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RIPON

forum

VOL. XXV NO. 3

SEPTEMBER 1989

BEDTIME FOR UNCLE SAM



INSIDE • A Conversation with Dick Thornburgh
• Dale Curtis on the Fall and Rise of
Liberal Republicans

EDITOR'S COLUMN

The United States Supreme Court handed down several rulings this summer which will have a sharp impact on this fall's political debate. Among those decisions are the right for states to restrict abortion practices, a narrowing of affirmative action plans, and the protection of a flag-burner's liberties.

A common thread in the Court's findings, as our illustrator R.J. Matson depicts on the front cover, is a rolling back of the federal government's reach. To discuss these issues in depth, the **Forum** talked in August with U.S. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh. In his interview, Thornburgh says, by contrast, that "very few new trends were initiated." And even if they were, changing directions is not new. As the former Pittsburgh prosecutor says, "The Court not so rarely and frequently reverses itself."

A **Forum** editorial concludes that a libertarian bent may be detected on the Court. The flag-burning decision in *Johnson v. Texas* is an example, where the Court held that the free speech clause of the First Amendment protects a person's right to burn the American flag. And in several decisions regarding racial inequities, the Court displayed a reluctance to use state power to redress race discrimination.

On other issues, **Ripon Forum** associate editor Dale Curtis reviews professor Nicol Rae's book, "The Decline and Fall of Liberal Republicans." (With a title like that, why wouldn't we review it?) We also continue our series on the key players in the Bush administration. Profiled in this issue are Constance Newman of the Office of Personnel Management, and James Wray and Andrew Card of the White House staff.

Two Mark O. Hatfield Scholars also provide prescriptions for the environment and Afghanistan, respectively. And Ripon chairman Bill Clinger concludes the issue with an important foreign topic: the continuing crisis in the Middle East.

--Bill McKenzie

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Second class postage and fees paid at Washington, D.C. and additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to **Ripon Forum**, 6 Library Court, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

Subscription rates: \$25 per year, \$17.50 for students, servicemen, Peace Corps, Vista and other volunteers. Overseas, please add \$6. Please allow five weeks for address change.

The Ripon Society Inc., Mark E. Uncapher, president, is a Republican research and policy organization whose members are business, academic, and professional men and women. It is headquartered in Washington, D.C., with National Associate members throughout the United States. Ripon is supported by chapter dues, individual contributions, and revenues from its publications.

A Conversation with Richard Thornburgh



Attorney General Richard Thornburgh

In early August Attorney General Richard Thornburgh sat down with *Ripon Forum* editors Bill McKenzie and Joseph Spiegler to comment on the Supreme Court's recent opinions on abortion, affirmative action, and flag-burning. In this interview, he candidly discusses the political pitfalls of those issues.

The former Pennsylvania governor succeeded Edwin Meese III as attorney general in August 1988, and his admitted aim is to restore faith in financial and governmental institutions. Fighting white-collar crime, he says, "has to do with the preservation, and, in some cases, a restoration of the integrity of important institutions."

In 1987 Thornburgh accepted a position as director of Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government. But 18 months later, Ronald Reagan asked him to become attorney general. This surprised some people, as Thornburgh had been considered a moderate Republican governor.

But the 56-year old attorney general eschews political labels. As he says, "Labels can be very deceptive and of limited utility." Perhaps Thornburgh can best be described as a pragmatic decisionmaker. This is much like the president he serves, and the result will be similar: a course that pleases conservatives on some occasions, moderates on others, and nobody all the time.

Ripon Forum: As you know, the Supreme Court has handed down a number of controversial rulings this summer, including decisions on abortion, affirmative action, and flag-burning. What trends do you see at work in these rulings?

Thornburgh: A number of the decisions were consistent with our positions, so we regard this as a pretty good term. The Webster case gives states greater leeway in regulating abortion; the four civil rights cases shaped certain evidentiary, procedural, and standing questions; a so-called "good faith" qualification to the "Miranda rule" was established in *Duckworth v. Eagan*; and the death penalty cases continued to uphold its use. Depending upon how you number them, 10-12 cases adopted the government's position. The two losers were the flag-burning and dial-a-porn cases.

What you make of all of these is the favorite sport of the academic community. From our point of view, I'm not sure there's anything profound. Trends were reinforced, but very few new trends were initiated.

Ripon Forum: Were you surprised by the ruling in *Johnson v. Texas*, where a more libertarian strand protected the right to burn a flag?

Thornburgh: To have this Court permit flag-burning obviously raised some eyebrows. In the past, such justices as Earl Warren, Abe Fortas, and Hugo Black have indicated anti-flag-burning statutes were constitutional.

It's clear there was a lot of behind-the-scenes wrestling and that produced a somewhat unusual result. I was

surprised and somewhat disappointed. Now the question is whether any statute

It is probably good that justices defy intellectual cubbyholes. Every case that comes before the Court is a case which involves particular facts.

can solve this or whether it's desirable to add an amendment to the Constitution.

Ripon Forum: The argument has been made that a tension exists among the conservative justices, some of whom favor state-power to achieve social goals and some of whom are more libertarian.

Thornburgh: In most aspects of public life, and particularly with regard to the Supreme Court, labels can be very deceptive and of limited utility. It's probably good that justices defy intellectual cubbyholes. Every case that comes before the Court is a case which involves particular facts.

Among our three major institutions of government, the Court alone is a totally reactive organ. It doesn't enunciate broad policy out of the air. It decides cases or controversies. As the justices do that, they indicate policy directions. But there's no way they can seize the initiative and present their views on particular issues, except as the issues come to them.

So it's awfully hard to predict the im-

plications of different views. You don't know when the issue that galvanizes those differences will come to the Court and what the particular facts will be. Most Supreme Court decisions are fraught with observations that say, "Well, if this fact weren't present or another fact were, we might decide differently." In my view, that's the beauty of the Court: its essential unpredictability in the very, very close issues.

Abortion is for everyone, and particularly for people in public life, probably the most vexing and troubling issue. It does not involve the normal political considerations, but serious moral, social, religious and legal concerns.

Ripon Forum: The Webster abortion ruling seems a bit odd since a legal precedent—the right to privacy—is being challenged. Rarely does the Court take back a right previously conferred.

Thornburgh: The Court not so rarely and frequently reverses itself. It just did so in *Garcia v. San Antonio Metropolitan Transit Authority*, where it overturned National League of Cities. That precedent was only two or three years old.

There is a wonderful quote from Lincoln on the Dred Scott case. He said, "We think the decision is erroneous. We know the Court that made it has often overruled its own decisions, and we shall do what we can to overrule this."

That fairly describes the Justice Department's position in *Roe v. Wade*. Our arguments have been pressed, and to a limited extent have prevailed in loosening the restrictions on what states can do to regulate abortions. This has been my view since I was governor of Pennsylvania and since I have served as attorney general.

Ripon Forum: But can't the case be made that under Roe and Webster, restrictions can be placed on abortion without overturning the right to privacy? States can already decide whether or not to fund abortions and doctors can be required to test a fetus' viability after 20 weeks of pregnancy.

Thornburgh: That's a point worthy of making. Because the Court is, as you point out, loath to take action overturning a prior precedent, unless they regard it as absolutely necessary, you have a kind of "sub silencio" incremental overruling of *Roe v. Wade*. This was hinted at in *Thornburgh v. American College of Obstetricians*. Now it has progressed in the Webster case.

It's entirely possible that with the three abortion cases coming before the Court in the next term, there will be other increments. You may be left with the shell of *Roe v. Wade* with enough latitude given to a state to impose regulations that are responsive to genuine health and safety concerns.

This has been an area where states traditionally have been ceded power to regulate medical procedures, as well as quite a few other private and professional procedures. But we'll have to wait and see. I don't have a crystal ball. I don't know what the Court's going to do on these three new cases.

Ripon Forum: It's obvious that abortion is a politically explosive issue. Strong elements exist on both sides, with a large segment of the public caught in between. For instance, an August 3 *New York Times/CBS News* poll showed that 68 percent of the respondents believe that even if abortion was wrong, government shouldn't be meddling in this area. But 71 percent did want to see restrictions placed on minors obtaining abortions.

Thornburgh: I am told by the experts that poll data in this area is a very poor beacon for making an ultimate finding. It is for everyone, and particularly for people in public life, probably the most vexing and troubling issue. It does not involve the normal political considerations, but serious moral, social, religious, and legal concerns. I think all of us who grapple with this question, particularly in public life, try to come to a view with which as a matter of conscience we are comfortable and with which we can pursue a consistent agenda.

I have tried to do that. I never really had to face the issue until I became a candidate for governor and spent a great deal of time talking to people and trying to fashion a view with which I was comfortable. Everyone who has done that knows you're probably going to adopt a view that's unsatisfactory to both ex-

tremes. That's inherent in the process.

Ripon Forum: Now that abortion has been thrown back to 50 different states, with so many different channels, is it really possible to reach a compromise? And how can we reach a consensus with such intense moral aspects generating fire on both sides?

Thornburgh: That's one of the prices of our democratic process. We have to wrestle through these issues and achieve at least momentary stability about a consensus. The beauty of our democratic process is that the depth and breadth of the views expressed are always resolved within the process, and revised within the process. People do not, should not, and I hope will not take to the streets over this or any other issue. This is an issue that needs to be decided within the confines of the existing process. The process may not be orderly or efficient, but I'm very confident a solution will occur.

Ripon Forum: What role is the Justice Department, as well as the administration, going to play at the state level in seeing abortions restricted?

*With the three abortion cases coming before the Court in the next term, you may be left with the shell of *Roe v. Wade*.*

Thornburgh: This department's role is in the courts, and we have pending a decision as to what role, if any, we will play in the three cases pending before the Supreme Court. I can't speak for the president or others in the administration about what political action they may take.

Ripon Forum: Let's go on to affirmative action. The Court ruled in *Wards Cove Packing v. Atonio* that employees should be responsible for proving discriminatory hiring practices. And in *Richmond v. Croson*, it restricted minority set-aside programs. What effect will these decisions have on promoting racial progress?

Thornburgh: I think they have been mischaracterized in some quarters. They're not constitutional cases, but are fine-tuning constitutional questions. *Wards* and *Croson* deal with burden of proof questions. *Martin v. Wilks* had to do with procedural rules. *Patterson v.*

McLean Credit Union dealt with a statutory interpretation of whether civil rights acts applied.

We don't regard these as being fundamentally threatening to the fabric of the civil rights commitment inherent in

It is my hope, and the president's, that the reopening of the dialogue with the civil rights leadership will continue and that we will be able to identify those areas where we can work together.

previous Court decisions. Nonetheless, the president has directed and we will carry out a process of monitoring the effects in the lower courts to ensure that is not the case. In fact, we have already taken a position in *Carpenter v. Skinner* arguing that the federal set-aside program under the Department of Transportation should not be stricken under the reasoning of *Richmond v. Croson*. This president and I have a very strong commitment to civil rights enforcement and the removal of any remaining barriers to equal opportunity.

We took a giant step forward this month with the Americans with Disabilities Act, which encompasses some 40 million people who have been previously excluded from the full enjoyment of their lives and of opportunities within the mainstream of American life. So I expect that in the long run, the cases you mentioned will have some effect, but more at the margins. I don't think they will go to the essence of this nation's irrevocable and full commitment to protect the civil rights and civil liberties of all its citizens.

Ripon Forum: What effect will the defeat of William Lucas, a black Republican who was nominated to head the Justice Department civil rights office, going to have on this administration and its dealings with civil rights groups?

Thornburgh: That's an interesting question because during the same time we tried to secure Bill Lucas' nomination as assistant attorney general over the opposition of the civil rights establishment, we were working with that es-

tablishment toward achieving an agreement on the Americans with Disabilities Act.

The long and short of it is that I was terribly disappointed Bill Lucas was not nominated. I think it had very little to do with his or this administration's commitment to civil rights. It had much more to do with politics. Liberal Democrats don't want to see a conservative black Republican succeed because it will further erode their electoral base by providing a role model. It comes on the heels of the defections of Charles Evers in Mississippi and Maurice Turner in Washington, D.C. and other black politicians. The fact that Bill Lucas, a Democrat-turned-Republican, would have been in a key position in this administration was not palatable.

The second reason, and one that I find unfathomable, is there seemed to be a view, at least among some Democratic members of the Judiciary Committee, that this nominee should take office opposing the views of his president and attorney general on this year's Supreme Court decisions. That is puzzling indeed, and it is unlikely that any nominee is going to begin his career opposing his boss on something so essential to the task.

Ripon Forum: Do you have an alternative in mind?

Thornburgh: We have a lot of options. It is my hope, and the president's, that the reopening of the dialogue with the civil rights leadership will continue and that we will be able to identify those areas where we can work together in firm enforcement of the law and removing barriers to equal opportunity. I have every reason to believe that will be the case.

Ripon Forum: Let's discuss for a moment the savings and loan scandal, which is one of the greatest political scandals over the last 25 years. What role will the Justice Department play in cleaning that up?

Thornburgh: Let me broaden the scope of the question and focus on a major priority of this department, which I discussed again with the president this week: white collar crime. It has to do with the preservation of, and, in some cases, a restoration of the integrity of important institutions in American life - government, financial and business institutions. The erosion of public confidence in those institutions can truly be

subversive. It can retard the ability of government to respond to people's needs and of other institutions to serve those needs.

We have a major commitment in this area. In the securities and commodities field, for instance, we have achieved important convictions. A major indictment was returned this week in respect to some 46 traders at the Chicago Mercantile Exchange. We have six securities and commodities task forces now operating in major trading centers across the country.

Law enforcement alone is not going to conquer the drug problem. One of the things we're looking for from Bill Bennett's drug strategy is how to get to the demand side.

But about the savings and loan crisis, the president has requested \$50 million to, in effect, double the capacity of our investigators and prosecutors. We also have about 600 open investigations into Housing and Urban Development programs, and a major investigation, Operation III Wind, into defense procurement fraud. These complement an ongoing effort against public corruption.

Ripon Forum: One area which may be thin on resources is the war on drugs, which is an all-encompassing problem.

Thornburgh: It is indeed. There is not a single U.S. attorney or agency head who is ever going say they have enough to deal with this. The problem is heavily derivative from an almost insatiable appetite for drugs.

During the 1980s we have had sizable increases in investigative and prosecutorial resources. But as I recently told a group on the West Coast, "If you want to lose the war on drugs, just leave it to law enforcement." They were somewhat puzzled, but after a moment realized that I wasn't playing down the efforts made by people on the front lines. I was reminding them that law enforcement alone is not going to conquer the drug problem. One of the things we're looking for from Bill Bennett's drug strategy is how to get to the demand side.

That's a more difficult thing to do, because you're talking about a change in values. Making a drug-dependent lifestyle an inadmissible option is not going to be won in the court room. It's going to be won in the school room, the work place, the churches, the community institutions, and in the family. You could

Suffice it to say, no litmus test on issues are part of the process of our recommending candidates for the courts to the president.

put an infinite amount of resources into law enforcement alone and never solve the problem.

Ripon Forum: What kind of resources is drug czar Bill Bennett planning on putting into rehabilitation?

Thornburgh: I don't know, but obviously more than we now are devoting to education, rehabilitation and treatment. Now that drug testing has been made valid, I expect there will be more of it. I'm taken with the results in the military in the 1980s. Random drug testing programs reduced the incidence of drug use from 27 percent in 1980 to 4.8 percent last year. That was without having to separate a lot of people. People just quit using drugs because they knew that there was an official statement that drugs were not tolerated.

Now, there are limits the courts must define about what is appropriate in the public sector. In the private sector, it's

a policy matter prescribed in the collective bargaining agreement between employers and unions.

I don't mean to put all this on drug testing, but this is one area where there is a potential to deal positively with user accountability.

Ripon Forum: Your career has entailed working in the legal world, where scholarly reflection is sometimes required, and politics, where combat is often hot. Which do you prefer?

Thornburgh: They converge in the office of attorney general. I can't really say this is a scholarly, contemplative atmosphere when we are involved in efforts to advance the administration's initiatives in a highly-partisan atmosphere. But I've always been comfortable with the law. It represents the basis of our political system's unique characteristics. We are a government of laws and not men, but it still depends on good men and women to frame and execute those laws.

Ripon Forum: So would you rather be a politician or a judge?

Thornburgh: I have never really thought about that. Immediately following my last term as governor of Pennsylvania, I became director of the Institute of Politics at the John F. Kennedy School. I would frequently be asked by students what their game plan should be for becoming a senator, congressman or whatever. I told them what someone older and wiser than me once said, and that is in politics 24 hours can be a lifetime. So you'd better try to do what you're doing the best you can and await your opportunities.

Ripon Forum: Does your admiration for the law mean that you would one day like to be on the Supreme Court?

Thornburgh: That's highly speculative. That's a choice the president has to make when faced with a particular situation.

Ripon Forum: What cast of mind would you like to see on the Court?

Thornburgh: We serve the president in that regard. He has made it clear that he subscribes to President Reagan's views regarding judges: they interpret the law but don't make it.

This president has also admonished us to reach out to black Americans, women, Hispanics, and persons with disabilities, and so far we have a pretty good track record. I think we'll be able to fulfill the president's wishes in this regard.

Ripon Forum: Do you think judicial appointees will be limited by last year's GOP platform, which says that judges at all levels should support "traditional family values and the sanctity of innocent life?"

Thornburgh: Suffice it to say, no litmus test on issues are part of the process of our recommending candidates for the courts to the president. Obviously many candidates will have a public record of positions that we're bound to bring to his attention. In the event a vacancy arises, he will make a careful choice. I'm sure it will be one that reflects his view on the role of the judiciary without any necessary reference to particular issues, but to a matter of overarching judicial philosophy. ■

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A CURE FOR SECTION 89 BLUES

Policy Prescriptions for a Post-Soviet Afghanistan

by Lawrence R. Fioretta

Although final Soviet forces left Afghanistan this February, and ended a decade-long occupation that scattered Afghans around the globe, few Afghan refugees will return before the Kabul regime is replaced with a non-communist government. In fact, since the Soviet withdrawal, thousands of civilians have fled Kabul. These new refugees - both supporters and opponents of the Najibullah government - are leaving from fear about the battle for Kabul and the serious shortage of food. Pakistani officials expect as many as 100,000 new refugees this year.

With the withdrawal of Soviet forces complete, the fighting has intensified between government and resistance forces. At this stage - with the establishment of an interim government by the resistance - U.S. policy should take into consideration the following.

CONTINUED ASSISTANCE TO THE RESISTANCE

The U.S. should continue its longstanding policy objective of replacing the Kabul regime with a broad-based, coalition government and continue to support the resistance. The Soviets have left behind considerable stockpiles of weapons and materiel and have resumed airlifts of weapons and military supplies to Kabul. Pitted against such weapons and an estimated 60,000 armed troops and party cadres, the resistance will need continued military support to topple the Kabul regime.

However, U.S. lethal aid must be

reduced or redirected if such assistance is found to be promoting conflict among the resistance groups. Moreover, the U.S. must encourage the mujaheddin to concentrate on military targets and avoid civilian casualties. The resistance will lose vital civilian support if it is perceived as being unsympathetic to the civilian population. The U.S. must also encourage resistance forces to become better disciplined and coordinated as the war changes from guerrilla to conventional tactics. For example, in what has become the largest battle of the war, the mujaheddin attacked Jalalabad in an uncoordinated effort and sustained many casualties.

The U.S. should give greater support to the regional commanders inside Afghanistan. Experienced in civil administration and waging guerrilla war from inside the country (in contrast to the Pakistan-based resistance parties), they are a potentially unifying force poised to play a significant role in Afghanistan's future.

MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF U.S.-SUPPLIED ARMS AND FOOD

It is no secret that over the past decade Pakistan has favored the fundamentalist resistance groups, particularly Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's radical fundamentalist party. What began with then-President Zia ul-Haq's preferential treatment in giving Hekmatyar control of refugee administration developed into giving the fundamentalists the lion's share of U.S.-supplied weapons and food.

It is clear that Hekmatyar is becoming increasingly isolated within the Afghan resistance. He has threatened to leave the interim government and has reportedly hinted at promoting an independent coup in Kabul in cooperation with Afghan government army officers. Rival resistance leaders have accused

Hekmatyar of authorizing attacks on mujaheddin groups including the July massacre of 30 military leaders from one faction in northern Afghanistan.

If the U.S. is serious about remaining neutral in a factional struggle it cannot give tacit support to Pakistan's favorites. Pakistan's support for the fundamentalists is clearly exacerbating tensions among the resistance groups which could lead to civil war. The moderate resistance groups and regional commanders should receive a greater share of U.S.-supplied arms, food and supplies while the fundamentalists should receive less. This would mean more of a balance among the resistance groups in the distribution of arms and supplies while recognizing that Pakistan's interests are not threatened.

RECOGNITION OF NEW GOVERNMENT AND SPECIAL ENVOY

The U.S. should resist premature recognition of a new Afghan government until a stable government can demonstrate its ability to function rather than prematurely recognize a government that is in the throes of civil war, or will soon fall to another faction.

The appointment of a special envoy to the mujaheddin gives the current situation the needed attention it deserves. The special ambassador serves a useful purpose in encouraging the growth of the newly-founded and fragile resistance government and stresses that the Afghan interim government must expand beyond the seven Pakistan-based resistance parties to include regional commanders, tribal chiefs and others. The special envoy must also ensure that U.S. aid will be channeled directly to the resistance, including regional commanders.

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Lawrence R. Fioretta is a Mark O. Hatfield Scholar who has worked on refugee problems for several years. For his research as a Hatfield Scholar, he traveled through Pakistan.

On the Supreme Court, Abortion and Rights Issues

If you are among those worried about too much judicial activism, at least console yourself with the thought that the eight-man, one-woman Supreme Court earns its federal salary. The Court ruled this summer on issues that can't be ducked and which will keep interpreters busy for months: abortion, affirmative action and flag-buring, among other items.

LIBERTARIAN TREND

The confusion in these rulings is that no clear trends exist. On civil liberties, for example, the Court seems split. It protected free speech in *Johnson v. Texas* by ruling that the First Amendment covers the right to burn an American flag. But it set in motion a challenge to privacy rights by ruling in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services, Inc.* that states can pass restrictive abortion laws.

A 5-4 majority in the Webster case, for instance, upheld a 1986 Missouri law which prohibits public employees from performing or assisting in abortions not necessary to save a pregnant woman's life. It also upheld the state's right to prohibit the use of public buildings in performing abortions, even if no public money is involved. And it supported the Missouri provision that requires doctors to perform fetus viability tests if the woman requesting the abortion is at least 20 weeks pregnant.

The Court doesn't seem split, however, on redressing racial inequities. Instead, it is intent on undermining existing means of achieving racial balance, making it far more difficult to prove racial discrimination and to redress racial inequality.

In *Richmond v. Croson*, for example, the justices narrowed the scope of minority business set-aside programs by finding that discrimination in the nation's construction industry does not justify numerical goals in a local market

Perhaps the most you can say about the summer rulings is that the Court has a somewhat libertarian bent.

unless the city establishes a clear history of past discrimination, that other methods are insufficient to correct the discrimination, and that the numerical goals are strictly related to the amount of minority business that has been wrongfully excluded in the past.

In determining whether an employer's hiring practices are discriminatory, the Court departed in *Wards Cove Packing v. Atonio* from past precedent and transferred the burden of proof from employers to the employees. Previously the onus was upon employers to show that their employment policies that had the effect of excluding minorities were job related and not discriminatory. Now employees must prove that such practices are biased. That's difficult for two reasons: most employees don't have time to discover such data, and if they did, what employer is going to give them damning information?

The Court ruled in *Martin v. Wilks* that the 14th Amendment's equal protection clause permits white employees to challenge a consent decree that has redressed racial inequities. In this case, a group of white Birmingham firefighters claimed they were not a party to a prior agreement to hire and promote a certain number of black firefighters in their city. The Court agreed, and claimed the white firefighters' right to equal protection had been denied. The effect of this ruling will be to place a damper, if not a chill, on voluntary consent arrangements as a means to promote racial equality.

Perhaps the most you can say about these rulings is that the Court has a somewhat libertarian bent. Reason magazine editor Virginia Postrel summed up this philosophy well in writing that libertarianism "emphasizes limited government and individual liberty."

If you wish to express your anger at the United States, the First Amendment protects your right to burn the American flag. But don't expect the government to emphasize group rights, which the concept of affirmative action is based upon. In fact, the Court is now selective in determining when government can promote certain social goals. If you wish to restrict abortion, fine. But if you wish to redress racial wrongs, beware.

ABORTION

The abortion ruling, of course, is the Court's most explosive decision. By holding that a state can determine its own abortion laws, the Court virtually guarantees legalized abortions will soon be challenged. The decision also ignites a political firestorm. Since the July 3 Webster ruling, pro-choice and pro-life advocates have become even more

By holding that a state can determine its own abortion laws, the Court virtually guarantees legalized abortions will soon be challenged.

entrenched. The likelihood of an abatement seems remote.

Naturally, Ripon's own ranks do not escape some probing discussion. The Society is and has been committed to the right to privacy. Ripon's National Executive Committee recently passed a

resolution reaffirming this commitment.

But, as the resolution points out, even within the progressive Republican community differences of opinion exist. Senior leaders such as Senator Mark Hatfield oppose abortion on demand. It would be wrong to think such beliefs are not born out of conviction. As Hatfield wrote recently, "Abortion is the ugly byproduct of a throwaway society where human life is depreciated each day by the arms race, the success race and the mad dash toward the electric chair."

To be sure, we should strive towards a colorblind society. But it would be wrong to assume that we have arrived.

In this sense, moderate Republicans are a microcosm of the general public. For many, the freedom to choose whether to carry a pregnancy to term is what defines them as a moderate Republican. But for others, the issue is cloudy and not so determining. Neither side holds a monopoly on virtue nor should they treat their opponents as unworthy. Those full of their own rhetoric should not be allowed to chip away at

the seam which holds together the nation's political fabric.

RIGHTS IN GENERAL

On a broad range of civil rights rulings, the Rehnquist Court's decisions are alarming. In trying to develop a colorblind society, where race is not considered in hiring or employment practices, the Court may create the opposite result. By undermining voluntary consent decrees and minority business set-aside programs, as well as making discriminatory hiring policies easier to hide, the Court has shunted aside important means of achieving racial progress.

This is an irony of conservative jurisprudence. Conservative theorists, such as former Reagan Justice Department civil rights chief William Bradford Reynolds, argue that color should not enter into lawmaking.

That's great, but what world do they live in? Surely not the one in which only 35 years ago "separate-but-equal" schools existed. Nor the one in which blacks were not guaranteed access to public facilities as mundane as water fountains. Nor the one in which qualified blacks, among other minority groups, have benefited from affirmative action programs.

The problem in the conservative jurisprudence argument is that a limited government and a colorblind ideal have never been complementary. Through-

out our history, developing a colorblind society has always meant the presence of an active federal government. Try telling another story to blacks in Selma or minority school children in Little Rock.

To be sure, we should strive towards a colorblind society. But it would be wrong to assume that we have arrived. This mistake was made in 1883 when Supreme Court Justice Joseph P. Bradley wrote: "When a man emerged from slavery, and by the aid of beneficent legislation has shaken off the inseparable concomitants of the state, there must be some stage in the progress of his elevation when he takes the rank of mere citizen, and ceases to be the special favorite of the law."

That is very sound logic, but as civil-rights attorneys Christopher Edley, Jr. and Gene B. Sperling remind us recently, Justice Bradley used this sentiment to strike down the 1875 Civil Rights Act. Only 15 years later, in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Court legitimized the notion of "separate-but-equal."

We are now only 25 years into another period of remedying racial wrongs. Until the Court or legislators can come up with better alternatives, we shouldn't rescind those laws that make racial progress possible. ■

PARENTAL CHOICE: AN IDEA'S ARRIVAL

Boston's public school system will undergo an important change this September, one which could be as crucial to the city as the 1974 desegregation that imposed school busing. The new plan centers around the notion of "parental choice" and is radical for Boston because it challenges the notion that white parents will separate their children from blacks.

In September, Boston will be divided into three zones, and families can select a school within their zone. The selection cannot change the school's racial balance, however, and for the first year, only kindergarten, first grade and sixth-grade students will be included.

The advantage is that parents can

select a school which best fits their child's needs. If a student needs more discipline, a school with greater structure can be selected. Or, if a child is creative, a more informal, open classroom can be chosen. Either way, parents become involved by selecting the best school for their child.

The educational choice idea is not peculiar to Boston; it is also being tested in several other cities. And its supporters are not subtle segregationists, but an odd mixture of libertarians, '60s liberals, and baby-boom parents. Their unifying idea is not racial discrimination, but individual empowerment.

If administered correctly, which means racial balances are maintained, educational choice should have particular appeal for the urban poor. Their neighborhoods are often among a city's weakest, so greater selection increases

the chance for improvement. In the East Harlem school district where parental choice has been tested at the middle school level, test scores have risen from near the bottom of New York middle schools to the city's mid-range.

One way educational choice helps improve schools is through focusing teachers and administrators on the definition of a quality education. Since competition is introduced into the system, teacher conferences will be required to think through the process of being a good school. Otherwise, their school could go out of existence.

During the 1960s and early 1970s, social programs became known for the amounts of money they received. Lost in the rush to provide money, however, was the idea of political empowerment. Perhaps educational choice will provide that for America's schools. ■

Beyond Containment

by Joseph Spiegler

Eight years ago it was inconceivable that Ronald Reagan and the leader of the Soviet Union would one day stroll together through Red Square, much less that leading dissident Andrei Sakharov would sit in the Congress of the Peoples' Deputies with Soviet leaders. Those scenes, of course, are part of the wild course of events being played out in the Soviet Union and the East Bloc, which are requiring American foreign policymakers to reevaluate the status of the Cold War.

The most dramatic manifestation of abating Cold War tensions, however, are the recently-concluded talks in Poland between General Wojciech Jaruzelski and Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa. Those meetings are now producing the country's first post-war, non-communist government.

Poland has special historic and symbolic importance because it has been a barometer for postwar Eastern Europe. Some historians claim that the Cold War began there when the Soviet Union unilaterally installed a non-representative, communist government in 1949. This subsequently closed Eastern Europe and divided the European continent. So it is extraordinary that Poland is the first Warsaw Pact nation to host legitimate elections. And these elections may have implications beyond Poland's borders. The overwhelming victory of the once-outlawed trade union, Solidarity, combined with the Soviets' tacit approval, may signal that East Europeans' demands for greater political autonomy will not be met with Soviet tanks and troops.

Of course, optimism about the future must be tempered by the realities of the past. The Soviets' literal crushing of democratic movements in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 provide sobering reminders of past Soviet policy. In fact, the history of

postwar superpower relations is marked by periods of relaxation and retrenchment followed by aggression and expansion. The 1970s, for instance, commenced promisingly with SALT I, but concluded discouragingly with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Today, as a less threatening Soviet Union emerges, the United States diplomatic focus is shifting away from containment and towards "integration." President Bush admittedly says that he is looking "beyond containment" to a foreign policy that integrates the Soviets into the international system. This may yield a more stable relationship and replace decades of unpredictable alternation between detente and hostility.

To do this, however, President Bush must first enlist congressional support. The **Forum** recently spoke with several House Republicans to understand what some moderate Republicans think about the accelerating changes in Europe.

MODERATES REPLY

Integration is the key component in Representative Thomas Petri's (R-WI) vision for the United States' post-containment policy. "Stability, cooperation, and prosperity," will characterize the future of Europe, he says. The Wisconsin congressman also believes that the Warsaw Pact's participation must be contingent upon its adoption of free markets and greater democratization. Those two concepts are indivisible because a competitive marketplace requires political pluralism.

But Petri warns that we shouldn't confuse rhetoric with results, or "put the cart before the horse." The six-term member of Congress takes a less conventional approach at measuring the degree of change in the East Bloc. A flurry of treaties, for instance, will not necessarily foster stability. After all, the Soviets have a history of either violating or circumventing negotiated agreements. And while conventional force reductions are encouraging signs, he

cautions that troops and tanks can be remobilized. More permanent changes should include a fungible monetary system, the elimination of physical barriers to free travel, and the incorporation of international cultural clubs, such as Rotary International. This would help integrate the Soviets and East Europeans into the world community and give the East Bloc a vested interest in the preservation of the international system.

Representative Ben Gilman (R-NY) agrees with Petri and adds that: "Witnessing the rising tide of democracy in Eastern Europe, it is essential that we do all in our power to integrate the Soviet Union and other Eastern European na-

Poland has special historic and symbolic importance because it has been a barometer for postwar Eastern Europe. The Cold War began there when the Soviet Union unilaterally installed a non-representative, communist government in 1949.

tions into the mainstream of world affairs."

An integrated Europe does not guarantee a stable one, however. The threat of East-West conflict may subside, but the East Bloc may become increasingly volatile as it undertakes the painful conversion to de-centralized economies. According to Gilman, the Western Alliance must maintain a military dimension "to protect and defend the interests and security of its member nations." The ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee for Europe and the Middle East sees a continued role for the military alliance despite a waning communist threat to the West. According to Gilman, "With the advent of an integrated Europe,

Joseph Spiegler is a Ripon Forum editorial assistant.

NATO will continue to serve as the defender of freedom and democracy throughout Western Europe."

Congresswoman Claudine Schneider (R-RI) agrees with Gilman. "Possible changes in Soviet leadership, un-

Today, as a less threatening Soviet Union emerges, the United States diplomatic focus is shifting away from containment and towards "integration."

foreseen economic setbacks and further regional ethnic unrest have possible military implications," the Rhode Island legislator told the **Forum**. But at the same time, she sees a growing secondary role for NATO. As Schneider says, "Apart from its continuing military role, NATO can serve an important role in incorporating U.S. interests into the unification of Europe in 1992."

Containment provided the West security from Soviet expansion, but Claudine Schneider sees distinct financial rewards as a result of integration. She claims that, "As U.S. policy shifts, it will become possible for the United States and the Soviet Union to address some of the global economic challenges that we face." Further, a diminishing Soviet influence in Eastern Europe will permit the United States to look at countries individually and introduce

market-oriented solutions to the East's economic woes. (Representative Petri suggests western aid should be through private joint ventures, bypassing the cumbersome bureaucracy of the Warsaw nations and providing direct assistance to the people, both East and West.)

Congressman Jim Leach (R-IA) emphasizes the political rather than financial rewards of integration. Containment, he says, was designed to force the Soviets to look inward, address the inherent contradictions of its system, and abandon the "bondage of nations and peoples under Soviet sway." The fourth ranking Republican member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee asserts "Today, communism is pell-mell in retreat. The communist political and economic philosophy is acknowledged

The rapidly changing political landscape in Eastern Europe will challenge U.S. foreign policymakers to find the prudent balance between hope and caution.

as morally bankrupt. The once formidable, if not impenetrable, Iron Curtain is now a dilapidated, decayed edifice," the Iowa Republican says.

With containment bringing about the dissolution of the Soviet empire, Leach maintains the West can begin to fulfill

the hope of the Atlantic Charter, which is the right of all nations to freely choose their own form of government. As Leach points out, "The United States has the prospect of spreading our own revolutionary creed -- individual rights, limited constitutional government -- as a stark contrast to the shockingly unrevolutionary Marxist doctrine of centralized political management."

CONCLUSION

Though political changes within the Soviet Union are undeniable, whether the Soviets are fundamentally changing their system remains arguable. The plight of Poland may help answer this critical question. Its experiment with democracy will no doubt test the courage of its people.

But above all the rapidly changing political landscape in Eastern Europe will challenge U.S. foreign policy-makers to find the prudent balance between hope and caution. The guarded optimism of the representatives mentioned in this article reflects America's dual task. As President Bush told his audience at Texas A&M, where he unveiled his policy of "beyond containment:" "We seek the integration of the Soviet Union into the community of nations. Let no one doubt our sincere desire to see perestroika continue and succeed. These are hopeful signs. But the national security of America and our allies is not predicated on hope. It must be based on deeds."

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How to Be the Environmental President

By Robert Ward

Those who predict an emerging international consensus on environmental protection clearly have not spoken to village headmen in New Guinea. On a recent visit to an Indonesian province on the western half of New Guinea, the leader of an isolated village proudly pointed out to me that his tropical rain forest absorbed carbon dioxide and provided oxygen for the United States. He then outlined his plans for forest management, perfectly at ease with keeping responsibility for global warming in his own hands.

The president's challenge will be to replace national interests with international cooperation and consensus building.

This village headman has a message for President Bush as he charts new policy to cope with a host of environmental problems: do not assume that the nations of the world are ready to relinquish control of their own resources simply because problems such as global warming and ozone depletion demand collective action. This attitude presents real obstacles for President Bush as he tries to make international environmental cooperation a foreign policy priority. The president's challenge will be to replace national interests with cooperation and consensus building.

Robert Ward is a lawyer in San Francisco and a Mark O. Hatfield Scholar. This article is adapted from his Hatfield Scholarship paper, "Searching For Global Environmental Solutions: A New Challenge For The Bush Administration."

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE SIGNS

There are encouraging signs that global concerns may in some cases override national interests. The Montreal Protocol of 1987, which limits the use and production of ozone-depleting chemicals (CFC's and halons), has been hailed as evidence of an emerging consensus on global environmental problems. Policymakers are optimistically looking to this Protocol as a model for future accords on such issues as global warming, trans-boundary pollution, and the international trafficking of toxic waste.

But we shouldn't be overly-optimistic. Closer examination of the Montreal Protocol reveals deep divisions. The majority of western, industrialized nations have ratified the Protocol, yet few developing nations have done so. The less developed nations are basing their decisions more on economic considerations than on voluntary sacrifice for environmental protection. They claim that the major western CFC producers are the chief economic beneficiaries and that industrialized nations enjoy a competitive advantage in developing and marketing chemical alternatives.

We must identify Americans who can put cross-cultural understanding to use at the bargaining table.

It's not surprising, then, that many developing nations conclude ratifying the Treaty is not in their long-term interest. Some nations even suggest that the Treaty is a guise for maintaining the "pro-western" status quo, and that it hampers their economic growth. As one Latin American delegate to the United

Nations said recently, "The environment is not a priority for developing nations, development is a priority."

Even more worrisome is that the topics addressed in Montreal, and more recently at the London Conference on CFCs and Halons, are relatively non-controversial. Confronting more threatening issues will require sweeping changes and sacrifices.

A prudent first step would be to employ Americans with foreign expertise to conduct cultural profiles in preparation for international negotiations.

LESSONS FROM AMERICA'S PAST

Perhaps as we look for new solutions for international cooperation, America's domestic environmental efforts can provide important lessons. In many respects, our experience mirrors the current international landscape. For example, during the 1960s steadily mounting concern over the state of the environment resulted in federal and state regulation. Many assumed that this legislation signaled a widespread agreement within American society regarding the value of environmental protection. But as the costs and complexity of environmental protection became evident, opposition from the private and public sector, and from businesses and taxpayers, revealed that no true consensus existed.

The ensuing period of disillusionment forced environmental policymakers to reexamine their earlier assumptions and adopt a more realistic approach. Their focus shifted from simply drafting new regulations to seeking a workable framework for implementing existing

regulations. Through this process, policymakers discovered that many existing laws are unrealistic.

The failure of these laws demonstrated that no matter how strictly regulated the environment, disputes are inevitable at the implementation stage. Environmental advocates have since developed a variety of alternative dispute resolution procedures that educate parties about each others' perspectives and promote mutually satisfactory solutions. Practices such as mediation and negotiated rulemaking have spread, and are now being used by government entities and the courts. The Environmental Protection Agency, for example, has started bringing concerned parties together to collectively negotiate acceptable regulations.

Practices such as mediation and negotiated rulemaking have spread, and are now being used by government entities and the courts. The EPA has started bringing parties together to negotiate acceptable regulations.

Our domestic experience suggests that global environmental management efforts will succeed only when the world community acknowledges the competing interests that prevent international cooperation. Before initiating any new global accords, the Bush administration would do well to understand why some nations either block or promote environmental protection efforts. In short, the United States must learn more about the internal dynamics that shape the policy of individual nations, especially developing ones. Since domestic politics determine whether international accords ultimately succeed or fail, we must be able to predict whether proposed measures can be enforced in signatory nations. It is no coincidence that the most effective international protocols have been concluded among the European Economic Community nations, where member nations have a sophisticated understanding of one another's domestic circumstances.

Of course, America may have a com-

paratively easy time understanding the priorities of its western allies, but it is far more difficult to understand developing nations. We do not have the

The U.S. must learn more about the internal dynamics that shape the policy of individual nations, especially developing ones.

benefit of close cultural ties or long-standing relations with most of the developing world. A prudent first step would be to employ Americans with foreign expertise to conduct cultural profiles in preparation for international negotiations. The E.P.A. is currently signing a growing number of bilateral agreements with developing nations and these close ties could help make investigations feasible. According to negotiation theorist Stephen Weiss, such profiles could help surmount the cultural barriers that often sabotage multilateral attempts at cooperation.

Once we have achieved a better understanding of our negotiating partners, we must identify Americans who can put this understanding to effective use at the bargaining table. Those urban planners, lawyers, mediators and others who have negotiated creative solutions to our domestic problems should be encouraged to apply their skills on a global scale. Those who have helped develop a better framework for solving domestic environmental woes may have similar success with international problems.

Although such individuals may have had little international experience, they possess skills that make them effective in any negotiation setting. Their work brings them into daily contact with the wide variety of "cultures" - political, ideological, social, scientific - involved in modern American environmental conflicts; indeed, their success depends upon their sensitivity to and comprehension of these varied interest groups.

By analyzing the underlying interests of our negotiating partners and exploiting the differences that seem to separate them, our negotiators will be able to devise original approaches that build consensus out of apparent conflict.

CONCLUSION

As the Paris economic summit dramatically demonstrated this summer, environmental protection has assumed center stage in the international arena. The foreign policy implications of this emerging dominance of environmental concerns in world affairs holds major implications for the Bush administration. To fulfill his self-proclaimed role to be "the environmental president," Bush will have to take the lead in those international initiatives now being formed to deal with our global environmental woes. Marshalling a concerted effort among America's environmental professionals is the Bush administration's best hope for generating the innovative approaches required to solve environmental problems in a politically complex and divided world. Only in this way will answers be found that meet the needs of our western allies, but also of headmen in New Guinea. ■

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Constance Newman: Heading the Federal Bureaucracy

by William P. McKenzie

Connie Newman has a job which in many in politics would kill to have: the directorship of the Office of Personnel Management, previously known as the United States Civil Service Commission. Newman, who has worked in 12 different federal agencies, now determines policies that govern 2.2 million federal employees. And her mandate, if you will, is to make government accountable to the public.

In her quiet office overlooking a variety of federal buildings, Newman describes to a visitor that "we are at a point in the history of the civil service where we must reevaluate and change the systems." This means reforming compensation and benefits, but it also entails improving the way in which government develops managers.

According to Newman, a former director of VISTA and a management consultant, she first wants to examine how the private sector trains managers. Then she wants to improve the quality assessments of government work.

Not enough evaluation is being done, the former civil servant says, and this leaves managers without the appropriate data by which to judge a program's usefulness. For example, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration enforces workplace safety. If the agency is effective, there should be a corresponding decrease in workplace injuries. But OSHA doesn't tally workplace injuries, so this makes an accurate assessment of the agency's performance difficult.

In the coming decade of fiscal realism, which is an outgrowth of the budget excesses of the 1980s, such inexactness could hurt an agency. As Newman says, if a department doesn't appraise its performance, it could receive fewer federal dollars.

William P. McKenzie is editor of the *Ripon Forum*.

Don't mistake Connie Newman as a hidebound opponent of government. As she recently told the *New York Times*, "Political appointments make a mistake assuming they have met the enemy. When they start treating the civil service as the enemy, it starts to become the enemy."

Like her superior, George Bush, Newman believes in the potential for good government. Her career, in fact, demonstrates just how much government has changed, especially in the hiring of women.

After graduating from Bates College in 1961, Newman started as a clerk typist in the Interior Department. After six years in personnel at the Bureau of Land Management, she served in the Nixon-Ford administrations as assistant secretary at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Housing and Urban Development.

These experiences should help as Newman seeks reforms. She would particularly like to reverse the stigma attached to government service, much of which arose from the anti-Washington campaigns of Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter.

To do so, Newman wants to improve the understanding academic leaders, as well as private sector firms, have of government work. A former adjunct faculty member of Harvard's John F. Kennedy School, she contends that this is necessary to erase the negative image many have of government.

Newman also wants to create an adjunct to the Federal Election Commission which would make it easier for people to enter government service. One of the office's purposes would be to financially assist political appointees who await confirmation. (A self-employed consultant, Newman could not line up any new business after her nomination, so she took out a six-month bank loan until her confirmation.)

Believe it or not, Newman would also like to revisit the ethics-in-government

debate. But ever the astute politician, she knows the timing is not right. She is concerned, however, that stringent ethics laws are deterring qualified people from seeking government employment.

Like her superior, George Bush, Newman believes in the potential for good government.

Newman is also worried about laws that prohibit government workers from entering the industry they once regulated, or with which they have dealt. Such restrictions could drive knowledgeable people from public service, she says, offering as evidence a key health benefits expert who has already left OPM fearful that new regulations could prohibit him from getting an appropriate private-sector job.

Connie Newman is the prototype George Bush wants in government. She is committed to broad public goals. (Newman is a lifelong member of the NAACP), but is also focused on the bottom line. In government, she says, the bottom line is improving service to the public.

That may sound rhetorical, but somehow with Newman it doesn't. She knows that government service demands both high work standards and good morale, and believes George Bush has assembled an administration that will improve both.

Let's hope that's true. Government service took a blow with the ethics violations of the Reagan administration and Jimmy Carter's negative view of Washington. But the career services are essential. As five-time Cabinet secretary Elliot Richardson wrote recently, they "carry out the national agenda." ■

James Wray and White House Politics

by David A. Fuscus

James Wray, the director of the Office of Political Affairs at the White House, is obviously a man comfortable with himself and his president. Whether sitting at his desk or by his window overlooking the West Wing of the White House, Wray talks with ease about himself and the president he helped elect. He enjoys his job and calls it "working a dream, the culmination of everything I thought I wanted to do."

Throughout various administrations, the Office of Political Affairs has served presidents in different ways. But it has always been a key component in formulating the complex nationwide efforts of a party's struggle for political offices. Jim Wray's predecessors have been key aides to their presidents, the men who help ensure that political questions and challenges are met correctly. Ed Rollins directed Ronald Reagan's political affairs office for many years and also managed his 1984 re-election campaign.

Wray is a seasoned political pro who has worked 18 years to reach the pinnacle that every campaign worker dreams of: the White House. He started his career just out of Ohio State as a volunteer on a political campaign. Over the years, he moved up in Ohio politics and became the state director of the Republican Party. Finally, he entered presidential politics in 1979 by accepting a position with the Reagan/Bush ticket. It was a tough race for Wray but one that was followed by an even tougher decision.

After Reagan was elected, the new president offered him a position in Washington, a move that would require relocation of his family and disruption of his successful career in Ohio. After a long and tortuous debate, he turned the job down.

David A. Fuscus is a member of the Ripon Forum editorial board.

"I've often wondered if it was the right decision," said Wray. "And now I know it was because it enabled me to get more experience in the field and helped me a great deal." More experience included a stint on a governor's campaign, two years of running his own consulting firm and three years as a regional director for the Republican National Committee.

In 1987, it was time again to enter a presidential campaign and Wray accepted a post with Bush '88 as a regional political director. Bush was obviously pleased with his dedication and performance because after the primaries, he was promoted to national field director, a senior staff position, and one of the people who worked out the strategy and made the decisions that won George Bush the White House.

The position was different from his past one, "more straight management" he called it, but it gave him the opportunity to work one-on-one with George Bush.

"He's the best candidate I've ever been associated with, his political gut instincts are amazing. He served as the guiding light for the campaign, setting the tone and the message."

Since coming to the White House, Bush has pursued an ambitious agenda, including one for Wray's domain. The political affairs office has been changed from the Reagan years and assigned different priorities. Wray, along with Lee Atwater at the RNC and leaders of the congressional committees, wants to create a farm team of candidates at the local level. They feel that by recruiting qualified Republicans for state and local races, the party will have a pool of candidates for congressional and gubernatorial races into the next century. This would create a strong Republican Party that could do more than win presidential races. The party could control Congress and win majorities in state legislatures. In short, it could become the majority party in the United States. ■



Director of OPM Constance Newman
(see article page 14)



Director of Office of Political Affairs
James Wray



Deputy Chief of Staff Andrew Card
(see article page 16)

Andrew Card and the Public Service Presidency

by William P. McKenzie

An important element to understand about the Bush administration is that it is led by someone who is deeply, perhaps fanatically, committed to the notion of public service. This stems not so much from a social consciousness as it does from an obligation to one's society. In his later years Robert Kennedy spoke about social justice; George Bush wants a kinder America in which people serve each other.

The new president's commitment to this ideal began with the example of his father, the late Prescott Bush, who retains a strong influence over the current administration. As a town council leader and United States senator, the elder Bush was held in high esteem by his young son. And since Prescott Bush's terms in the Senate coincided with the non-confrontational Eisenhower years, his example instructed his son in the merits of bipartisanship.

This approach to politics is evident throughout the White House. Perhaps with the exception of White House Chief of Staff John Sununu, who is perceived as a tough politician, the Bush administration is characterized by people who would be equally at home on a city council.

During a recent interview in his White House office, Deputy Chief of Staff Andrew Card points out that "instilling a greater recognition of the value [of] public service" is among the administration's top three priorities. And by admitting the first two goals - "peace and prosperity" - are not so original, Card makes more evident the president's attachment to social involvement.

For Bush, the attachment began when he was elected chairman of the Harris County GOP in Houston in 1962. For

Card, it began when he ran for the Holbrooke, Massachusetts planning board in 1971.

It's not surprising, then, that both men prefer solving problems over public relations. Their early experiences taught them about running organizations or governments, not rhetoric or screen presence. (The Bush White House is notoriously not consumed with making the evening news. The result is the demythologization of the White House over the past eight months.)

An administration has to be about more than public service, however, and the Bush administration has been criticized for not having enough connecting threads. President Reagan spoke almost reflexively about the need for strong defense and the perils of big government. George Bush has never opposed these ideals, but neither has he woven them together in a visionary approach to government.

Card responds that George Bush was not elected to bring "wrenching change" to America. Rather, he was brought into office to "move us forward in education and national service." And he says that the new president's style is helping move the agenda forward.

For instance, Card says, George Bush has a spontaneous way of including others. This is important, because "if you limit yourself to structure, you may be too late to respond."

Earlier this year, Card considered taking the Bush-style back to Massachusetts to seek the 1990 GOP gubernatorial nomination. But in July he decided against that proposition. Some Card-watchers contend it would have involved a tough primary race against fellow Republican William Weld and, if victorious, the state's always strong Democratic Party.

But Card is also ebullient about his present position. In a statement void of any Haldeman-like arrogance, the 42-year old Massachusetts native says, "I sit 20 feet from the president and 10 feet

An important element to understand about the Bush administration is that it is led by someone who is deeply, perhaps fanatically, committed to the notion of public service. This stems not so much from a social consciousness as it does from an obligation to one's society.

from the chief-of-staff."

The sum of that statement is that his job is fun, and **The New York Times** describes Card as John Sununu's "alter ego." That may be true, although Card possesses the gentler edge Sununu allegedly lacks. But the two have worked together since they served on New England city planning boards in 1971. And in the early 1980s, when Card was the Reagan administration's gubernatorial liaison, he and Sununu, then New Hampshire's governor, were in regular contact.

Their relationship brings a New England influence to an administration that has an otherwise southwestern orientation. This combination reflects George Bush's odyssey from the son of a Connecticut senator to a prosperous Texas oilman. It also leads to an administration that is trying to blend social responsibility and free-market economics.

So far, public opinion polls give that attempt high marks. Each presidency reflects the habits of its leader, so look for the Bush administration to continue its pragmatic approach. This style is rooted in the service tradition that doesn't consult ideology for guidance, but rather what it considers the best interests of the broadest number. ■

William P. McKenzie is editor of the **Ripon Forum**.

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continued from page 7

ECONOMIC LEVERAGE AND ASSISTANCE

Until a stable government is established in Kabul, the U.S. along with other allies, should coordinate economic assistance leverage to reduce conflict and encourage reconciliation. Conditional economic assistance could provide the appropriate incentive, although it must be used judiciously if it is to prove effective. Should civil war develop, it may be the only leverage the U.S. has to influence events in Afghanistan.

The United States along with the United Nations should encourage donor nations to pledge economic assistance to help rebuild Afghanistan, especially the Soviet Union and Japan.

RECONSTRUCTION AFTER POLITICAL SETTLEMENT

Given the escalation of fighting, the United States should discourage the U.N. from promoting massive repatriation before a political settlement is reached. It is clear that both sides - the Kabul government and the resistance - would attempt to manipulate repatriation efforts while fighting each other and take advantage of the United Nations presence. Should civil war develop among resistance groups following defeat of the Afghan government, given the unrest and the presence of millions of Soviet land mines, it would be extremely dangerous for refugees to return. Assistance if exploited, will not serve the interests of the Afghan people, the region or the United States.

A FIRST STEP: ADDRESSING THE LAND MINE PROBLEM NOW

One step being taken in Pakistan which helps refugees face a major impediment to their return is mine awareness and disposal training. Soviet forces left behind an estimated 10-30 million land mines in Afghanistan. The location of the mines are difficult to map because many were strewn from helicopters and planes and many have washed down from higher elevations to farming areas in valleys. Moreover,

Soviet officials, contrary to public statements, have failed to share their maps of mine locations with the Afghan government. This situation makes such training invaluable. The pledge of \$2 million by the U.S. for this U.N. coordinated effort to train Afghan refugees in mine awareness is a good start and international support should be encouraged.

SUPPORT FOR KABUL AIRLIFT

The U.S. should support U.N. efforts to airlift food and medicine to the straving and sick in Kabul, a city whose population had doubled during the war to 2.2 million, one million of which are internally displaced. Although a U.N. airlift could undermine a resistance blockade of Kabul, support of an airlift targeted at saving the lives of children, women, and other vulnerable groups is necessary. Regional commanders in conjunction with the resistance groups are exploring ways to relieve the serious food shortage in Kabul and Jalalabad. Such an airlift would be closely monitored by the U.N. which would be responsible for coordination and distribution of food and relief supplies for threatened populations only.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

All the important issues might be discussed at an international conference on the future of Afghanistan. Such a conference might be useful in bringing together the international community and resistance parties, encouraging the growth and development of the interim government, and discussing what kind of transitional or successor government all parties would like to see. The conference need not be a pledging conference per se. However, it would be useful to discuss Afghanistan's reconstruction needs and urge generous international assistance.

REALISM REGARDING OUR POLICY: A FINAL NOTE

The United States must be realistic and recognize that American influence is limited inside Afghanistan and that Afghanistan's complex tribal, ethnic and religious factors cannot be ignored. As Riaz M. Khan, a Pakistani diplomat has pointed out, "Time-tested Afghan traditions and the array of forces in Afghanistan rule out political sur-

vival of any leader seen to be propped up by outside forces."

The optimistic American attitude which holds that whatever government emerges will need aid from the West must be tempered with the fact that four of the seven alliance parties are openly anti-western. Thus the U.S., by providing military assistance to such groups, may have created a monster it will find difficult to tame as the specter of civil war looms before us.

Several months following the Soviet withdrawal, the military stalemate continues with worsening internecine conflict among the resistance. This situation suggests that while Washington should continue to support the resistance, with new emphasis on the regional commanders, it should also actively consider alternatives to a resistance victory. By pursuing solely a military strategy, the political initiative may be passing to Kabul while making it difficult to negotiate a political settlement with the Afghan government and the Soviets. The U.S. must consider using all its diplomatic tools in forcing the Najibullah government from power, including dialogue with tribal chiefs and ex-King Zahir and consultations with Pakistan and Saudi Arabia.

With Soviet withdrawal the stage has been set for a final showdown between the Afghan government and the resistance. However, now the battle lines are less clear. Refugees who once fled Soviet attacks, now flee crossfire between their countrymen. With huge stockpiles of weapons, fierce rivalries and bitter divisions among the resistance groups and local commanders, a resistance victory could lead to civil war. In the final analysis, it is up to the Afghan people to determine their future and bring peace to their devastated land. The United States must use its influence - primarily economic leverage used judiciously - to promote reconciliation and peaceful transition to a stable, broad-based government. Only a political solution will permit over five million Afghan refugees to end their long ordeal and return to their war-torn country and begin reconstruction. ■

Ahead in the Ripon Forum:

- More On Who's Who in the Bush Administration
- Learning From Baltimore's Schools

Give That Plane A Mission!

by Rick Horowitz

Somewhere in the past, I'm betting, you took off. Then you came back down. Did you feel like a million dollars? Maybe. Did you feel like half a billion dollars?! Only if your middle name is Stealth.

The B-2 bomber with the secret identity made its maiden voyage the other day, and after winging through the California skies for a little less than two hours, the accolades came pouring in.

"I'm very, very pleased it got off the ground and landed without incident," said a leading Stealth supporter in Congress.

"The fact that it was an uneventful first flight made it... a success," said the CEO of the firm that built it.

Well, maybe not pouring in. Call it a case of lowered expectations, but you get the feeling the plane didn't have to do very much to do more than enough. And one of the test pilots even reported "it was kinda fun," so that should settle it. Throttle up, right?

Not exactly. Some spoilers in Congress and elsewhere keep raising questions. Just two questions, actually. Question 1: How are we going to pay for it? After all, the Air Force wants 132 of the things, at \$530 million per; that's \$70.2 billion in all (and you know those numbers will be airbone themselves any day now.)

And Question 2: What's it supposed to do? They seem to be having some difficulty, you see, deciding on Stealth's mission. You can't have a plane without a mission, everybody knows that, but nobody's sure what Stealth's mission ought to be. Some people, in fact, are wondering: What if by the time all these Stealths are ready to go out and evade Soviet radar defenses and blow up Soviet missile sites and all -- which is where Stealth's mission seems to be leaning, if only by default -- what if by

Hang a chunk of one of these radar-absorbing babies from your rear-view mirror, and you may never have to worry about speed traps again.

then we're making even nicer with the Soviets than we are already? Wouldn't we have spent all that money for nothing?

Nonsense.

A nation that can recycle beer cans isn't going to let 132 Stealth bombers go to waste. Even if the worst should happen -- even if peace should break out -- there's no way You the Taxpayer won't be getting you money's worth. I mean, I can't do anything to bring down the price of building them, but even I can figure out lots of ways to use an unemployed Stealth once we've got them. For instance?

As a wallhanging -- just the thing for over the mantelpiece.

As a letter opener for oversized envelopes.

As a serving tray at those large outdoors gatherings.

As a training boomerang for athletes on steroids.

As a hot new ride at the amusement park.

As a conference table in the trendiest of offices. How many negotiations have broken down over "the shape of the table?" With Stealth in the middle of your conference room, there'll be enough nooks and crannies to accommodate all sorts of angry factions.

As a goodwill ambassador in the new Air Force p.r. campaign -- "B-2 to Your School." When I was a kid, Indians in native costumes -- Hopi, I think -- used to come to our weekly assembly programs, dance native dances, sell the odd postcard, make new friends. If the Hopi can strut their stuff in Brooklyn, there's no reason the Air Force can't do the same kind of thing all over the

country. Of course, it may be hard to get the plane through those swinging doors in the back of the auditorium; they'd probably want to do it in the schoolyard.

One way or another, though, all those Stealths should be keeping perfectly busy, no matter what. And if a few are still idle somehow? Break them into pieces and sell them off as souvenirs. Sentimental -- wouldn't you want to own a piece of something that once cost a half-billion dollars -- yet practical.

Hang a chunk of one of these radar-absorbing babies from your rear-view mirror, and you may never have to worry about speed traps again. Forget about "Fuzzbusters" -- with Stealth, you'll have the very latest technology.

Outasight!

INTERNS NEEDED

The Ripon Society's Washington headquarters is now accepting applications for internships during the fall and winter months.

Responsibilities include editing, writing, research and conference-planning. If interested, please send resume and one writing sample to:

Bradley E. Kendall
c/o The Ripon Society
6 Library Court S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

KESSLER & ASSOCIATES GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS SPECIALISTS

Richard S. Kessler (202)-547-6808
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Washington, D.C. 20003

Rick Horowitz is a syndicated columnist in Washington, D.C.

The Fall and Rise of Liberal Republicans

"The Decline and Fall of the Liberal Republicans"

By Nicol C. Rae, Oxford University

Press. 273 pp. \$29.95

by Dale Curtis

As one of the younger generation of Ripon activists, I took dubious pleasure in reading what should be a major new book for progressive-minded Republicans: "The Decline and Fall of Liberal Republicans" by Professor Nicol C. Rae of Florida International University.

On the pleasurable side, this is a book I wish I had written: in fact I have researched the subject widely from both a professional and scholarly perspective, and I am familiar with several dozen of the author's many sources. Rae careful-

Surely Rae goes too far, but surely he reflects the state in which we find ourselves.

ly demonstrates how the modern history of liberal Republicanism, which may seem esoteric to most, reflects important trends in society and our political system. At its best, the book reads like a family history, complete with insight about friends and leaders I admire.

On the "dubious" side, however, Professor Rae's work conveys a pejorative attitude toward liberal Republicans which furrowed my brow and reinforced the struggle I have experienced in the liberal Republican community.

Rae's book is a revision of his doctoral dissertation, and it admirably redresses the neglect of the Republican Party in recent American political science and historical writing. Indeed, the GOP in-

fighting which reached its peak in the 1964 presidential campaign is correctly portrayed as the harbinger of today's "new politics." Rae's scope is broad, as he competently explores the party's progressive heritage from the Civil War onward; the lasting impact of the '64 Goldwater movement; the subsequent paradoxes of Richard Nixon; the transformation of the American electoral system since 1968; and the persistence of liberal Republicanism in Congress. The book received favorable, if brief, reviews upon publication, inadvertently underscoring Rae's thesis that the subject is generally ignored.

The very phrase "liberal Republican" will usually elicit a smirk, and most Eighties "liberal Republicans" are more comfortable with the labels "moderate" or "progressive." But whatever your preferred label, the tradition is vivid, and this is where Rae does not so much analyze liberal Republicanism as belittle it. Thus, Eisenhower's "amalgam of progressive rhetoric and stalwart policy merely postponed the fundamental decision" [emphasis added] on the GOP's ideological course. Rae endorses the notion of "me-toosim:" that liberal Republicans were indistinguishable from lukewarm New Dealers or cheap Lyndon Johnsons. He claims the tendency to campaign as "pragmatic, problem-solving reformers who approach problems with an open mind and in an ad-hoc manner" [sound like George Bush?] leaves liberal Republicans open to the charge from conservatives that they lack principle. Throughout, Rae uses terms like "incoherent," "irresolute," "inept," "a vague abstraction." Ripon Republicans might as well as be invisible, "virtually extinct" our constituency "evaporated."

Surely this goes too far, but surely it reflects the state in which we find our-

selves. If I am smarting from Rae's criticism, perhaps it is because he has struck close to the mark. His study has renewed in me the debate over Ripon's chances in the world, and those of moderate/progressive Republicans generally. Sometimes those prospects are frustrating because of the constant demand to raise money, find new faces, and put together coalitions.

Unless Professor Rae possesses clairvoyant powers superior to mine, he has no basis for proclaiming that the liberals' time in national GOP affairs "has definitely passed."

But Rae's book also provides the justification for hope, which he inexplicably tries to crush. Riponers refuse to give up the ghost because doing so would be like giving up on history. In the long history of American politics, factions don't disappear, they metamorphose, sometimes fading from view only to return with a vengeance with new leadership and changing times.

Rae provides the evidence of this himself, in several ways. First, he gives prominent treatment to the cynical intraparty balance between party progressives, descended from anti-slavery Yankees and Theodore Roosevelt; conservative hard-liners, a modern variant of an old breed; and "stalwarts," those viscerally anti-government party loyalists who go with the winners. "In times of normalcy and prosperity," he says, "the stalwart wing usually prevails. In times of social unrest at home and international crisis," such as

Dale E. Curtis is associate editor of the Ripon Forum.

the periods 1901-16 and 1936-68, the liberals gain the upper hand. With such cycles in mind, unless Professor Rae possesses clairvoyant powers superior to mine, he has no basis for proclaiming that the liberals' time in national GOP affairs "has definitely passed."

Second, despite his assertions to the contrary, Professor Rae's book clearly defines a liberal ideology and tradition. Yes, ideology, because although liberal Republicans eschew appeals to "narrow ideology" and prefer a "pragmatic" approach, it is high time we were recognized for possessing a distinctive body of ideas and leaders, consistent throughout history and representative of identifiable demographic groups. From Lincoln and the Founders, we have inherited respect for the entrepreneur, the free man, unfettered and rather en-

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couraged by the state. From Lincoln and TR onward, Rae explains, the party has possessed an "urban, liberal element, conservative in the sense of seeking reform to avoid social conflict, but often radical in its desire to exorcise corruption from government and to promote effective and well-managed public services."

In more recent years, the party was dominated by powerful governors like Thomas Dewey and Nelson Rockefeller of New York, although leaders were spread across the northern tier, the border states, and the West Coast. Twenty-five years ago, in the heat of 1964, liberals were a large and distinct faction and Senator Jacob Javits offered "an eloquent restatement of the Republican progressive tradition in "Order of Battle." The Nixon administration is judged to have "implemented a fair proportion of the Ripon policy agenda," and as recently as 1980, John Anderson pursued what Riponers call the "frontlash vote," the masses of educated, middle

class, "baby boom" voters most concerned about promoting economic growth, protecting the environment, raising educational achievement, and playing a responsible role in the world.

This is not ancient history, nor is it irrelevant to the agenda for the 1990s. Professor Rae oversimplifies his interpretation by joining the short-sighted chorus which tends to see it that way. Eisenhower, Nixon, and perhaps Bush did not postpone a clearer ideological direction as much as they adopted the moderate/liberal heritage of balancing inevitable change against old ideas and habits.

Finally, "Decline and Fall of the Liberal Republicans" acknowledges that today's adherents are richer in ideas than ideological oomph: liberal Republicans' chief problem is "the lack of a viable network of local volunteer organizations to transform liberal Republicanism from a vague abstraction into a national political movement." Elsewhere he adds that the Ripon Society "succeeded as an effective forum for discussion for Republican intellectuals, but the new volunteer-activist politics within the GOP remained the exclusive province of the conservative network."

Ripon is not a political activists' group. But it can serve as a rallying point, recalling our common values and tradition. We should also recognize that any national political resurgence must be the work of countless hundreds of contributors, activists, and leaders at every level.

The first job of those activists will be fighting the sense that we are irrelevant, undefined or "on the fringe." In this regard, what disturbs me most about contemporary politics is the increasingly rigid ideological tests we impose on party nominees. The old metaphor of political parties brokered by the bosses in a process akin to political market research has been replaced by James L. Sundquist's metaphor of terrain to be fought over, with multiple centers of power and contending armies. Republican "liberals" or "moderates," like their counterparts in the Democratic Party, are less motivated by a crusade to persecute opponents for heresy, than by an urge to work out the urgent business of the country. Moderating forces therefore avoid intraparty battle, and the voters turn out in

Rae's book provides the justification for hope, which he inexplicably tries to crush.

smaller and smaller numbers for cardboard candidates whose rhetoric seems irrelevant to the challenges at hand.

This must be seen as a political issue of the utmost importance. Scholars of party "dealignment" have done a spotty job of prescribing reforms intended to restore sense of faith in the system's ability to produce results; "liberal" Republicans are a part of the answer. The American people want a government that is compassionate, but not irresponsible; paternalistic, but not arrogant. Ripon Republicans will continue to lead the way toward those ends, as they have for generations.

By chronicling the troubles of the liberal Republicans in recent American politics, Professor Rae has shown us how the reforms of the '60s and '70s, combined with the onslaught of the new armies from left and right, overwhelmed the minority within a minority. While he has reached some conclusions unsupported by his own evidence, he has inadvertently reinforced this writer's conviction that progressive Republicanism will survive and prosper in the years ahead. ■

Can We Talk?

For future issues, the **Ripon Forum** is seeking to strengthen its role as a "forum" for Ripon Republicans nationwide. We need your letters with reaction to our best and worst features, your views on major issues, your activities to spread the progressive Republican message. The best letters will be printed, subject to editing for considerations of taste, length and appropriateness for the **Ripon Forum** audience.

Peace in the Middle East

by Bill Clinger

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak leaned back in his chair on a porch of his villa overlooking the Mediterranean and said, "I am optimistic about peace and I intend to play an active role in getting other Arab states to make peace with Israel."

This was one of the most interesting

We must continue to urge President Mubarak to get more actively involved in using his position in the Arab League to bring other Arab states to the bargaining table. Mubarak can't wait until Israel has answered all his questions about the future of the West Bank and Gaza.

meetings I and 12 other members of a congressional delegation had during a week long trip to Egypt, Israel, Italy and England in July. This was the second time I had met President Mubarak and my initial impression of him as a forceful, charming and complex man and leader was reconfirmed.

He recognizes that there are some Arab nations which will never make peace with Israel, namely Syria, Libya and Iraq. "They continue to rave about throwing Israel into the sea," he said and continued with laughter, "I tried that three times, where were they then?"

Mubarak has now come to the view that any peace in the Middle East must start with a recognition by Arabs of the permanency of the state of Israel. Mubarak believes he can influence Jor-

dan, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Morocco and others to join with Egypt in making peace with Israel. But he also believes that Israel, in turn, must recognize the reality of the Palestinian Liberation Organization and that any lasting peace can only arise out of negotiation between Israel and the PLO.

We met President Mubarak on a clear, unusually pleasant morning in Alexandria, Egypt. That afternoon we met Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin in his austere office in Tel Aviv and were able to relay the message from President Mubarak to him, as well as to Prime Minister Shamir the next morning. Both welcomed our report of Mubarak's eagerness to be an honest broker for peace but were skeptical of this ability to bring other Arab states to the peace table. Both also continued to flatly rule out any possibility of negotiation with the PLO. In fact, they made no bones about their resentment of American diplomatic contacts with the PLO in Tunis.

Nevertheless, our delegation left the region feeling cautiously optimistic that there was a real potential for progress towards peace in the Middle East. The hopes were dashed the next day when we learned that the prime minister had accepted a number of stringent new conditions to his peace proposal, forced on him by the militant wing of his Likud Party. The conditions make Shamir's proposal clearly unacceptable to the Palestinians.

It is not the first time that hopes of peace in the Middle East have been dashed and it will not be the last. Since returning to the United States, there have been several incidents that have inflamed the area, most notably the recent hostage crisis. Many in the Arab world are angry at Israel's tactic of kidnapping a Mullah to gain the release of captive Israeli soldiers and western hostages. Israel feels that their actions are justified and much milder than those adopted by fanatic Shiites in Lebanon. Everyone is angry the bloodshed continues.

When will the events which work against peace end? I don't know, but I

am convinced that there are actions that the United States can take to help move the process along.

We have a critical role to play in getting the peace process back on track. Both Israel and Egypt are major recipients of U.S. foreign aid. We must use the leverage this gives us to do two things. First, we must continue to urge President Mubarak to get more actively involved in using his position in the Arab League to bring other Arab states to the bargaining table. He can't wait until Israel has answered all of his questions about the future of the West Bank and Gaza. Second, we must strive to get the Israelis to be more flexible in dealing with the Palestinians. And we must continue to make our own assessment of the PLO's sincerity in recognizing Israel's right to exist by continuing to meet with their leaders.

Finally, recent overtures from Iran may indicate that they are willing to es-

We must strive to get the Israelis to be more flexible in dealing with the Palestinians. And we must continue to meet with PLO leaders to test their sincerity towards Israel's right to exist.

tablish better relations with the United States. President Bush must move cautiously, but it is an opportunity he must pursue. A condition to better relations has to be the return of our hostages and if Iran can help in that, we should begin to bridge the chasm that separates us.

Only if we can bring the Israelis and her neighbors to the bargaining table and dilute the destabilizing influence of Iran can peace have a chance to move forward. It's a challenge that we as a nation must rise to meet. ■

Bill Clinger is a member of Congress from Pennsylvania and chairman of the Ripon Society.

WASHINGTON NOTES & QUOTES

New Mission for NATO: From President Bush's May 31 speech at Mainz, West Germany: "Let Europe be whole and free! To the founders of the Alliance, this aspiration was a distant dream. Now it's the new mission of NATO." Bush called for strengthening the Helsinki Accords to promote free elections and political pluralism in Eastern Europe; bringing glasnost to East Berlin; working to reverse the ravages of acid rain; and the most widely publicized suggestion, reaching agreement by early 1990 on deep cuts in conventional weapons based in Europe.

Stealing Environmental Thunder: Bush's initiative to help Eastern Europe fight acid rain only reinforces what this journal has noted for months: Republicans are regaining credibility on environmental protection, especially on acid rain. In July, the president sent Congress his 300-page plan to attack sources of acid rain, smog, and airborne toxic chemicals; White House domestic policy adviser Roger Porter is said to have told other senior officials that he expects no other Bush initiative will be as complex or ambitious as this.

Representative Sherwood Boehlert (R-NY), leader of a pro-environment GOP bloc in the House, was particularly pleased that the administration took his advice to cut problem emissions by about 50% on a ten-year schedule, and cap emissions at the post-compliance level. And while Boehlert and Senator John Chafee (R-RI) said they would seek tighter motor vehicle controls than those sought by the administration, they agreed that harshly critical environmentalist rhetoric could play into the hands of pro-industry voices in the administration.

As the bill was being drafted, according to the **New York Times Magazine**, the conciliatory Environmental Protection Agency administrator, William K. Reilly, was forced to get tough under fire from skeptical White House aides including Budget Director Richard Darman, who reportedly counseled that Bush could never please environmentalists, so why cause such disruption to the economy? After weeks of heated Cabinet-level debate, the **Times** says, "The President chose the most stringent

options -- those advocated by EPA -- on most of the dozens of issues that were on the table." Bush apparently trusts Reilly, and relied on him heavily during the recent "Green Summit" of Western leaders in Paris.

Squeezing Darman: Clever double entendre by Budget Director Darman concerning his ideological stripes: "There's been an evolution in that I was associated with Elliot Richardson and later with James Baker and the Reagan administration, and I'm now associated with George Bush, but I think of myself as just a kid who's growing along." On economic theory, Darman "wouldn't describe myself as a convert [to supply-side economics]. But there are several positions which supply-siders have and which I share...I've never put a label on myself, and I've always resisted people putting labels on me... When I think things through, I think I might call myself a future-oriented conservative."

Darman and his boss are rumored to be considering securing a 1991 budget agreement with Congress as early as this fall, to avert an election-year debate and reassure financial markets. Congress may find it easier to read Bush's lips if they read a new book by liberal economist Robert Heilbroner, "The Debt and the Deficit: False Alarms/Real Possibilities," which argues that the deficit is greatly overexaggerated due to "antiquated" accounting methods.

Defense Cuts No Economic Panacea: Economist Robert J. Samuelson dampens enthusiasm that cuts in U.S. military spending could occur quickly, and counsels that within the context of a \$5 trillion economy, politically conceivable cuts would have only modest effects. Samuelson says Gordon Adams and David Gold of the Defense Budget Project in Washington reviewed dozens of studies and concluded: "The U.S. economy is a large one, not easily driven or undermined by the relatively small share GNP attributable to defense."

Samuelson notes that policies aimed at one percent annual productivity increase would equal about \$50 billion a year in higher GNP, easily dwarfing the benefits of any potential defense cuts.

Under New Management: Energy

Secretary James D. Watkins, condemning the mess he inherited from Ronald Reagan and several caretaker secretaries, says "...years of inattention to changing standards and demands regarding the environment, safety and health are vividly exposed to public examination, almost daily. I am certainly not proud or pleased with what I have seen over my first few months in office."



Representative Sherwood Boehlert

Watkins has initiated an accelerated cleanup of nuclear weapons plants (all of which are shut down for safety reasons) and formulation of coherent national energy policy. While Watkins and George Bush favor nuclear power, Watkins has clearly indicated further development will depend on greater attention to safety. The secretary has also expressed a desire to avert the "global warming" trend and encourage solar and renewable energy sources.

Toward a Broader-Based Party: The Christian Science Monitor reports that of Bush's 303 presidential staff selections that require Senate approval, 62 so far (about 20 percent) are women. That's a better record than Ronald Reagan ever achieved and it's closing in on Jimmy Carter's record of 72 women named in 1980. A Georgetown University expert on presidential appointments says the new regime "certainly looks a lot less white male than previous groups."

And massive praise met Bush's appointment of General Colin Powell to be chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. A four-star general and former national security advisor to President Reagan (he replaced Iran-contra-tainted Admiral John Poindexter), Powell would be the first black to hold the nation's top

military job. Perhaps by 1992 Bush could persuade him to join his national ticket as vice-president.

Reform Congress Now: Columnist David Broder cites a remark by Representative Lynn Martin of Illinois: "If one party had controlled the White House for 34 years, as the Democrats have controlled the House of Representatives, that fact -- and its implications for our democracy -- would be the topic of 90 percent of the books, articles, essays, columns and editorials about the political system." She is right." Broder notes that the familiar practices in Congress -- honorariums, PACs, and other incumbent advantages -- deter challengers and leave exposure of abuse to the press. In short, "the whole congressional environment is distorted and corrupted by the rush of money into a rigid and uncompetitive political system."

Along those lines, House GOP leaders plan another offensive this fall against rules that effectively bend parliamentary procedure to the Democrats' electoral purposes; President Bush in June offered a campaign finance reform package that made Democratic incumbents howl. Among other details, his proposal would ban corporate, union and trade association political action committees; scale back contributions from ideological PACs; more than double what political parties can give candidates; trim the franking privilege; and prohibit the rollover of excess campaign funds.

The Campaign Trail: In Illinois, Representative Lynn Martin fulfilled the hopes of many Republicans by announcing on June 22 that she will run in 1990 for the Senate seat held by Democrat Paul Simon. Martin's raspy-voiced candor and Lincoln-esque wit has made her a favorite for reporters; the Ripon Society honored her in 1988 along with Wyoming Senator Alan Simpson in a "Salute to Humor in American Politics."

A former schoolteacher, Martin was elected in 1980 to succeed Representative John B. Anderson (the lone progressive that year in the GOP presidential primaries), and has served in the House GOP leadership, and the powerful Budget, Armed Services, and Rules Committees. On the issues, she sorts out somewhere between Anderson and her mentor, fellow Illinoisan and House Republican Bob Michel. Martin

is pro-choice on abortion, a vocal advocate of women in the workplace, a "moderate" hawk on defense, and a tough fiscal conservative.

President Bush reportedly dissuaded Chicago businessman Gary MacDougal from challenging Ms. Martin in the GOP primary, but some say she could have used the publicity. What name identification she enjoys outside her congressional district may spring from a gaffe in which she suggested that voters who oppose her because she is from northern Illinois or a woman are "redneck."

Lynn Martin's raspy-voiced candor and Lincoln-esque wit has made her a favorite for reporters.

In New Jersey's off-year gubernatorial race, GOP candidate U.S. Rep. Jim Courter, a staunch right-to-lifer, has said he would not introduce any legislation to restrict abortion in the wake of the Supreme Court's Webster decision, and that he did not think a "consensus" existed to change the status quo in New Jersey. That statement, combined with Courter's decision to name a pro-choice woman as the new state party chair, may lead furious pro-life Republicans to abandon Courter in November.

Ironically, as columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak point out, Courter's Democratic opponent, U.S. Representative Jim Florio, was until the 1970s a volunteer in the Right-to-Life Speaker's Bureau. Today he is uncompromising advocate of the choice position.

Republican strategists, who know the New Jersey race will be the earliest, most intensely watched test of the political impact of Webster, are emphasizing Florio's links to the corrupt Camden County Democratic machine and his ultraliberal record on Capitol Hill. Retiring Governor Tom Kean defeated Florio for the statehouse in 1981, and has delivered an impressive comeback for the state.

And in Massachusetts, where Governor Michael Dukakis has seen his popularity plummet even faster than his state's bond rating, Bay Staters see the first chance for a GOP statehouse win since 1970. As reported elsewhere in

this issue, White House aide Andrew Card, a Bush favorite, has indicated he will not seek the gubernatorial nomination, clearing a path for William Weld, the former U.S. attorney and chief of the Justice Department's criminal division. Weld quit the department last year in disgust over ethical transgressions by then-Attorney General Edwin Meese.

Ripon News: The Society has been busy this summer sponsoring Washington seminars on health care and international trade. Speakers for the health care breakfasts were Senators John Heinz (R-PA) and Arlen Specter (R-PA), and Representatives Nancy Johnson (R-CT) and Tom Tauke (R-IA). Each speaker is a member of the Society's advisory board and a key legislator on health care issues.

The international trade breakfast series included as speakers Senator Frank Murkowski (R-AK); Ambassador Julius Katz, deputy U.S. trade representative; Representative Bill Frenzel (R-MN); and Franklin Vargo, Commerce Department deputy assistant secretary for Europe.

The Society is now planning seminars for the fall on environmental and transportation issues. Similarly, the Boston Ripon chapter, under the guidance of newly-elected chapter president John Sears and treasurer Arthur George, is planning an environmental conference for late fall. The Boston chapter held an informal gathering on July 26, which followed earlier meetings this spring.

The Hawaii Ripon chapter, as well as the Honolulu Press Club, heard from Ripon Society president Mark Uncapher on June 2. Uncapher addressed the Honolulu Press Club on the theme of progressive Republican values. As the **Honolulu Star-Bulletin** reported, Uncapher said of the GOP: "We need to be an open coalition. We can't afford an ideological dispute - we are a minority party. There is a role for issues and ideas, however. The process of building a successful party should put all Republicans on common ground." Hawaii Ripon chapter president Masu Dyer deserves much credit for organizing Uncapher's visit, as well as maintaining the Hawaii Ripon chapter, which is comprised of a number of local leaders.

Ripon Society National Membership Information Form

Occupation

Education/Affiliations

Political Experience

Research Interests

The Ripon Society solicits new and creative views and ideas on public policy.

WHAT OTHERS HAVE TO SAY ABOUT THE RIPON SOCIETY

“ Our party and our nation are stronger and more just today because of your accomplishments.”

Charles McC. Mathias
U.S. Senator

“ The Ripon Society...has the ability to think and ask the right questions.”

*San Francisco Examiner
& Chronicle*

“ [The *Forum* is] required reading for progressive Republicans.”

Time Magazine

“ The Ripon Society is very much in the mainstream tradition of the Republican Party.”

David S. Broder
Syndicated Columnist

“ [The Ripon Society is] positioning itself to be the voice of the Party's future.”

The Boston Globe

The Ripon Society

The ideas
that gave birth
to the Republican
Party are still
alive today...

THE RIPON SOCIETY is a progressive Republican research and policy organization that takes its name from Ripon, Wisconsin, the birthplace of the Republican Party. Founded in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1962, and now headquartered in Washington, D.C., Ripon has members and chapters throughout the 50 states.

THE RIPON AGENDA is the agenda of Abraham Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt. The Society is dedicated to upholding the beliefs and commitments that gave birth to the Republican Party and guided its development. These commitments are clear:

- An economy based on free enterprise
- A strong national defense
- Wise use of environmental resources
- Limited but compassionate government
- Peaceful solutions to world problems
- Women's and civil rights
- Social justice

Ripon sponsors annual issue seminars, develops policy initiatives, and publishes the *Ripon Forum*, a political magazine noted for its journalistic quality and incisive commentary.

THE RIPON SOCIETY seeks to create a strong Republican Party to represent the broad mainstream of the American electorate, to develop within the Party a vision for the future, and to nurture creative new ideas within the ranks of Ripon members and all who share similar beliefs.

We believe the Republican Party has an obligation to face today's problems with fresh and innovative solutions within a framework of fiscal responsibility and po-

litical courage. We believe in intellectual and social tolerance, and we are convinced that a viable political party must reflect the rich and vibrant diversity of the American people.

THE SOCIETY'S MISSION is the realization of progressive Republican goals through public policy development and education, reports and commentary in the pages of the *Ripon Forum*, and the support of the political programs of like-minded organizations.

THE RIPON SOCIETY is the leading progressive Republican organization, and our ideas have helped set the agenda for the Republican Party. Our magazine provides an important forum for the debate over the future of the GOP. Your support of the Society ensures the continuation of thoughtful, constructive, progressive public policy on behalf of women and minorities, world peace and the environment.

THE RIPON SOCIETY is the free enterprise system at its best. Ripon supports itself on membership dues, subscriptions to the *Ripon Forum*, fundraising events, and contributions from individuals who support its philosophy and programs.

If you believe in the importance of political ideas, if you support responsible Republican leadership, then join the Ripon Society today. Continued progress on the Ripon agenda requires continued support from Ripon members and others who seek progressive public policies.

To help us provide you with information that best suits your interests, please mark the appropriate box(es), and detach and return the form to Ripon.

THE RIPON SOCIETY RESPONSE FORM

- I would like to join Ripon. Enclosed is my check for \$25 to pay for my membership and a subscription to the *Ripon Forum*.
- Enclosed is my contribution of ____\$35, ____\$50, ____\$75, ____\$100 to help further the Ripon cause.
- I'm interested in joining a Ripon Chapter in my area. Please tell me whom to contact.
- Please send me a complimentary issue of the *Ripon Forum*.

MEMBERSHIP/REQUEST FORM

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Telephone (H) _____

(O) _____

The Ripon Society
6 Library Court, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

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Ripon Society National Membership Information Form

Occupation

Education/Affiliations

Political Experience

Research Interests

The Ripon Society solicits new and creative views and ideas on public policy.

WHAT OTHERS HAVE TO SAY ABOUT THE RIPON SOCIETY

“ Our party and our nation are stronger and more just today because of your accomplishments.”

Charles McC. Mathias
U.S. Senator

“ The Ripon Society...has the ability to think and ask the right questions.”

*San Francisco Examiner
& Chronicle*

“ [The *Forum* is] required reading for progressive Republicans”

Time Magazine

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