, science and aeronautics within NASA. NASA stakeholders must refocus their energies towards garnering the support needed to raise the top line of the NASA budget.

Competition – Like it or not, the United States is not the only nation developing an ambitious space program. China, Russia, the Europeans, India, Japan and others are investing significant resources in space. We will cooperate with some of these nations and compete with others in space. And with China, Russia, and Europe, we may do both.

America does not need a competitor in space to motivate us to do the right thing and implement a robust space program. Sometimes, knowing someone else is pursuing the same goals can focus our efforts.

(Continued on page 28)

Back to the Moon... But Let's Fix NASA First.

HOWARD MCCURDY

I believe that America – this time with her international partners – should go back to the moon.

I am disappointed that we left thirty years ago. I am thrilled when I watch movies like “Apollo 13” and “The Dish.” I think that lunar exploration would be wonderful for national prestige and that it would teach us a great deal about the techniques needed to explore Mars. Any nation that has a research station at the Antarctic South Pole ought to have one on the moon. I want Americans to be on the Moon to greet the Chinese when they arrive.

Having said all of that, I have to state my belief that the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) is not ready to take us there.

One could easily reply that NASA was not ready to fly to the moon in 1961 when President John F. Kennedy made his famous commitment. We had yet to orbit John Glenn, build the Saturn V rocket, and master lunar orbit rendezvous.

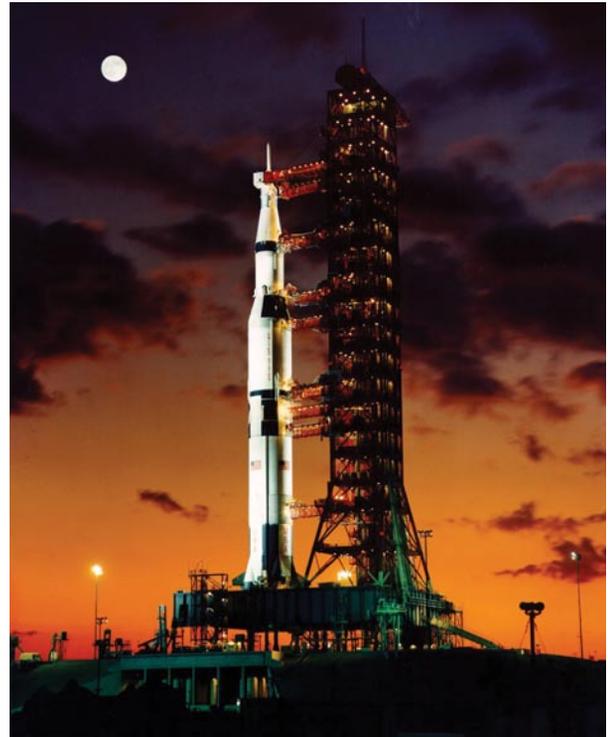
Indeed, the organization that placed Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin on the moon in 1969 was not the same NASA that received President Kennedy’s mandate in 1961. It was bigger, richer, smarter, and twice reorganized to engage the complexities of lunar flight. In similar ways, it needs to be revitalized again.

Today NASA’s budget is essentially fixed at about \$17 billion per year, with adjustments for inflation.

Getting Armstrong and Aldrin to the moon and back cost \$21.4 billion in the currency of its day. That is the equivalent, adjusting for inflation, of about \$150 billion today.

Much of that budget is committed to projects other than going to the moon. The fiscal constraints placed on the new lunar effort are as demanding – some would say more severe – than the time deadline imposed by President Kennedy in 1961.

Getting Armstrong and Aldrin to the moon and back cost \$21.4



billion in the currency of its day. That is the equivalent, adjusting for inflation, of about \$150 billion today. Since NASA will not need to reinvent every wheel and rebuild its field centers, the next voyage will not cost as much as the first. Some say that NASA could return for as little as 50 percent of the initial expedition. Yet finding \$75 billion or more in an agency on a fixed budget will be a substantial challenge.

NASA could do it for less. The six missions that followed Apollo 11 each cost the equivalent of about \$4 billion in today’s dollars. Once NASA and its contractors learned how to put the first humans on the Moon, subsequent missions were cheaper. It also helped that a lot of hardware acquired for Apollo 11 was left over when the astronauts returned home.

Still, even at \$4 billion per landing, NASA could not expect to make more than one or two visits per year with all of its other current commitments. Additionally, this assumes that NASA uses Apollo-style technology or what some have called “Apollo on steroids.” Apollo technology, however, will never get us to Mars. Cost estimates for a mission to Mars using Apollo-style propulsion and spacecraft methods range from \$500 billion to \$1 trillion.

The whole Space Exploration Vision – which includes new rockets, new spacecraft, lunar voyages, and preparations for Mars – is premised on the myth of what is referred to as the “wedge.” It presumes

(Continued on page 29)

(Calvert, continued from page 26)

To meet these three challenges, NASA must be appropriately funded. In the NASA Authorization Act of 2005, Congress authorized \$17.9 billion for FY07 NASA funding. This is a little more than \$1 billion over the Administration request of \$16.8 billion.

I believe that the authorization bill reflects the proper amount of funding for meeting the challenges ahead. In order to justify this amount, NASA's core constituencies will have to garner public support and build a broader and deeper national consensus in order to expand NASA's piece of the budgeting pie. Congress is by design a reactive institution and we respond to the concerns of our constituents. Polls have consistently shown strong public support for NASA and space exploration at up to 1 percent of the federal budget. Currently we spend about 0.7 percent of the budget on NASA. To increase this amount, American citizens will need to contact their elected officials to convey their support for our nation's space program. If we cooperate, I am confident we can reach a consensus on a level of funding that will ensure

the continuity of the Vision and keep America competitive in the space age of the twenty-first century.

As my friend, astrophysicist Dr. Neil deGrasse Tyson has said, "Much work remains to be done to convince the public and Congress of the need for a sustained investment in NASA, with returns on education, the economy, and security. It's not just about Tang and Velcro. It's about a way of enabling a future we all want to occupy." **RF**

Ken Calvert represents the 44th District of California in the U.S. House of Representatives. He serves as Chairman of the Space and Aeronautics Subcommittee of the House Science Committee.

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Reg Weaver, President
National Education Association

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Let's work together and fulfill America's promise to help prepare students for the future. Great public schools for every child are a basic right and our responsibility.

(McCurdy, continued from page 27)

that NASA can conjure up new funds by closing old programs. The space shuttle, at \$5 billion per year, and the international space station are certainly tempting targets for this philosophy.

Yet we have heard this story before. In the early 1980s, after NASA executives convinced President Ronald Reagan to declare the space shuttle “fully operational,” they argued that an international space station could be financed with funds freed up by ending the shuttle development effort. Then-NASA Administrator Dan Goldin tried to pay for the X-33 – one of many efforts to replace the space shuttle – by freezing shuttle upgrades and reducing the shuttle workforce. It didn’t work then and it is unlikely to work now.

NASA needs to invest in new rocket technologies, like nuclear propulsion. It needs to invest in new types of spacecraft. It needs to invest in missions such as the effort to locate earth-like planets around neighboring stars, which holds enormous promise as a means of exciting long-term interest in space exploration. NASA needs to hire the next great generation of space flight

engineers and revitalize its in-house technical capability. It needs to learn how to conduct low-cost space flight missions for humans, as it has already done in the robotics field, and as entrepreneurs like Burt Rutan are trying to do now.

These are painstaking necessities, ones likely to delay an Apollo-style return to the Moon. I am sorry that this is the case, because, as indicated, I want to go back to the Moon, too. But there are many things I want and only a few that I can have. On reflection, I think it would be better to have a sustained space exploration effort supported by new, low-cost technologies and a smart NASA rather than a focused effort to return to the Moon. **RF**

*Howard E. McCurdy is professor of public affairs at American University, and the author of six books on the U.S. space program, including *Space and the American Imagination* and *Faster Better Cheaper: Low Cost Innovation in the U.S. Space Program*.*



Our world has changed over the last two decades, but our dairy policies have not kept pace. We need your help to create an environment that allows us to grow and succeed for the next twenty years. We look forward to discussing dairy policy when we’re in Washington, D.C., on June 14-15.



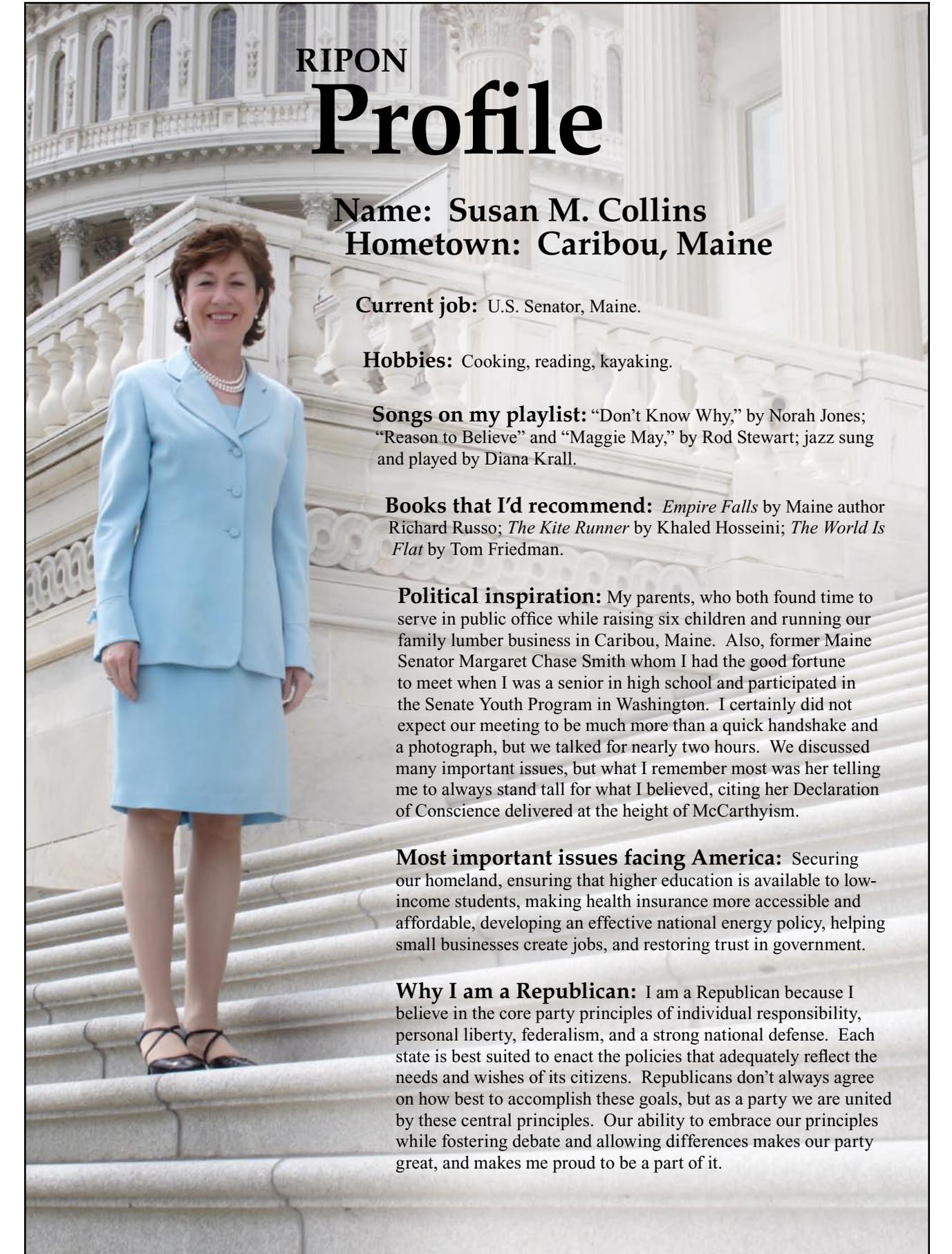
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RIPON

Profile

Name: Susan M. Collins
Hometown: Caribou, Maine

Current job: U.S. Senator, Maine.

Hobbies: Cooking, reading, kayaking.

Songs on my playlist: “Don’t Know Why,” by Norah Jones; “Reason to Believe” and “Maggie May,” by Rod Stewart; jazz sung and played by Diana Krall.

Books that I’d recommend: *Empire Falls* by Maine author Richard Russo; *The Kite Runner* by Khaled Hosseini; *The World Is Flat* by Tom Friedman.

Political inspiration: My parents, who both found time to serve in public office while raising six children and running our family lumber business in Caribou, Maine. Also, former Maine Senator Margaret Chase Smith whom I had the good fortune to meet when I was a senior in high school and participated in the Senate Youth Program in Washington. I certainly did not expect our meeting to be much more than a quick handshake and a photograph, but we talked for nearly two hours. We discussed many important issues, but what I remember most was her telling me to always stand tall for what I believed, citing her Declaration of Conscience delivered at the height of McCarthyism.

Most important issues facing America: Securing our homeland, ensuring that higher education is available to low-income students, making health insurance more accessible and affordable, developing an effective national energy policy, helping small businesses create jobs, and restoring trust in government.

Why I am a Republican: I am a Republican because I believe in the core party principles of individual responsibility, personal liberty, federalism, and a strong national defense. Each state is best suited to enact the policies that adequately reflect the needs and wishes of its citizens. Republicans don’t always agree on how best to accomplish these goals, but as a party we are united by these central principles. Our ability to embrace our principles while fostering debate and allowing differences makes our party great, and makes me proud to be a part of it.

SOME SEE A WALL. OTHERS, A BRIDGE.

To have a point of view is to advocate belief. It takes commitment to turn ideas into actions that can change how we see the world. Boeing is proud to support the Ripon Society and its development of progressive Republican policy.



Can you be a Republican and Still Like the Boss?

LOUIS M. ZICKAR

I got turned onto Bruce Springsteen the summer before my junior year in college. It was 1984. *Born in the USA* had come out on June 4th. And my friends and I were on a 10-day road trip to Florida before school started back up in the fall.

My friend Mike was a Bruce fanatic. He had every album, bought every cassette, and, with the release of *Born in the USA*, bought the CD as well. It took about 19 hours each way to drive from our homes in Youngstown, Ohio, to where we were going in Naples, Florida. We must have listened to Bruce for half of that time. By the time we got home, my other friends were sick of it. I, on the other hand, like my friend Mike, was hooked.

In the years since, I never became a Bruce fanatic; I've only seen him in concert once, and I only own a few of his CDs. But I remain a fan. And when I hear his music – mainly his older stuff, and primarily the songs that won me over to begin with from *Born in the USA* – I rarely turn it off and nearly always turn it up. I like his songs for their rhythm and their beat. But more than anything, I like them for their words. Probably more than any other songwriter, Bruce Springsteen tells stories I can relate to. Stories that remind me of growing up in Youngstown; of steel mills and high school dreams and trying to overcome all of life's challenges that stand in your way. In short, his songs inspire me.

In fact, his songs inspire me much the same way that Ronald Reagan inspired me when he ran for President in 1979. He spoke in a language that I had never heard a politician speak before. I was 15 at the time; all I knew was Jimmy Carter; all I knew about were hostages and malaise. Ronald Reagan came along and he spoke of hope. He spoke of faith. He spoke of making our country great again. I became a Republican the day he was inaugurated. And I remain a Republican to this day.

Which brings me to the point of this column, and brings me to the conflict that I, and I suspect many other Republicans, feel – mainly, how can you be a Republican and still like the Boss? After all, here is a man who actively campaigned for John Kerry in 2004, and has been sharply critical of President Bush, as recently as this past spring. Bruce even snubbed Ronald Reagan during the campaign of 1984. How can you – or anyone who has worked for and supported the Republican Party for the last quarter century -- be a fan of someone who has worked for and contributed to that same party's defeat?



**“I believe in the love
that you gave me. I believe in
the faith that could save me. I
believe in the hope and I pray
that some day it will raise me
above these Badlands.”**

Bruce Springsteen

The late conductor George Szell once said that, “In music one must think with the heart and feel with the brain.” In politics, just the opposite is true -- which is why, for many Republicans, being a fan of Bruce Springsteen means drawing a line between the intellectual reasoning and philosophy that has driven us to the GOP and the passion and inspiration his music makes us feel in our gut. It means saying you were “heartbroken” by Bruce’s decision to campaign for Kerry – as Republican Governor Tim Pawlenty of Minnesota did on his radio show before the election – but still being able to say you are a fan of the Boss (as Governor Pawlenty says on his official website today.) In short, it means being able to separate your heart and your head.

Truth be told, Bruce Springsteen does make me cringe at times. And he sometimes makes me mad. No doubt, this is and will continue to be true for many other Republicans, as well. But he sure can sing, and, more importantly, he sure knows how to tell a story.

Regardless of one’s political affiliation, it’s easy to be inspired by that. **RF**

Louis M. Zickar is the Editor of the Ripon Forum.

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