

The RIPON FORUM

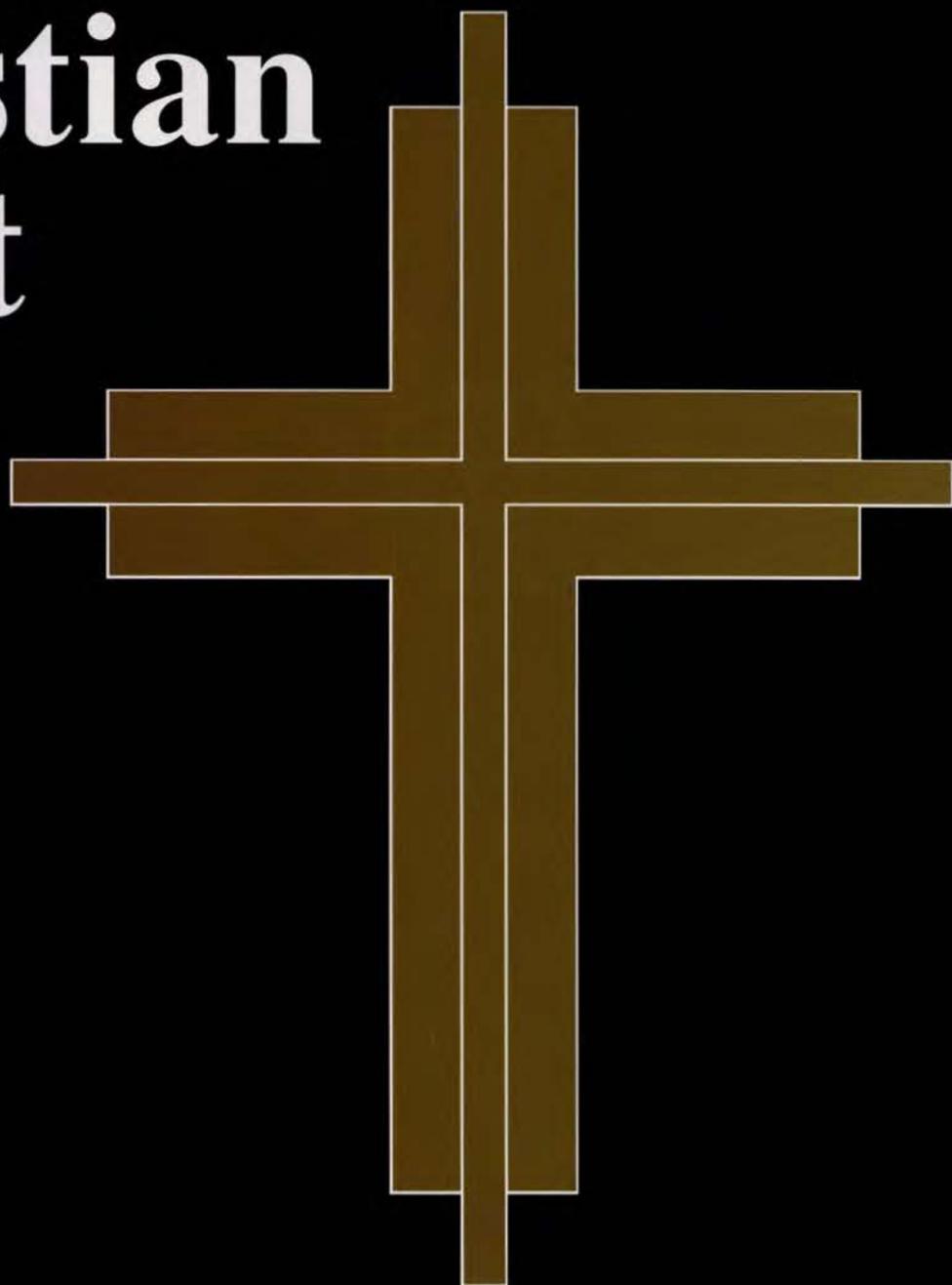
Vol. XXVIII, No. 4

November/December 1992

The Christian Right

*And the future
of the
Republican Party*

BY
MARVIN LIEBMAN



The AIDS Funding Feud

Many Americans have had family members and friends who have died of cancer. There is probably not one of us who hasn't been close to someone that has had to endure the slow, debilitating and painful effects of this wretched disease. At present, cancer claims over 500,000 lives per year.

At the same time, acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) is no less debilitating or painful. It has struck 230,179 people so far, and it is estimated that over a million more Americans are infected with HIV, the virus believed to cause AIDS.

The contentious issue surrounding this epidemic is money and whether the government should spend more, the same, or less on AIDS as we spend to find the cure for cancer.

"Never in my entire career in public health service has anyone ever said that we could be spending too much money to fight a disease," said Rayford Kytte, spokesman for the U.S. Public Health Service. "AIDS is seriously one of the most controversial diseases ever."

In the 1980s, when all seemed financially well, the demand for government dollars was not as great nor as difficult. Yet now it is the 1990s, with the reality of a \$4 trillion debt quickly sinking in, and we are all more wary and more critical of federal spending.

The government spends more than \$2 billion a year on AIDS and cancer research. Both are slated for increases. Yet, the feud for funds lies in the fact that AIDS claims less lives per year than cancer — almost 450,000 less.

Cancer kills more people every six weeks than AIDS is projected to kill this year. More people died in auto accidents last year than died from AIDS. The same number committed suicide.

Right now, the Center for Disease Control estimates that there are more than 1 million people infected with HIV, and of that number, 215,000 will probably die in the next three years. Cancer will kill more than 1.5 million people in the same time period.

While these statistics may lead one to believe that we might be spending too much on AIDS, factors such as "potential life years lost" are not taken into account when figuring these gruesome death tolls. Unless you look at the right statistics, "you really don't see that AIDS is killing our young people,"

“
Never in my entire career in public health service has anyone ever said that we could be spending too much money to fight a disease... AIDS is seriously one of the most controversial diseases ever.
”

Kytte said.

Because we have been fighting cancer for almost 20 years longer, Kytte said calculations for both diseases vary during comparisons. What is not considered is that most people are struck by cancer much later in their lives. Many cancer victims live past the age of 65 whereas nearly 85 percent of all new AIDS cases are diagnosed in people between the ages of 25 and 50. More specifically, in 1993 AIDS will cost more "lost years of life" than its previous leading killer, heart disease.

In 1982, AIDS approached the top of the list as the leading cause of death of men between the ages of 25 and 44. Now in 1992, AIDS has climbed past other infectious diseases, as well as cancer and heart disease, and is only surpassed as a killer by accidents, drunk driving and other like injuries for these young men. The situation is no better for young women for whom AIDS is the fifth leading killer.

So while some may think we are spending too much money on a disease that claims less lives, there is no excuse to underfund a plague that is claiming the lives of our nation's young people.

Let's put aside our pious musings and start understanding the ramifications of an epidemic out of control.

We have waited too long to stop judging people, now it's our time to save them. ■

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**The RIPON
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**The “radical right”
is trying to change
the Republican
Party and make it a
party of white male,
pro-life, evangelical
Christians. Real
Republicans think
they are wrong.**

BY MARVIN LIEBMAN

CHRISTIAN RIGHT

T*he 1992 Republican Convention in Houston bears comparison to the 1960 Republican Convention in Chicago.*

In 1960, the moderate mainstream of the Party was under attack from the extreme right of that time, the John Birch Society under the leadership of Robert Welch.

Now, some 32 years later, Republican moderates face a new onslaught by the extremist right – the much more sophisticated and dangerous Christian Coalition led by Pat Robertson and his allies, Phyllis Schlafly and Patrick Buchanan.

Today, the issues have a
religious/moral/Christian bent
as fundamentalists on the right attempt to
dictate the moral compass of the nation.



Already, the 1992 Christian right has succeeded far beyond the dreams of their earlier counterparts. They have dictated the language of the major parts of the 1992 GOP Platform, including calling for a constitutional ban on all abortions, demanding financial subsidies for religious and other private schools, singling out lesbian and gay Americans for vilification, and ending federal support for whatever they deem to be "blasphemous art."

They have set the tone of the presidential campaign through the wide media coverage of their dominant and extremist role at the Houston convention.

In 1960, the John Birch Society had become a major political force in the Republican Party by utilizing the banner and rhetoric of anti-communism. Robert Welch had gone so far as to convince his followers that then President Dwight D. Eisenhower was a "conscious agent of the Soviet Union" and that the country was in imminent danger of a communist takeover with the full compliance of the White House.

Even within the Party's leadership, Welch exerted power through inciting fear of the communist menace in the public arena and by the political blackmail learned from his admiring study of the career of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

The Birchers were attempting to revive and mobilize those elements of the American right which had been quieted by the advent of the new conservative philosophy advocated by William F. Buckley Jr. and his colleagues in the pages of *National Review*.

Buckley effectively stilled the organized anti-semites, racists, know-nothings, Ku Kluxers and

other groups of America's far right. He had covered them with the great stone of philosophical conservatism under which they wriggled ineffectively. But Welch was attempting to lift that stone and unleash all that was covered.

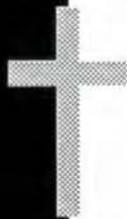
It is important to note that it was Buckley who first focused his public's attention on the dangers posed by the Birchers to the Republican Party, the growing conservative movement, and to the nation. Buckley acted against the advice of many of his Republican colleagues who believed there might be some political advantage in dealing with the John Birch Society.

Today, the Republican Party is besieged again, but the issues employed by the extreme right are different. In 1960, the issues were clearly temporal and emerged from clear differences over the nation's course on topics such as national defense and foreign policy. Misguided though Welch was, he at least was arguing about things that could and should be controlled politically.

Today, the issues have a religious/moral/Christian bent as fundamentalists on the right attempt to dictate the moral compass of the nation, using political power and the weapons of government to achieve ends that their prayers have not achieved. They are seeking to impose their own version of the Kingdom of God on America through the Republican Party.

The self-styled "Christian" right's Pat Robertson has replaced Robert Welch. His bully-boy, Pat Buchanan, is vying to replace the late Joe McCarthy. Phyllis Schlafly, too, has carved out

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CHRISTIAN RIGHT

RIGHT *continued from previous page*

her own peculiar niche in the trinity. The divisions of 1960 are relatively minuscule as compared to the choices facing Republicans and America in the current climate of intimidation, fear and threats of "a religious and cultural war" against a vague foe defined as "anti-Christian."

Using his well-organized Christian Coalition as the vehicle for the takeover of the GOP, Pat Robertson declares he will spend at least \$13 million dollars this year. In the 1992 election, he has employed computerized direct mail and telephone banks, a precinct-by-precinct voter registration in churches and the distribution of some 40 million "Christian" voter guides.

He is completely candid about his objectives: Robertson wants to elect "pro-family Christians" to Congress and to achieve "working" control of the Republican Party by the 1996 elections.

The logistical sophistication of the effort is heralded by the Christian Coalition's Executive Director, Ralph Reed, Jr. who boasts that "this will be the most effective coordinated activity by evangelical Christians that we've ever seen" easily outpacing Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority that was so helpful in electing Ronald Reagan in 1980.

The Christian Coalition claims 350,000 active members in 49 states. It is now aggressively supporting measures against constitutional rights for gays and lesbians in Oregon, Colorado and Maine. It is working to defeat an amendment to the Iowa State Constitution that would give women the same constitutional rights as the men of that state.

In a recent fundraising letter to fight this Iowa amendment, Pat Robertson wrote some words that

have already become part of American political folklore. Passage of the Iowa Equal Rights Amendment, he wrote, would advance "a feminist agenda ... that would encourage women to leave their husbands, kill their children, practice witchcraft, destroy capitalism and become lesbians."

His rhetoric continued from the podium at the GOP convention in Houston when he said that unless America returns to "her Christian roots ... she will continue to legalize sodomy, slaughter innocent babies, destroy the minds of her children, squander her resources and sink into oblivion."

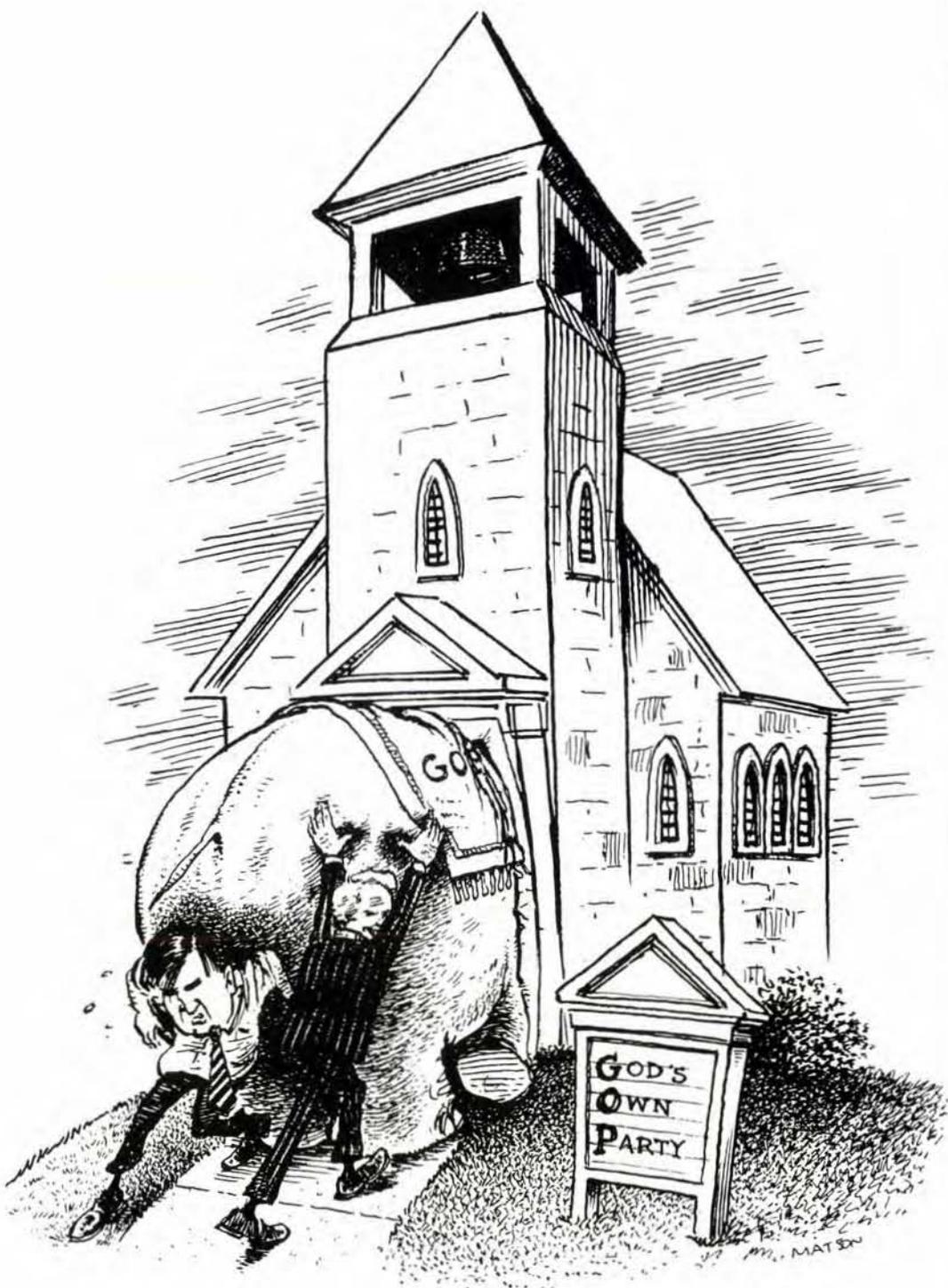
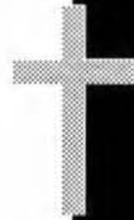
The Convention podium became the pulpit from which Pat Buchanan declared the Republican Party to be in a "religious" and "cultural war" with the "cultural elite" and presumably any other American who dared to disagree with him or who was not a member of his 1950's Ozzie-and-Harriet version of the traditional American family or who was not Christian or who, horror of horrors, was a gay or lesbian.

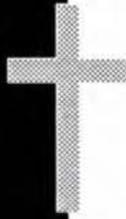
A few weeks after listening to the remarks made by Robertson and Buchanan at the Convention, President George Bush gave the Christian Coalition his public support by being the guest of honor at their conference in Virginia Beach, Virginia.

President Bush opened his remarks to the assembled multitude, actively planning to take over his Party, by effusively declaring his "joy" at being there and piously noting the word "God" had not been cited in the Democrats' platform.

It is this constant talk of "Christian" this and "Christian" that which is so ominous and worri-

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CHRISTIAN RIGHT

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some to so many Americans. Can they not see that there are millions of mainstream Christians and non-Christians in the United States – Jews, Bhuddists, Moslems, Taoists, agnostics and atheists?

Are the only family values Christian ones? What about Jewish family values? African-American family values? Gay and lesbian family values? Single parent family values? When the Christian Coalition takes over the Party, who will be in? Who will be out? And who will decide?

The *deja vu* is now complete. The new extremists have included their agenda in the 1992 Republican Party Platform, and they are beginning to take over the Party itself with the seemingly acquiescent approval of the desperate, frightened Bush/Quayle leadership.

Pat Robertson has said, "We want ... as soon as possible, to see a working majority of the Republican Party in the hands of pro-family Christians by 1996." He will succeed unless radical steps are taken by those who remain in the Party and hold fast to the philosophical heritage of Abraham Lincoln, Gifford Pinchot, Theodore Roosevelt, Robert Taft, Dwight Eisenhower, Barry Goldwater and Nelson Rockefeller.

As honorable men and women, there is no way we can remain in a "Christian only" Republican Party under the leadership of the Christian right's Robertson, Buchanan and Schlafly.

If the GOP national ticket is defeated in November, this may represent an opportunity for the Republican Party to go back to its moderate and conservative roots. However, if the party's ma-

chinery is seized by the extremist right, the GOP could lose whatever support it has, or hopes to have, from moderate Republicans, independents and conservative Democrats.

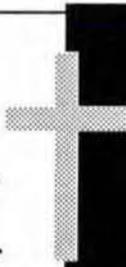
Without that coalition, we can never hope to win. If we are to regain the trust and support of that coalition, we must work to insure that the Republican Party becomes again what it was before; a home for those who support individual rights, balanced budgets, entrepreneurial vigor and limited role for government.

Following a George Wallace pattern, it is possible that the extremist right will seek a new power base from which they can control absolutely without any of the niceties required by a traditional political party.

After November, the Republican Party may be rid of the new right or it may be the beginning of a war for control of the GOP between the new right and mainstream Republicans. If this is the case, one can count on the extremists to fight for a party that is a refuge for white, rich, Christian men who see any sign of diversity as a threat not only to its economic well-being, but to the country's eternal soul. Their focus should be directed toward their churches, not on their country's political institutions which have flourished for over two-hundred years without any religious tests.

Moderate Republicans and true conservatives must forge an alliance to defeat the theocrats and rebuild the party to stand for tolerance, liberty and justice for all.

To accomplish this, new leadership for our party and the values and ideals it truly represents must be found to take us from the trials of 1992 to victory in 1996. We have a great pool of talented



Robertson wants to elect “pro-family Christians” to Congress and to achieve “working” control of the Republican Party by the 1996 elections.

and charismatic individuals from which to choose – William Weld, Warren Rudman, Jack Kemp, and a host of others who will emerge as our party again becomes the Big Tent, the party of inclusion.

The Republic has been able to survive much worse than Bill Clinton and, if he wins, we will survive his administration for four years.

Indeed, the Republican Party will grow stronger than ever and be the authentic centrist party it was meant to be, representing the aspirations of the American people as we really are and not as we are seen by Pat Robertson.

If, however, the Robertson/Buchanan forces don't accept the true diversity of the GOP, many Republicans will consider organizing a new Republican Party, a modern progressive “Bull Moose” Party, which could field the type of moderate and centrist candidates which the American people will gratefully accept by 1996.

What might emerge is a three-party race in 1996 – an extremist party of the right led by Robertson/Buchanan and company; a Democrat Party driven farther to the left by the particular political phenomenon that seems to infect the Democrats each time they win an electoral victory; and a New Republican Party that will at last express the philosophy of the majority of the American electorate, fiscal conservatism and social liberty.

Many Republicans have long cultivated the conservative vineyards of the Republican Party, compelled by opposition to the Communist threat and support for individual rights.

Today, with the demise of the Soviet empire and the rise of the radical right, true conservatives have found a closer tie with moderate Republicans

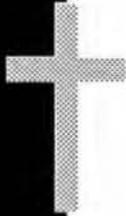
than with those on the right and their fundamentalist allies.

Together, true conservatives can forge a new political alliance that can save the Republican Party, and, failing that, possibly create a powerful new voice in American politics, a New Republican Party committed to individual rights, free enterprise, a strong defense, tolerance of those who are different from ourselves and a renewed commitment to embracing the rich diversity of American life.

Lincoln wrote in the early years of the Republican Party that “as our case is new, we must think anew ... we must disenthral ourselves.”

Today, as the Robertsons, Schlaflys and Buchanans seek to rewrite the history and the future of the Grand Old Party, we have enormous work to do. The organization of a revitalized and renewed political party is, to many, a radical suggestion. But with the possible election of a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress, our country demands a counter-force that is strong enough to hold the center. ■

Marvin Liebman helped found and nurture the conservative wing of the Republican Party. In his book Coming Out Conservative (Chronicle Books, 1992), he details his struggles in the conservative movement and the process by which he came to terms with his own homosexuality. While still conservative, he deplores the recent Republican trend towards xenophobia and believes that the GOP should become the “big tent” that embodies true conservatism. He lives and works in Washington, D.C.



CHRISTIAN RIGHT

Inside the Christian Coalition A Republican Trojan Horse?

By David A. Fuscus

As Republicans begin the process of planning for the 1996 presidential election, many are concerned over the ascension to prominence by the Religious Right and the enormous influence they exerted over this year's race for the White House.

Many in America have dismissed the Religious Right with a passing thought of Jerry Falwell and his now defunct Moral Majority.

After the 1988 presidential defeat of Pat Robertson, the public humiliation of the Rev. Jim Bakker and Jimmy Swaggert and the exposure of notorious fundraising schemes of many fundamentalists, millions of Americans think the political involvement of born again Christians to be no more than a brief page of completed American history.

If mainstream voters consider the Religious Right at all, it's only briefly as the channels blip by when one searches for the latest episode of *Star Trek*.

But, as the little girl in *Poltergeist II* so eloquently said, "Theeey're Baack!"

RISING FROM THE POLITICAL ASHES

Since Pat Robertson picked up the Bible he set down to run for president in 1988, he has organized one of the largest and most effective grassroots political organizations in modern history.

Using the organization that he built in his presidential run, Robertson founded the Christian Coalition as a nominally bipartisan group dedicated to educating voters.

This group has an estimated budget of \$13 million per year and Pat Robertson recently boasted on NBC's *Meet the Press* that they have "chapters in about 48 states, we have probably 350,000 members... but we will have 600 chapters... by the end of the year." Twenty states have chapters in

every county.

The Christian Coalition is dedicated to forcing an evangelical social agenda on the American public and have chosen the Republican Party as their vehicle to achieve this end. Over the past four years, they've worked to gain control of the GOP on a county by county, state by state basis.

And while only they know the true extent of their penetration into the party, their influence at this year's Republican National Convention was remarkable.

One poll conducted of delegates showed that 42 percent of those attending identified themselves as evangelical Christians.

There is no question that the Christian Coalition has been successful, mainly because their techniques are pragmatic and technically advanced.

In internal party elections, primaries and general elections, the sophisticated prowess of the Coalition can be devastatingly effective.

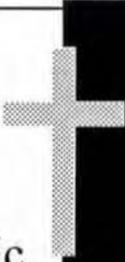
Using technically advanced computers and software, they can identify voters sympathetic to their agenda and generate custom designed mail and "voter guides" to ensure they will be at the polls.

One reason for the relative ignorance of most Americans is that a conscious decision was made not to seek publicity, quite unlike Jerry Falwell's noted taste for press time in the middle '80s.

The executive director of the Christian Coalition, Ralph Reed, has a favorite motto that he's only just begun to use in the press: "We fly below the radar."

And that they do.

Reed's low flying legions aren't being noticed, but they are busy getting themselves elected to GOP party positions on a local level, running for national delegate slots and working for right wing



The Christian Coalition is dedicated to forcing an evangelical social agenda on the American public and they have chosen the Republican Party as their vehicle to achieve this end.

conservatives in Republican primary races.

In this year's California primary, the defeat of moderate candidate Tom Campbell by right-winger Bruce Herschensohn was accomplished with the dedicated work of thousands of Christian Coalition members.

They already control the state party organizations in Oregon, Minnesota, Iowa, Texas and almost a dozen other states.

For example, even though Minnesota is one of the most moderate states in the Union and has long been noted for the distinguished liberals that it sends to Congress, all 32 of this year's delegates to the Republican National Convention were pro-life, some of them militantly so.

The reason for this is that members of the Religious Right led by Pat Robertson's followers have complete control of the state Republican party, a feat accomplished by four years of grassroots precinct work and the complete alienation of Republican moderates and mainline conservatives.

In Minnesota, as in many other states, Religious Right convention delegates were elected after the Coalition analyzed the often byzantine rules governing the convention process in all fifty states and used them to elect their representatives.

THE PRESS AND PAT ROBERTSON

The national press is finally starting to take a look at the Christian Coalition and turn the eye of public scrutiny upon them. However, it was only in September that the *Washington Post* published a front page article probing into the Coalition and their tax status.

National political commentators also are starting to look at the Religious Right with a new interest. Morton M. Kondracke of the McLaughlin Group recently wrote in *Roll Call*, "a new genera-

tion of evangelical and hardline conservative leaders... intend to take control of state party organizations if they can, and will try to combine with old Reaganites' to elect a new RNC chairman to their liking."

The nation's journalists have never been friends of the Religious Right, but as their influence and power grows, this is not viewed as an unsurmountable problem.

Besides his involvement with the Christian Coalition, Rev. Robertson is also making a full scale attempt to move into mainstream journalism. He tried to buy United Press International several months ago and recently said, "I have two television networks, I have three radio news networks, I'm starting standard news. I have 50 reporters right now working for me."

On many levels, the Christian Coalition and the Religious Right have reason to be optimistic; moderate Republicans show few signs of rising to oppose them and the right wing conservatives long ago formed a mutually productive alliance with them.

The godfather of the New Right, Paul Weyrich of the Free Congress Foundation, is a key ally and typifies the support the New Right shows for their evangelical bretheren.

Together they are working to build a political organization that can control the Republican Party and nominate a right wing/evangelical candidate for the presidential race in 1996.

With the advent of the Religious Right's new found technical and organizational sophistication, it seems probable that they may achieve Pat Robertson's goal of having a "Christian in the White House" by the end of the decade. ■

David A. Fuscus is editor of The Ripon Forum.

Platform Foolery

When Lincoln said at Gettysburg, "The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here," he could well have been referring to political party platforms. After all, party platforms generate a little news for a few days every four years but are little noted nor long remembered after the convention balloons have popped.

To be sure, party platforms are important and necessary documents – the fruits of sometimes torturous negotiations among warring party factions on delicate and controversial issues – outlining what a party says it stands for and where it proposes to take the country in the future.

But it would be naive to suggest that platforms are anything but self-promoting manifestos; cleverly crafted by leading policy wonks to position the party on the "correct" side of each issue. To rely on a Republican platform for an objective analysis of Democratic policies and programs would be a little like relying on Saddam Hussein to decide when it was okay for U.N. peacekeeping forces to leave Iraq.

While the economy can be blamed for much of the volatility of the small Bush/Quayle post-convention bounce in the polls, an examination of the 1992 Republican Party platform, amid comparisons to some past GOP platforms, might help explain the party's lackluster standing in the polls this year.

LONGER ISN'T NECESSARILY BETTER

Weighing in at almost half a pound, the current Republican platform is first and foremost a legitimate contender for the Mother of all Platforms. This approximately 50,000-word verbal behemoth has something to say about everything, including the Bush Administration's reforestation drive which, thoughtfully, is aimed at planting a billion trees a year across America. Those trees will be urgently needed unless we can curb our appetite for such overwriting.

But let's start at the beginning: even the two pages of fine print which comprise the preamble to the 1992 GOP platform is longer than the party's *entire* platform of 1868, which was simple, direct, and brief. That year, Civil War hero Gen. Ulysses S. Grant won the Republican nomination by acclamation and was elected to the first of two terms in the White House.

Does everything except the kitchen sink have to be in a

By Harry Phillips

Harry Phillips is a freelance writer who lives in Washington.

party's platform?

For instance, why is it necessary to include a statement in the current Republican platform commending President Bush's efforts to end the U.N.'s occupation of the tiny Pacific island of Palau?

One needn't take a giant leap of faith to confidently suggest that most politicians, much less American voters, could never point out Palau on a map if they wanted to.

But another, larger problem with the platform, is that the good news is buried on the equivalent of a newspaper's obituary pages.

WHERE'S THE BEEF?

The Republican message ---the "vision thing"--- got lost in this linguistic jungle; obliterated by harsh attacks on Democrats and the failure to adequately address the concerns of the voters in this election season.

Pollsters have been telling us that the economy, and to a lesser extent, the federal deficit, are the single most important voter issues this year and the major driving forces among supporters of independent candidate Ross Perot. The economy is perhaps the single biggest election year issue since the debate over the Vietnam War.

But the word "deficit" is mentioned only five times near the middle of the platform, in milquetoast references like "as the deficit comes under control," and there is but one fleeting reference to the worst economic environment since World War Two: "the United States has been affected by downturns elsewhere."

The Bush Administration should have heralded the lowest inflation in 30 years and a 15-point drop in interest rates, yet, one must wade through 25 pages of verbiage touting family and cultural values before stumbling across these statistics.

Similarly, the message that the Bush Administration wanted to give voters lots of cash – mortgage revenue bonds, a \$5,000 tax credit for first-time home buyers, penalty-free IRA withdrawals, a \$500 increase in the personal exemption, a \$500-per-child expansion of the Young Child Tax Credit, larger tax deductions for married couples and a 15 percent reduction in the capital gains tax, is so spread out in the platform as to dilute their combined significance.

While the good stuff is buried, some very bad news – that taxes now gobble up more than one-third of family income – is highlighted on page six.

No matter that the hideous Democrats are blamed for this

outrage, the worst thing one should remind economy-on-the-brain taxpayers before they walk into a voting booth is that this occurred, at least partially, on the 12-year Republican watch.

THE "KISS" RULE

The "KISS" Rule (Keep-It-Simple-Stupid) was invented to help political propagandists stay focused on the message. One of the primary criticisms of the White House and Bush-Quayle campaign operations this year has been that the message just isn't getting out to the public. One might think the following passage from the 1992 GOP platform was written by the late Issac Asimov as opposed to some zealous young Republican:

"Our opponents declared that the dogmas of the Left were the final and victorious faith. From kremlins and ivory towers, their planners proclaimed the bureaucratic millennium. But in a tragic century of illusion, Five Year Plans and Great Leaps Forward failed to summon a Brave New World.

"One hundred and fifty years of slogans and manifestos came crashing down in an ironic cascade of unintended consequences. All that is left are the ruins of a failed scoundrel ideology ... Like planets still orbiting a dying star, the believers in state power turn their faces to a distant and diminishing light." And if that is not enough to make your English teacher scream, there is more.

Here's a portion of what the 1992 platform says about crime. "We call for changes to the federal Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) law to limit its use in civil litigation by requiring proof of all elements by clear and convincing proof."

Say what?

The drafters might have considered the approach of the 1872 platform on two issues which modern day Americans might consider crimes: "The franking privilege ought to be abolished, and the way prepared for a speedy reduction in the rates of postage."

HANGING OUT THE LAUNDRY

Ever wonder what George Bush thinks of his critics in the GOP? While the current party platform is lavishly sprinkled with references to "liberal Democrats" and "Democrat bosses," Republicans of yore were not shy at hanging out their laundry. Consider how they singled out Republican Andrew Johnson in the party's 1868 platform:

"We ... regret the accession of Andrew Johnson to the Presidency (cheers), who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; has usurped high legislative and judicial functions; has refused to execute the laws; has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws; has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, peace, liberty, and the life of the citizen; has abused the pardoning power; has denounced the National Legislature as unconstitutional; has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the States lately in

rebellion; has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption; and has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors (good! good! cheers) ...

ACCENTUATE THE POSITIVES

The average taxpayer concerned about balancing a simple checkbook cannot hope to grasp the mind-numbing amounts of money the U.S. government spends – \$1.4 trillion in 1992 – nor the amount that it must borrow on an average day – \$915 million – to cover a budget deficit which grows at the rate of \$1 billion a day and which this year is projected to be \$333 billion.

With an annual deficit and accumulated national debt approaching \$4 trillion, it goes without saying we are spending a lot of money on *something*, and as long as we are spreading this federal largess around, there must be some important things worth taking credit for (and placing prominently in the party's platform, as the forefathers of the Republican Party were wont to do). Better this than whining about the money the hideous Democrats are forcing us to spend.

The writers of the 1880 party platform had some positive things to say about how the government was spending money:

"Without resorting to loans, (the Government) has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of Government, besides the accruing interest of the public debt, and has disbursed annually more than \$30 million for soldiers' and sailors' pensions. It has paid \$880 million of the public debt, and by refunding the balance at lower rates has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly \$150 million to less than \$89 million. All the industries of the country have revived; labor is in demand; wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity larger than we have ever enjoyed."

Makes you wonder who the nation's budget director was back then.

NEGATIVE CAMPAIGNING CAN SOMETIMES BACKFIRE

There were over 160 individual "slash and burn" references to the Democrats spread out over the 71-page 1992 platform, accusing them of just about everything except being on the Grassy Knoll nearly 30 years ago.

Negative and diluted messages are not the most effective way to woo back the Reagan Democrats needed to cinch the election and not the best way to convince skeptical Republicans and Independents that you're the one to lead them to the doorstep of the 21st century.

Concerning negative campaigning: In 1876, former Union general and three-term Ohio governor Rutherford B. Hayes received the Republican nomination to run against Democratic New York Governor Samuel J. Tilden.

While both candidates spoke out for civil service reform and the withdrawal of Union troops from the South, and held similar views on the economy, the GOP convention produced a platform

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Republican AIDS Activist

IN September of 1991, the daughter of Maxwell Fisher, a noted Republican financier and party loyalist, Mary D. Fisher, found out she was HIV-positive. Six months later she decided to publicly disclose her condition in order to educate others about this indiscriminating plague.

Since her announcement in February of this year, Ms. Fisher has been appointed to the President's National Commission on AIDS (replacing Magic Johnson, who quit), and in August, made a heart-felt address to the Republican convention in Houston. In her speech, she highlighted the need for increased compassion, awareness and education about those threatened by and afflicted with AIDS.

After an impressive career in politics, journalism and art, Ms. Fisher now devotes her full attention to promoting AIDS awareness by serving on the National Community AIDS Partnership's Board of Directors and the Comprehensive AIDS Program Board in Palm Beach County.

The mother of two children Max and Zachary, ages 4 and 2, Mary Fisher never thought she was "at risk."

Editors of the Ripon Forum spoke with Ms. Fisher from her mother's home outside Detroit, Michigan.

Ripon Forum: In the opening lines of your address to the Republican National Convention, you said that you came to lift "the shroud of silence" that surrounds the issue of AIDS? What exactly did you mean by that?

Ms. Fisher: When I say "lift the shroud of silence," it means that we have to have dialogue, making it a priority and bring AIDS forward as a health problem as opposed to a social problem.

Ripon Forum: What should the Republican Party be doing about AIDS?

Ms. Fisher: The party can recognize that this is a health issue. But, it's more broad-based than that because AIDS is bringing out problems in every category of our lives: housing problems, labor and justice problems, employment issues and discrimination. It cuts across a lot of barriers, but we need to approach it more as a health issue and as an epidemic when making decisions about public health policy as opposed to making judgments about life style.

Ripon Forum: Do you feel that the party is moving away from the health viewpoint and moving more towards lifestyle

judgements and do you specifically address this issue when speaking to Republicans?

Ms. Fisher: I'm saying that it's purely a health issue, and that there have been people within the party that have spoken on it as a health issue. There are people that do and there are people that don't. As Americans we need to do this.

Ripon Forum: What made you decide to go public with the fact you were HIV positive?

Ms. Fisher: Last year when I found out I was HIV-positive, my doctor said "O.K. now, wait before you do anything." Given my family and my set of circumstances and the fact that it's my nature to speak out to help people, I asked myself where would I be able to make a difference? And the answer was just tell my story and that will help others.

So that's the reason I did it. I wanted my children to know that their mom stood for something, tried to make a difference in their world for them. I began to understand that there was a tremendous number of people who didn't want to hear about AIDS and how they and their children were at risk. There was also



a lot of positive response, men, women and moms, who couldn't speak out because their jobs and their insurance wouldn't allow them to. They were grateful and so that spurred me on.

I also realized that there was a whole group of people that maybe hadn't heard this message from somebody they knew. And that spurred me on as well.

Ripon Forum: How did you arrange to speak at the Republican National Convention?

Ms. Fisher: I originally talked to people about speaking at the Republican Platform Hearings, which I did, saying that I am Republican. I grew up in a Republican family. My dad is a Republican and loyal and this could happen to any one of you. I was saying I think that we need to address AIDS, address it on a public level and that we need to talk about it and outwardly show the compassion that I have received from people privately within the party.

Ripon Forum: And then they asked you to speak?

Ms. Fisher: After that, we talked about whether this issue would be addressed at the convention. I made myself available and said I would love the opportunity to speak. Then I bid my time, because I knew that they weren't going to address this issue in the platform and that they weren't going to make an immediate decision. Then they asked me to speak at the convention.

Ripon Forum: Did you view the opportunity to speak as a chance to promote AIDS awareness, as an effort to support President Bush's position on AIDS, or as a combination of both?

Ms. Fisher: Sort of as a combination, but not fully. I talk openly about how compassionate the president has been and how loving and supportive his wife has been as well. And that he feels that more needs to be done. We both support more involvement. I've had meetings with him about AIDS and on how to address this issue, but it's very sensitive. So if it weren't an election year, we wouldn't have had all of this attention and maybe things would work a little bit differently. There is so much going on in general, but I'm not going away.

Ripon Forum: After these meetings, do you think the president will present an improved plan any time soon?

Ms. Fisher: I really don't know. However, I do know that he's asking questions and he's getting more information and asking "What can be done?" In a year of problems, he's trying to look at all the issues. I think sometimes you

can defeat your purpose. I don't think you get very far by making demands. The way I work it is not to push people up against a wall and give them an ultimatum. That doesn't make people understand. This issue is so sensitive and there is so much frustration on the part of people like myself that we have to try and make an impact in the most productive ways possible.

Ripon Forum: Many people have criticized the convention delegates for excluding certain social groups within the Republican Party. Do you think Republicans have a big tent philosophy or do you think its become an umbrella that only one group can fit under? More specifically, do you think there is enough room for everyone, for the Pat Buchanans who believe that AIDS is God's revenge on homosexuals, as well as

FISHER continued on following page

FISHER *continued from previous page*

those who preach compassion such as yourself?

Ms. Fisher: I don't hold the view Mr. Buchanan does, but I also feel everybody has the right to have their own opinion. I feel strongly about the Republican Party and how I feel they can make change. I would like to think it is a party of all peoples because that's how I was raised. I don't think that Mr. Buchanan's views, or the views of anybody in that realm, are the views of everybody in the party and I don't think they have to be.

Ripon Forum: *Do you see litmus tests within the Republican Party similar to the ones Democrats have about being pro-choice?*

Ms. Fisher: I have never had any problem with the people I've dealt with, in the party. I've never had anyone say an unkind word to me or express displeasure with anything I've said or done. That may be just the people I'm dealing with.

Overall, I think that it's a shame to divide us. I don't like to see any community that needs to be united be divided. But everybody has a right to deal with this subject anyway they want to.

Ripon Forum: *Your speech at the convention was very powerful and very moving. Are you pleased with the response and do you think it had any effect on those that are less tolerant in elements in the GOP?*

Ms. Fisher: From my own interpretation of the response I got, I thought it was unbelievable. I have gotten letters from people who were thrilled with what I said, and I'm glad for that. If we can talk about compassion and awareness, then we can move to some action on this issue.

I don't know how much effect I've had, but from what other people tell me, there has been a positive reaction. If any, or all of us, can create an atmosphere of dialogue around this issue, around nondiscrimination, if we can talk about those kinds of issues, what a better world we would have. That's what I would like my children to understand.

So I think that if we can allow people to talk about AIDS, get information, get educated, they might not feel so fearful of it. I think a lot of the ignorance about AIDS comes from fear. People don't really want to pay attention. But if you get them talking about it, they have the power and the ability to understand it, know the truth about AIDS.

Ripon Forum: *When people talk about AIDS, they don't generally think of white, heterosexual mothers. Does the simple fact that you are who you are contribute to your ability to promote AIDS awareness?*

Ms. Fisher: I have to tell you, everywhere I go, whether its to schools or community centers, most of the people talking are HIV-positive moms.

Ripon Forum: *Really?*

Ms. Fisher: Yes. They just may not have the visibility that

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If I – because of who I am, because of where I've been and what I've done – can make people listen, then it's all worthwhile.
”

I have. I can't say that I'm not typical, because clearly I am. I'm typical in the sense of anyone who says they can't get AIDS that is a heterosexual.

Ripon Forum: *Is it easier to think of it as a homosexual disease?*

Ms. Fisher: Oh, sure, because then you're not at risk and you don't have to pay attention and you aren't worried about it. But that's not the truth. Did you know we are the only country where AIDS did not start as a heterosexual disease?

I understand that people don't want to be at risk and that they don't want to have to think about their children being at risk. It's very, very frightening to think about death, and that you have choices. It's very scary. But once you get over that invisible speed bump, then it's okay. Then when you start to see that it's really okay to talk about it and to adopt a way of thinking in your own life, that is reality.

Ripon Forum: *Recently, the Bush Administration has received criticism over its handling of the AIDS epidemic. What, in your opinion, has this administration done that you would commend?*

Ms. Fisher: First of all, there has only been a Republican administration since the outbreak of the AIDS crisis. I think that

with this president, there has been a lot done. There has been a lot of money directed towards research and directed towards education and care. Not enough, but there has been a great deal. But the problem is that we are in an epidemic. There is treatment and there is help, but no matter what anybody says, there can never be enough awareness or education.

Ripon Forum: *How is it that you can get more attention than most people with HIV?*

Ms. Fisher: I'm fortunate enough that I work for myself. I don't have to worry about losing a job. I'm also fortunate that my children are healthy. They don't have HIV. I'm also self-dependent with my insurance so I'll be able to take care of myself. I have a wonderful family and they're very supportive. A lot of people don't have any of those, or maybe don't have most of those, especially a lot of women.

Another side is that my family has been very private and we have led a private life. But working publicly is more natural to me than it might be to a lot of people because I've worked in the White House and been involved with politics and worked in the media. But I don't think that it had to be me out there.

Also, I have a lot of friends who are in the national media, a lot of friends in theater and politics, and I have traveled. It's maybe more natural to me than it might be to other women. Maybe.

Being public about HIV, isn't the easiest thing to do. If it were my choice, I wouldn't be HIV and go public. If I can make a difference, if I, because of who I am, because of where I've been and what I've done, can make people listen, then it's all worthwhile.

This is something that I must do because everything that I have ever done in my life comes together and helps me fight this disease, there's a real sense of that. And I have talked to many people who work in the field and are HIV-positive and feel very much the same way, and they just may not have the same background to get to where have I gotten to.

I have received attention because I'm from a different category of people; I'm not gay and I'm not a man. However, people listen to me and want to know. If you talk to any of us, Magic, Arthur Ashe, anybody that you want to talk about, we all feel this way.

Ripon Forum: *Do you think your speech at the convention will convince some mainstream Republicans, that might have been turned off, to vote for George Bush?*

Ms. Fisher: I don't really know. I know what kind of a person the president is and I believe he cares. And I deal with him and I know he cares.

Ripon Forum: *What are your future plans to further promote the understanding of AIDS?*

Ms. Fisher: My goal is to draw more people in and teach them about HIV and AIDS and make more people aware this is an epidemic, so that we can stop it. We need to give people avenues where they can begin to learn to really help people. And in order to do that, there has to be more education. ■

Back to the Future

HUMOR *continued from page 13*

containing language like, "We charge the Democratic party with being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason."

The result of the campaign was the closest election in U.S. history.

Tilden received a tiny majority of the popular vote, but there was no agreement in the electoral college, where Tilden led 184 to 165, with 185 necessary for the election. Congress created an electoral commission to determine who would receive the 20 disputed votes.

The commission eventually awarded all the votes to Hayes and he became President by a one-vote margin.

And concerning diluted messages: The 1908 party platform strove to delineate the differences between the two parties in this way: In history the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that the one stood for debased currency, the other for honest currency; the one for free silver, the other for sound money; the one for free trade, the other for protection; the one for the contraction of American influence, the other for its expansion; the one has been forced to abandon every position taken on the great issues before the people, the other has held and vindicated all.

In experience, the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that one means adversity, while the other means prosperity; one means low wages, the other means high; one means doubt and debt, the other means confidence and thrift.

In principle, the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that one stands for vacillation and timidity in government, the other for strength and purpose; one promises, the other performs; one finds fault, the other finds work."

Republican William Howard Taft beat Democrat William Jennings Bryan handily in the 1908 election, and Republicans won control of both the House and Senate.

As a look back on previous presidential campaigns and party platforms clearly shows, the issues rarely seem to change substantially, but our ways of addressing them have. Over the years, platforms have grown larger, but not necessarily better. Issues such as family values are grossly overexposed when they should require no special treatment; unless one were fearful of losing a constituency one should already have locked up.

There comes a point where overworking the same issue begins to look defensive. It would be like writing 20 pages on why Republicans believe food, water, or oxygen are good things.

The writers of the 1992 Republican Party platform would have done well to dust off the missives of some of their forefathers, who for the most part minced no words and could have taught today's spinmeisters a thing or two about soundbites; writing as they did decades before the dawn of the age of electronic media. ■

Environment Out of Balance

Jonathan H. Adler looks at Albert Gore's book on the environment

Albert Gore, Jr. is a man on a self proclaimed mission – a mission to save planet Earth. The author of the best-selling, and highly controversial, *Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit*, Senator Gore has carefully positioned himself as the environmental point man in the Democratic Party.

Thus, it is no wonder that the environmental establishment – once so critical of Governor Clinton's record on environmental issues – immediately closed ranks around the Democratic ticket when Gore was chosen. Yet, while these environmental leaders may celebrate Clinton's selection, there are serious reasons why the American people should not be so enthusiastic.

Gore not only sees environmental problems – of which there are many – he sees evidence of an "ecological *Kristallnacht*" that "signals an environmental holocaust without precedent." Thus, every societal institution must be redirected and preservation of the environment must become the "central organizing principle" of modern civilization. That urgent and drastic action is absolutely necessary "is no longer a matter of any dispute worthy of recognition." Political leaders must act quickly and decisively to transform the world. Gore's ideas are not an environmental program for the weak of heart.

The centerpiece of Gore's plan, as outlined in his book, is the establishment of a "Global Marshall Plan" – with a scope and complexity to "far exceed those of the original" – and a "Strategic Environment Initiative" designed to direct the world toward ecologically sound policies of "sustainable" development. These programs would establish a green global bureaucracy, levy taxes on fossil fuels and virgin materials, erect green trade barriers, mandate strict energy efficiency standards, and enact a whole host of programs aimed at environmental education and the transfer of wealth to the Third World.

But for all of his talk of relying upon the marketplace to provide environmental amenities, Gore eagerly endorses the continued domination of environmental policy by bureaucratic entities. The environment is the last area we expect government involvement, yet there is no other policy area where the government's hand is more apparent.

What is even more bizarre is that someone

with the expertise of Al Gore not only embraces such bureaucratic avenues but endorses increased federal participation. Not only will such approaches derail economic growth by affecting the consumer directly as well as indirectly, but accomplish precious little in terms of protecting the environment.

More specifically, businesses will find such government mandates too costly and time consuming and thus abandon whatever environmental incentives they might have initially explored.

Gore repeatedly insists that environmental quality need not come at the cost of economic growth, that there is no necessary trade-off between jobs and the environment. This is true. Market-driven increases in efficiency, whether in agriculture or in energy use, allow for the creation of goods and services while producing lesser marginal environmental impact.

Many companies have found that what once was considered waste can actually be reprocessed to create additional products. This helps the environment and the bottom line.

Nonetheless, it is incredible to claim that the imposition of massive taxes on energy use and resource consumption, combined with the construction of larger regulatory agencies, comes at minimal economic cost. For example, recent studies conducted by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) suggest that the economic drag created by consumption taxes, on items such as gasoline and heat, is greater than that of income taxes, and rises dramatically with marginal increases in the tax level.

Gore likes to claim that environmental protection creates jobs. Yet while recycling hazardous wastes may save money in certain industries, the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act's mandatory prescriptions are hardly a boon to the economy. The voluminous amount of paperwork alone – federally required to even attempt environmental efficiency practices – are enough to deter even the largest profitable businesses from even exploring these practices.

Such environmental regulations of this command-and-control variety, which Gore repeatedly endorses throughout his book, divert resources that could be used for other purposes, such as capital investment and increased employee benefits. Let there be no mistake, forcing companies

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to spend millions on legal fees and compliance costs does not produce net growth in the economy and does not create net jobs for the economy as Gore likes to claim.

One would think that Al Gore had learned these lessons. After all, he has been deeply involved in environmental issues for well over a decade and has had plenty of time to learn from his mistakes. In the late 1970s he was a staunch opponent of oil and gas deregulation – which dramati-

cally lowered prices and was a boon to the American consumer – and was a principal player in the development of the “Superfund” legislation which was designed to provide for the cleanup of the most polluted, abandoned waste sites in the nation.

Yet while Superfund claims nearly 25 percent of the Environmental Protection Agency’s bud-

SUPER GORE *continued on next page*

Gore Tries to Save the World With Bureaucracy

SUPER GORE *continued from previous page*

get, it has produced questionable results. Most of the expenditures pay for the filing of paperwork and lawyers. Moreover, Superfund's cleaner than clean standards impose tremendous costs that are rarely justified on grounds of risks to human health or the environment.

Few on the Right or the Left would claim that this \$15 billion program has been a success, yet Gore makes only passing reference to his handiwork in his book. For all his talk of thorough evaluations of environmental policy, there is little consideration of the massive pitfalls already created by regulatory overreach.

To his credit, Al Gore struggles with the fact that "the most serious examples of environmental degradation in the world today are tragedies that were created or actively encouraged by governments." From the environmental devastation fostered by communist regimes to the havoc wrought by farm subsidies, water projects, and development aid by the World Bank, the record of government-sponsored environmental damage is frightening.

While we lament the destruction of wetlands and rain forests, we must remember that government subsidies have encouraged such practices for years. All sides can agree that exclusive reliance on government to protect environmental values will deliver too little too late, but Gore still has abiding faith in government's ability to do so in the future.

Like many environmental leaders, he approaches environmental policy in the way the architects of the Great Society tackled poverty.

As with the Democratic Party's 1992 platform, Gore seems to pay homage to the free enterprise system. He notes in *Earth in the Balance* that "free men and women who feel individual responsibility for a particular part of the Earth are, by and large, its most effective protectors, defenders and stewards."

Wherever this sense of responsibility is diluted or compromised by competing imperatives, the likelihood of stewardship and care for the environment diminishes."

Nonetheless, he fails to learn the lessons implicit in his own rhetoric. He thus endorses more bureaucracy – the old fashioned approach – rather than the progressive approaches of private stewardship of resources, conservation-through-use of species and habitat, and the establishment of proprietary rights in threatened resources.

By establishing a connection between individuals and the environment, these policies would overcome the "dysfunctional relationship" that Gore believes modern societies have with the planet.

Yet he fails to incorporate this approach in his discussions of environmental policy. Indeed, his policy recommendations – from taxes on resource use to limits on technological development – are similar to those that have been peddled by the professional environmental lobby for years.

What is perhaps most annoying is Gore's unwavering devotion to the politics of apocalypse, leading one observer to derisively label his message as "messianic." He is certain that without a "wrenching transformation of society" the world will be destroyed.

Although there is great scientific uncertainty regarding his apocalyptic vision – even his mentor, Dr. Roger Revelle, warned against drastic action in the face of such uncertainty – he remains steadfast. He even attempts to discredit those scientists who have questioned his assertions.

On global warming, one of the several issues he has called "the most serious threat we face", he has dismissed credible scientific dissents and caveats. And the global warming policies that he has touted would cost approximately 600,000 jobs, according to a report by the CONSAD Research Group.

Greenhouse warming is a subject worthy of study and concern, but the economic stakes are too high to endorse hasty and ill-considered responses.

Albert Gore surely wants to save the world, and he is convinced that he and the federal bureaucracy are the ones to do it. Indeed, he has said that if only he were in charge, he believes he could set the situation right. Unfortunately, a careful analysis does not lead to the same conclusion. If Gore is handed the reins of environmental power, both the earth and the economy will be hanging in the balance. ■

Gore repeatedly insists ... that there is no necessary trade-off between jobs and the environment. This is certainly true.

No More Houstons

GOP
POLITICS

While watching the heart wrenching news from the Balkans, it occurred to me that the ethnic cleansing going on there is similar to the ideological and religious litmus test being applied within the Republican Party today. As Charlie Cook, the solid political analyst who writes for the Capitol Hill weekly newspaper *Roll Call*, said recently, the litmus tests will be so extreme as to render the Republican nominee for president in 1996 incapable of winning the race.

Whatever your current favorite scenario is about the nomination of the Republican candidate for president in 1996, you are probably still in the process of sorting out the lessons of the recent GOP Convention in Houston. How we understand Houston, and how we act on that understanding have enormous implications for the future of the Republican Party.

Those of us who were a part of George Bush's campaign for the presidential nomination in 1980, moderates and conservatives, regular Republicans, left Houston knowing that we have much work to do to preserve openness and cordiality within the Republican Party, as well as retaining a wide range of political and ideological viewpoints.

Our first step should be the revival of the Tidewater Conference, as a means of bringing Republican elected officials together to discuss and debate issues of long-range significance and attempt to develop a broad-based Republican consensus that illustrates our differences within the Democratic Party.

Senator Bob Packwood called the first Tidewater Conference together in 1978 at Easton, Maryland. He recognized that Republican officeholders had a great responsibility in articulating and carrying out policy. The attendees were conservatives, moderates and liberals — drawn together by a common desire to mitigate the worst aspects of unbridled factionalism and to prevent the purging of non-conservatives from the Republican Party. It was a search for unifying issues and a reaffirmation of the truth that there is plenty of room within the Republican Party for leaders who represented and supported a working majority of Americans.

Politics in America is about assembling the support of majorities. It's about free and open debate, respect for differing points of view, and the capacity to reach consensus supported or capable of being supported by a majority.



Litmus tests are the main enemy of this process, and our next Tidewater Conference won't have any say.

While the organizing of the Tidewater Conference is proceeding, the various organizations or groups, like the Ripon Society, should meet to agree on a strategy for preserving voices of moderation and pragmatism within the councils of the Republican Party. All of us have been through bruising political battles, and we know that intra-party contests, like the hostile takeover attempt by the religious right, are won by the folks who fight the hardest and smartest. Money, sheer human effort and determination are needed on our part. We will have to fight intensely to take our rightful positions in the councils of the Republican Party.

The Reagan-Bush coalition was composed of moderate to conservative regular Republicans and Democrats, alienated by too much attention to special interest groups and disaffected by the undue influence of the extreme left wing of the Democratic Party.

Today, the Religious Right is attempting to add litmus tests in order to weed out moderate Republicans and force them out of the party. Through the work of the Democratic Leadership Council, middle of the road Democrats are being welcomed back into the mainstream of the Democratic Party, in droves.

While the Democrats appear to be repairing their traditional coalition, Republicans are destroying theirs.

Ripon will be taking a leading role in the struggle for the rebuilding of a broad center for the Republican Party. If we fail in this effort, the party is doomed to its minority status. ■

By
Congressman
Sherwood
Boehlert

*New York Congressman
Sherwood Boehlert is
chairman of the Ripon
Society.*

Republicans' "Big Tent"sions

The two central questions of American politics in 1992 are whether the Republican Party with its newly emphasized moral agenda can hold the center and whether the current two party system can continue to structure this country's political process. The two are interrelated.

The fledgling candidacy of Ross Perot, despite being undercut by vacillation and quirks of personality, underscores public disenchantment with the two party system.

While unlikely to make as much of an electoral dent as seemed likely this spring, it is impressive how early citizens, who normally vote Democratic, showed startling openness to Perot out of dismay with the party of Congress, its lack of fiscal discipline and ethical example. Likewise, many citizens who generally vote Republican initially tilted to Perot out of frustration with lack of economic growth, increased regulation of business, galloping deficits, and the inclination of some in the GOP to engage in bedroom politics with locker room taste.

Perot's role may have slipped to that of ballot spoiler, but the lesson of the year is written large: the two party system is in profound disarray. America is on the verge of countenancing a panoply of political parties, vying for blocks of voters in ways reflecting more precedent in the European than the American models.

For instance, in a left of center ideological spectrum one senses that a liberal party led by Jerry Brown or a consumer party led by Ralph Nader or a women's movement party led by an Eleanor Smeal could easily materialize. Right of center, a conservative party led by Pat Buchanan or Phyllis Schafley, a quasi-theocratic fundamentalist party headed by Pat Robertson, or a pro-life party under the tutelage of a Randall Terry could develop as well; finally, a middle of the road party modelled after the British liberals, could materialize, perhaps led by a Lowell Weicker. In addition, interest group parties centering on environmental issues, gay rights, the Rainbow Coalition (in part or whole) might emerge, as could an assortment of idealistic alternatives such as the meditation based Natural Law party.

It is in the context of the potential splintering of coalition politics that the Republicans met in Houston.

Just as many Democrats felt uncomfortable in 1988 in a tent dominated by the voice of a trained minister, leader of the

Rainbow coalition, Jesse Jackson, many Republicans in 1992 feel uneasy sitting in the same political pew with a prominent leader of fundamentalist churches, Pat Robertson.

At issue is a widening philosophical and social chasm within the Republican Party. Philosophically, the party of conservatism has contrasting roots stemming from Edmund Burke's emphasis on stability, gradualist change and John Locke's more radical assertion of individual rights.

In today's context, cultural conservatives like Buchanan, Bennett, and Robertson speak of an impending cultural war and assert the need for the socialization of American values. Individual rights conservatives like Goldwater and before him, Robert Taft, on the other hand, articulate the primacy of the individual over the state and thus on issues like abortion and prayer in school are inclined to be pro-choice and adamant about maintaining separation of church and state.

Sociologically, the Republican Party has broadened its tent in the past three elections to embrace and give voice to non-country club Republicans, who by and large, are less likely to be members of mainline churches.

As these new voices have become politically enfranchised, establishment Republicans have felt challenged in ways similar to their Democratic counterparts who watched their party cede influence to particularized social and special interest groups.

While the courts have attempted to assure power sharing for racial and ethnic minorities, the new cultural right is, through participation in party politics, making it clear that the aspirations and beliefs of a large and growing block of fundamentalist voters deserves not only attention but power.

Groups that the party establishment attempted to lead a decade ago now want to control the party that legitimized their concerns. Thus, the crucial political science question in 1992 is whether mainstream Republicans will stay or exit through the rear door of Lee Atwater's "Big Tent."

As a pro-choice, pro-Israel, pro-public education, pro-arms control, pro-NEA, non-isolationist Republican, I would argue that George Bush as an individual is far more tolerant than the Republican platform and that his record deserves the support of mainstream Republicans.

For believers in two-party coalition politics, warning signs should flash: a desertion of the Republican ticket by moderates this year could be the catalyst for the development of splinter parties, for the rise of an American version of the fragmented politics of multi-party Europe.

To avert such an outcome, mainstream Republicans must understand and respect what motivates the new cultural conser-

By Congressman James A. Leach

Rep. Leach, a member of the House Banking and Foreign Affairs Committees, is Chairman of the Republican Mainstream Committee.

vatives and recognize that large tents imply the existence of healthy, unavoidable tensions.

More importantly, it is crucial that mainstream Republicans, descendants of the Taft-Goldwater as well as the Eisenhower-Scranton wings of the party, get their philosophical house in order. They represent the largest unorganized political force in the country. Elections like 1992 test their loyalty; future party involvement tests their ability to find principled common ground with the newcomers to their fold.

A good place to begin is to acknowledge that fundamentalist churches and their pastors are playing an important, under-recognized role in addressing the quandaries faced by many families disoriented by the changes of modern society. But such acknowledgement need not imply that because some proclaim religious authority for their views, that they enjoy a monopoly on moral or family value themes.

Religious values, to be sure, anchor individual morality. But in our constitutional democracy, individuals of faith have a responsibility to ensure that the line between faith and bigotry, between tolerance and coercion, is not crossed.

The public has a particular responsibility to measure carefully the thoughts and words of those politicians who wear religion on their sleeve and those pastors who engage most combatively in politics. While religious themes are inescapable in politics and fine public servants from John Witherspoon, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, to current United States Senator Jack Danforth have had seminary backgrounds, America was established as a democracy which constitutionally impels tolerance and protects diversity of view, not a theocracy which impels orthodoxy and discourages dissent.

It is impossible not to be troubled when the Religious Right suggests witchcraft is on the rise in the feminist movement and several Republican State platforms shelter this concern in party dogma. It is also difficult not to be concerned when a public figure as Pat Buchanan, a man who by profession chooses his words carefully, raises the specter of a "fifth column" in our midst and frames his address to the Republican convention in the jihad code of a "religious war."

As Madison pointed out two centuries ago, "The use of religion as an engine of Civil policy is an unhallowed perversion of the means of salvation."

Our founding fathers established a nation "under God," one in which revolution against British authority was premised upon "self-evident" individual rights and an appeal to a higher law of conscience which precedes the more mundane civil laws of society. But in appealing to conscience to justify a revolutionary government, America's first citizens labored carefully to construct, in Jefferson's terms, a wall between church and state.

In erecting this constitutional barrier between church and state, the crafters of the Bill of Rights looked inward as well as outward and turned a wary eye to the American as well as European experience. They fully understood that it was religious authoritarianism in Europe that drew many of the early settlers to our shores, but that upon arriving in the New World, some like

...individuals of faith have a responsibility to ensure that the line between faith and bigotry, between tolerance and coercion, is not crossed.

the Puritans invoked a rather exclusionary discipline of their own, with witchcraft trials and stocks and pillories used to coerce alleged nonbelievers.

"Who does not see," Madison warned, "the same authority which can establish Christianity in exclusion of all other religions may establish, with the same care, any particular sect of Christians in exclusion of all other sects?"

The strength of the haven we have provided for oppressed people the world over comes from a tolerance for diversity rather than a compulsory conformity.

As we cope with a world in which weapons of mass destruction have proliferated, in which man's inhumanity to man is increasingly evident, the greatest challenge of mankind is to harness, if not subdue, prejudice.

Christians look first for religious guidance, to Jesus of Nazareth, who warned of stone casting and in the Sermon on the Mount instructed His followers to "beware of practicing your piety before men in order to be seen by them." He goes on to suggest in Matthew 6:6, "When you pray, go into your room and shut the door and pray to your Father who is in secret: and your Father who sees in secret will reward you."

Several days after the Republican convention, Pat Buchanan suggested to a convention of the Religious Right that the rioting in Los Angeles stemmed from "barbarians" educated in public schools where God had been "long ago expelled."

Americans may reasonably differ on whether state crafted prayer should be authorized in public schools, but it is an insecure, if not manipulative, view of the Christian faith to imply that an agency of the State can block the presence of God. God is not an object, excludable from any place at any time.

For a Christian or Jew, He is the Creator of Heaven and Earth, and anyone -- adult or child -- may speak to Him from the heart whenever and wherever they are so moved. A U.S. Supreme Court cannot keep God out of our schools anymore than Congress can put Him back in. An omniscient Lord is omnipresent.

There is a moral crisis in America, but in public life it most poignantly stems from failed example, not failed advocacy.

The best reflection of faith and inspiration for ethical conduct stems from models of personal behavior. Moral exhortation, while a function of all leadership, is more appropriately the principal province of churches and deacons than political parties and candidates. ■

BOOK REVIEWS

A Book for Believers

The jeremiad has a long and distinguished history in western political discourse. Defined by *The American Heritage Dictionary* as "an elaborate and prolonged lamentation or tale of woe," it takes its name from the Old Testament prophet whose oracles denounced the decline of the family values of his day in the Kingdom of Judah in the Sixth Century B.C. Nearer to our time, the jeremiad was raised to an art form by Puritan preachers in sermons decrying a similar "declension" of morals in 17th Century New England.

Review By
Bill Tate

William Greider's *Who Will Tell the People* is a model of the genre. He does not mince words.

"The blunt message of this book," he says on its first page, "is that American democracy is in much deeper trouble than most people wish to acknowledge." And the source, both of this trouble and of our difficulty in grasping its depth, "is the systematic breakdown of the shared civic values we call democracy."

According to Greider, what has distinguished our system of governance from its inception has been its capacity for self-correction. Democracy in the United States has evolved as a system of "multiple balance wheels" and "mechanisms" which promote stability while at the same time making orderly change and reform possible.

These wheels and mechanisms are the institutions and processes which make up the infrastructure of our politics. Their role is to serve as the "mediating structures" or "connective tissues" which make possible a meaningful dialogue between the people and those in power. The proposition from which Greider begins is that our present difficulty arises from the fact that these mediating structures and self-correcting mechanisms no longer work.

The six chapters that make up Part I of the book, "Realities of Power," explicate how and why this is the case. The common thread is the isolation in Washington of a culture of power made up of colluding "educated elites" and "monied interests." Ranging over the past two decades, Greider examines the role of think tanks and their associ-

ated "experts" in the creation of a "mystique of rationality" in politics which excludes ordinary citizens from its debates. He describes the concern for "clients" as opposed to constituents that has come to characterize our representative system, and outlines the way the tax code and the regulatory and legislative processes have been manipulated.

Using illustrations ranging from the junk bond debacle to the S&L crisis, and letting many of the perpetrators of these fiascos speak for themselves, the picture Greider paints is detailed, devastating and utterly convincing. Anyone working in or around government will meet themselves on every page and the encounter will be discomfiting to say the least.

Part II of the book begins with the premise that the breakdown of communication that is at the heart of our troubles works both ways. If power corrupts, Greider finds that "powerlessness corrupts" as well and that citizens must share respon-

"If power corrupts, Greider finds that "powerlessness corrupts" as well and that citizens must share responsibility for their disconnectedness from the political process."
 "

sibility for their disconnectedness from the political process. Here he recounts the limited success of the "rude and crude" efforts of some citizen activists, primarily on local environmental issues, as well as how the precipitous decline of the labor movement has left working-class Americans "political orphans."

The discussion of how the success of the civil rights movement has led subsequent groups to copy its methods, moral tone and tactics, almost inevitably with disappointing results, is fascinating. So is the description of successful grassroots organizing efforts in the neighborhoods of New York City, in southern California and in Texas which build on the work of Saul Alinsky's *Industrial Areas Foundation*.

In Part III, Greider dissects the role of the

BETRAYAL *continued on next page*

Who will tell the People



*The betrayal of
American democracy*

**WILLIAM
GREIDER**

Author of SECRETS OF THE TEMPLE

*Who Will Tell the
People: The Betrayal of
American Democracy.*

By William Greider
New York: Simon &
Schuster, 1992.

\$25.00

Democratic and Republican parties, the media in general and television in particular, as well as that of multi-national corporations in contemporary American politics. Again, the critique is incisive.

What has been lost with the decline of the Democratic Party, Greider argues, is "the party's mediating capacity with citizens."

Because the party infrastructure of organized rank and file precinct captains and ward chairs no longer exists for elected representatives to report to, with this has come the loss of accountability on which true democracy depends.

"The Democratic Party no longer performs the basic functions of a political party. It acts neither as a faithful mediator between citizens and the government nor as the forum for policy debate ... It functions mainly as a mail drop for political money."

As the title of the chapter in which it is discussed – "Rancid Populism" – attests, the Republican party fares little better under Greider's scrutiny. The party owes its success, he argues, to a mastery of modern communications which enables it to hold power with an illusory program based on alienation and resentment.

"The party's method deliberately coaxes emotional responses from people – teases their anxieties over values they hold important in their own lives – but then walks away from the anger and proceeds to govern on its real agenda, defending the upper-class interests of wealth and corporate power."

Whether, or to what degree, this assessment and the argument on which it is based might be true deserve careful consideration by Republicans of every stripe.

The book's concluding section takes up the two central obstacles Greider believes stand in the way of the renewal of democracy in the United States. The first of these is the three-fold legacy of the fear that unified our national life during the Cold War.

This legacy, according to Greider, consists of a pervasive atmosphere of secrecy and deceit which undermines the respect for law on which democracy depends, an imperial presidency which disrupts the essential balance of power between our branches of government, and the myth that economic growth can be successfully sustained on what amounts to a permanent wartime basis.

The second obstacle to democratic reform arises from the globalization of our economy.

Greider argues that because the world's manufacturing facilities, driven by cheap labor and new technologies, now produce far more goods than the world's consumers can afford to buy, we are witnessing "the pooring of America."

Unless radical changes are made, this overcapacity, when coupled with the mobility of capital, will continue to depress our standard of living and those of the other developed democracies, because no workers can organize to withstand the threat of factory moving to another country where wages are lower and the costs of doing business less as a result of lower safety and environmental standards.

"The historic paradox is breathtaking. At the very moment when western democracies and capitalism have triumphed over the communist alternative, their own systems of self-government are being gradually unraveled by the market system."

Whatever is finally made of the argument that supports this dire conclusion or the remedies suggested for it, Greider has provided food for thought at a time when the North American Free Trade Agreement, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and the Maastricht Treaty unifying the European Economic Community are all in the process of being finalized.

Despite the exhaustive detail with which it catalogs democracy's discontents, *Who Will Tell the People* ends, as all jeremiads should, on a note of hope. His thirty years as a working reporter lead him, Greider says, to be optimistic about the potential for democratic renewal in this country.

What will be required, he writes, is a renewed "spirit of mutual respect – people conversing critically with one another in an atmosphere of honesty and shared regard ... The respect must extend even to hostile adversaries, since the democratic objective is not to destroy them but to reach eventual understanding. At its core, the idea of democracy is as simple as that – a society based on mutual respect."

Readers who have met themselves or people very like themselves on these pages, who have followed the tribulations of the 102nd Congress and observed the machinations of the 1992 presidential campaign, will find maintaining the hope of even approximating such a society requires a leap of faith indeed. Greider admits as much; "this book is for the believers," he concludes.

It is also a very good – if very troubling – book. It deserves a careful reading by anyone who cares about the future of this country. ■

**Warren
Rudman
and
Paul Tsongas
Hoping for
Political Reality**

by David A. Fuscus

*David A. Fuscus is
editor of
The Ripon Forum*

Political Daredevils

Earlier this year, the soon to be ex-senator from New Hampshire, Warren Rudman, and ex-presidential candidate Paul Tsongas formed a new organization to tell the American people the truth about what's wrong with our political system and why our national problems only seem to grow worse.

The Concord Coalition was formed to foster meaningful discussion about our national problems and, in the Rudman/Tsongas view, energize the American people into taking the steps necessary for meaningful action.

Both men, one Democrat and one Republican, firmly believe that our political leaders of both parties understand the problems facing the nation, but that they refuse to move towards solutions.

They say the reason for inaction is simple: politicians are afraid that an electorate angry over the sacrifices necessary to bring spending under control, cut the deficit and improve our social problems will bounce them out of office.

"The gravest flaw in our political system today is that elected officials, both Republicans and Democrats, tell the people what they want to hear rather than what they need to hear," they said in the Concord Coalition's organization statement.

"Today's political gridlock is slowly grinding down our economy and tearing apart our society. It's main cause is a failure of frank and honest dialogue between leaders and the public on what is wrong and how to repair the damage before it is too late."

They point out that many politicians are fearful of suggesting fiscal reforms for Social Security and Medicare because voters will revolt if talk of reducing benefits surfaces anywhere.

"The political leaders of both parties know, for example, that government spending favors older, more affluent Americans at the expense of younger people under real economic stress, but that older Americans have powerful lobbies that will clobber them if they speak the truth," write Rudman and Tsongas.

By educating the American people about the need for reforms like means testing, they hope to create an atmosphere which would allow our na-



tional leaders to make tough decisions without fearing for their political future.

CREATING A GRASSROOTS MOVEMENT

The two former senators hope to create a widespread grassroots movement which will allow leaders to address the tough solutions in an atmosphere where voters understand that we must all chip in to ensure a bright future for America.

In the short term, they hope to influence the next presidential agenda and over a period of years, they would like to formulate and support a realistic program to re-energize America.

While the Coalition highlights many issues, almost all of them start and finish with the national debt and the need for solving the federal government's unquenchable thirst for red ink. In the Rudman/Tsongas view of America, we cannot solve our education, health care or infrastructure problems without having some of the funds which are now being spent on unrestrained entitlement

programs, interest on the national debt and frivolous spending.

To make their point, Rudman and Tsongas point out that in this fiscal year, 49 percent of the budget is being spent on entitlement programs, 20 percent on defense and 15 percent on net interest on the national debt and the S & L bailout. That means that 84 percent of the budget is gone before the government spends anything on education, highway or bridge repair, or pays for its employees.

And even though 16 percent of the budget is available today for discretionary spending, if we follow the present road the nation is traveling, that amount can only dwindle. With record annual deficits in the \$400 billion range, the interest we pay on the national debt, which has risen so dramatically over the past ten years, will only continue to go up.

Unrestricted entitlement spending is a prime example the Coalition uses to show how the government is limited in cutting spending. In 1980, programs like Medicare, Social Security and veterans' benefits cost \$278.6 billion dollars. By 1997, payments are expected to be well over \$1 trillion.

They also point out that if politicians do not find the political courage to address problems like entitlement reform, the results for the American people will be disastrous. According to the official 1992 projections of Social Security actuaries, the total cost of Social Security and Medicare would mean payroll taxes of between 29 and 37 percent by the year 2020 – that's up from a combined employer/employee payment of 15 percent today.

"It could start a generational war," said Rudman in a recent interview.

CUTTING THE DEFICIT

The type of honest dialogue that the Coalition hopes to foster will point out the problems with the budget; our economic ills cannot be solved by hoping the deficit will go away or simply cutting out waste, fraud and abuse. The size of our debt and the scope of the problems is simply too large.

"When I hear people talking about how they're going to revive the country and they're going to do this and they're going to do that and all these half-baked promises, I say to myself 'What are they talking about? Tax Increases?' They'll never take care of this problem unless they take everything you own," said Rudman.

To solve the deficit crisis and allow reform in a host of other areas, the Coalition will be talking about long term meaningful reform and also put-

ting together specific plans. For example, to reduce the deficit, they suggest taking the following steps:



1. Concrete reforms in our trillion-dollar system of federal entitlements – from Social Security, Medicare and Civil Service and Military Pensions to Farm Aid, the employer-paid health care exclusions and the home mortgage interest deduction – most of which represents consumption to households nowhere near the poverty line.

2. Careful and judicious cuts in defense spending. We can and must afford the defense we really need to act against the real threats of tomorrow. It is wasteful and unnecessary, however, to have a defense acting against yesterday's threats that are only imagined.

3. Changes in our tax and economic politics so they favor savings and investment instead of consumption. Many of our foreign competitors impose consumption based taxes, such as value-added-taxes. That is one reason they save and invest much more, and we, in turn, consume much more.

4. Drastic overhaul of our medical system. Medicare and Medicaid each grew at an annual rate of 14.5 percent during the last 20 years, almost 9 percent above the general rate of inflation.



So far, the public reaction to the Concord Coalition has been positive. During a recent appearance on the MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour, the two men engaged in Jerry Brown tactics by giving out a toll free number to solicit donations and distribute information about the group. Over 29,000 people called and the response was the largest in the history of the 1-800 company who fielded the calls.

Creating an atmosphere in which the government and people who elect representatives to it can address our nation's problems is a difficult job, but Warren Rudman and Paul Tsongas are willing to give it their all. As they recently said:

"Some will continue to insist that everything is fine. Some will continue to say that all that is needed economically is a little tuck of the waist here and a little shortening of the cuff there.

"But deep down, the American people know better. They see and feel the long-term erosion in the standard of living and they don't want to hear any more myths."

What they are saying is that it's time for our leaders to be honest with us. We should be able to take the truth. ■

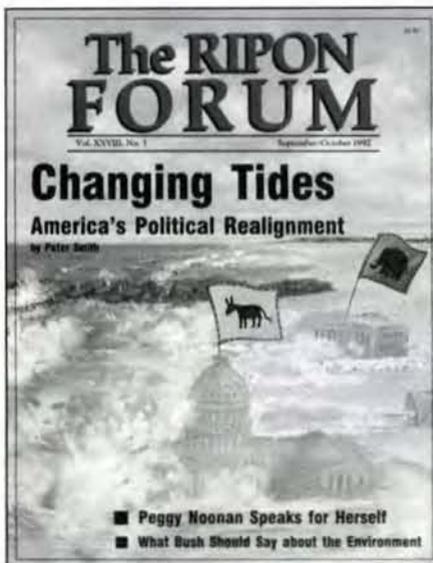
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Protection Racket Primary

CIVIL
RIGHTS

Environmental lawyer and staunch moderate, Laurance Rockefeller launched his campaign for U.S. Senate early this summer and planned to run against conservative Sen. Alfonse D'Amato in New York's Republican primary. After his state's complicated redistricting procedures, Mr. Rockefeller had only 18 days to collect the 10,000 signatures needed to be placed on the ballot. Although he succeeded in obtaining the signatures, he was still denied a position on the ballot. In this reprint of his New York Times editorial, Rockefeller tells us how and why state officials are denying New York voters their most precious liberty: choice.

There will be no Republican primary for Senate today: I wasn't allowed on the ballot. Republicans in New York were denied a choice and their role in democracy because once again the state's so-called ballot access law operated to protect an incumbent politician from a challenge.

Here's how it works: A candidate with the party's endorsement is automatically on the ballot. Anyone who hasn't managed to cultivate the support of party higher-ups has to collect petition signatures.

Should any such interloper manage to acquire the requisite number of signatures, party functionaries will ask the Board of Elections – itself composed of party appointees – to throw out the signatures for any of 35 official reasons.

When I challenged Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, I took on the party structure he controls. This did not deter me because I knew that significant majorities of Republicans were, unlike him, pro-choice, pro-environment and dismayed at the never ending parade of scandals associated with his name.

They also supported campaign finance reform, which he has opposed, and wanted a return to fiscal responsibility. In short, New York Republicans were ready for an alternative.

To be on the Republican primary ballot and offer some choice, I had only to submit 10,000 signatures gathered statewide during a petition period of only 18 days.

This petition period – half the normal time, because of redistricting delays – was marked by the partisan stonewalling of election board officials, who withheld voter lists needed for petitioning and information needed to fill out the petitions correctly.

Nevertheless, thanks to 350 volunteers who did not give up, I submitted 10,744 signatures, including signatures from all 31 congressional districts, meeting any reasonable measure of widespread support.

Then the challenges began.

Did someone write down the incorrect election district or Assembly District number – say the 41st district instead of the 42nd District – (understandable this year, when all the districts were redrawn and re-drawn)?

Then the signature was ruled invalid. Under the heading, "Town," did the signer put, say, Chappaqua?

The signature was invalid: Chappaqua is a village within the town of New Castle.

Did the petition-gatherer who witnessed the signature write her own Assembly district incorrectly at the bottom of the page? In that case, the whole page of signatures was invalid.

Almost 2,000 signatures were knocked off for this last reason alone.

No wonder New York has only one half the entire nation's election litigation.

Most other states don't require nearly as many signatures. New Jersey requires 1,000. California requires 65.

Nor do other states allow safeguards against fraud to be distorted into barriers against legitimate challengers.

Only in New York did Paul Tsongas, winner of the New Hampshire Democratic primary, almost not make it on the ballot. Pat Buchanan didn't even bother to file.

Across the state, citizens, editorial boards and reform commissions have come to one conclusion: the law cheats the voters out of a fair election. Democracy is the loser.

Voters must demand real reform from the Governor and particularly the Republican-controlled State Senate, which barely approved a few weak changes to the law this year.

So I want to tell New Yorkers, not for my sake, since my candidacy is over, but for the sake of voters and future candidates, that you are being set up.

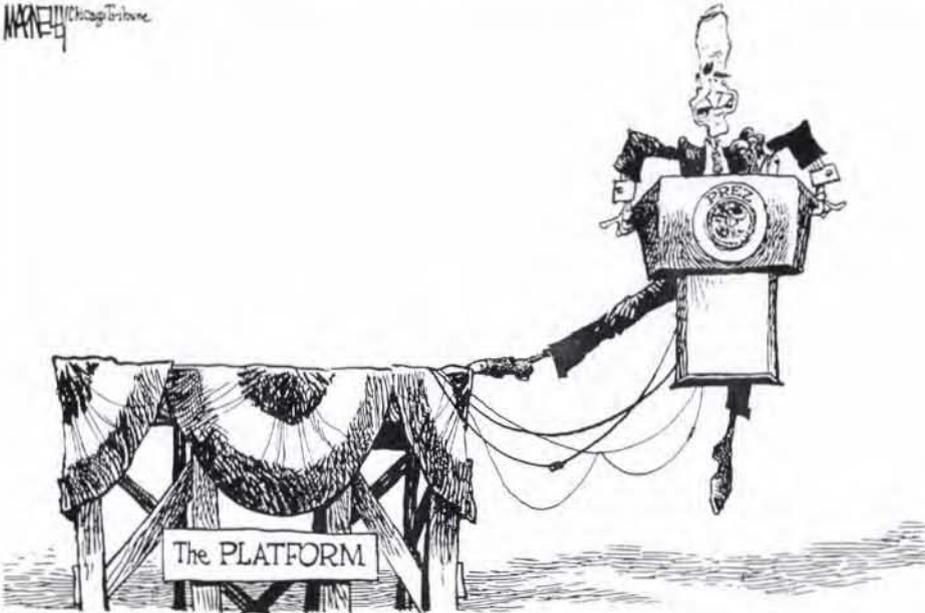
Right now, the system is rigged to protect incumbents and prevent choice. And the ballot access law – a contradiction in terms if there ever was one – is largely to blame, along with each politician who hides behind it. ■

by Laurance
Rockefeller

Laurance Rockefeller is an environmental lawyer with the Natural Resources Defense Council.

LIGHTER SIDE by Jeff MacNelly

MACNELLY Chicago Tribune



Perot: He's GONE!

WNQ thought the arrogant Texan was a presidential has been, as most people did. No, not George Bush but the bold, bodacious billionaire **H. ROSS PEROT**, who re-declared his candidacy for president on the premise that other candidates were not addressing the issues.

Therefore, the yappy little business tycoon decided that during the last month of the election, he would spare no one and spend truck loads of cash to skirt the issues as he did so well before.

Mr. Perot was quick to respond to President Bush's media consultant, **ROGER AILES**, who called the petulant pixie a "nut case."

"That guy that needs to go on Slim-Fast," said Perot in response to the attack in the Oct. 5 edition of *Newsweek*.

Ailes, never slow on the uptake, replied later, "I could drink some Slim-Fast, lose a few pounds. But when they lower his scrawny little rear end into the ground, he's still going to be nuts."

But even before Perot announced his intentions to run or debate

he was busying himself on Capitol Hill. Crazy enough, the diminutive statesmen thought it important that he testify in front of the **SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON POW AND MIA AFFAIRS** to discuss specifics on Americans who may have been left in Indochina after

the Vietnam War.

One report quoted Perot as saying to the committee that he could produce "30 live bodies" to prove his claim. WNQ thinks that if Perot could produce the bodies, he should certainly do so in order to receive some deserved press coverage instead of the ridiculous amount of media hype he received in October.

Even Mr. Perot's corporate development

guru, **JOHN P. WHITE** of Eastman-Kodak, hesitated when asked about a Perot Presidency on NBC's "Meet the Press." When asked if he would vote for Mr. Perot, Mr. White replied, "I don't know I will vote." He then went a step further and endorsed Bill Clinton.

Mr. Perot's former media advisor, **HAL RINEY**, was even less kind when he had this to say of his ex-boss: "Mr. Perot was kind of like **JIMMY SWAGGART** with a lot of tantrums, and I'm not sure that that's presidential material."

WNQ must agree with former President **GERALD FORD**, who said Perot's decision to get back into the race at the behest of his volunteers was basically a voter snow job. "Don't be so naive as to believe that the volunteers will have anything to do with it," Ford said. "It will be determined by his own egotism."



What I Meant to Say... What I Should of Said Was...

Perot and his volunteers are almost as steadfast as Bush/Quayle loyalists, who near the end of the campaign, rolled out the heavy guns. Fearing skewed media coverage, Bush/Quayle Spokeswoman **ALIXE GLEN** sent Washington political reporters a copy of a recent Bush speech, a handy reference brochure entitled "**The Clinton Record**" as well as a side-by-side analysis of Bill Clinton statements. WNQ picks our favorites.

PROMISES NOT TO RUN FOR PRESIDENT: "I told you

when I announced for Governor ... I'm gonna serve four years. I made that decision when I decided to run ... I'm being considered a candidate for Governor. That's the job I want - that's the job I'll do for the next four years." (*KHOS/KHOG-TV Gubernatorial Debate, 10/15/90*)

RUNS FOR PRESIDENT: "Today I proudly announce my candidacy for the President of the United States of America." (*Clinton Announcement Speech, Little Rock Arkansas, 10/3/91*)

PLEDGES TO BALANCE THE BUDGET: "I would present a five-year plan to balance the budget." (*CNN's "Larry King Live," 6/4/92*)

ABANDONS BALANCED BUDGET: "My plan will cut the deficit in half within four years." (*Putting the People First, 6/20/92*)

OPPOSES GUN CONTROL: "I'm not for gun control." (*Arkansas Gazette, 11/2/90*)

FAVORS GUN CONTROL: "I was an early and strong supporter of the Brady Bill." (*NBC's "Today" Show, 10/17/91*)

WOULD NOT SIGN WELFARE WAIVER: "I would not sign that bill," Clinton said referring to a New Jersey bill that prevents women from collecting extra benefits if they have additional children." (*New York Times, 1/22/92*)

WOULD SIGN WELFARE WAIVER: "Clinton said that, as president, he would sign a federal waiver allowing the state to impose the law... 'My position is that no one knows whether it will work for sure... I would not deprive them the right to try this...'" (*Philadelphia*

Inquirer, 5/23/92)

OPPOSES TAX FOR HEALTH CARE: "We don't need to lead with a tax increase that asks hard-working people who already pay too much for health care to pay even more..." (*Bill Clinton for President Primary Committee, "American Health Care Plan" Issue Paper*)

PROPOSES PAYROLL TAX FOR HEALTH CARE: "There will be - there will be a buy in tax, which they can call a payroll tax." (*USA Today, editorial meeting, 8/12/92*)

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