

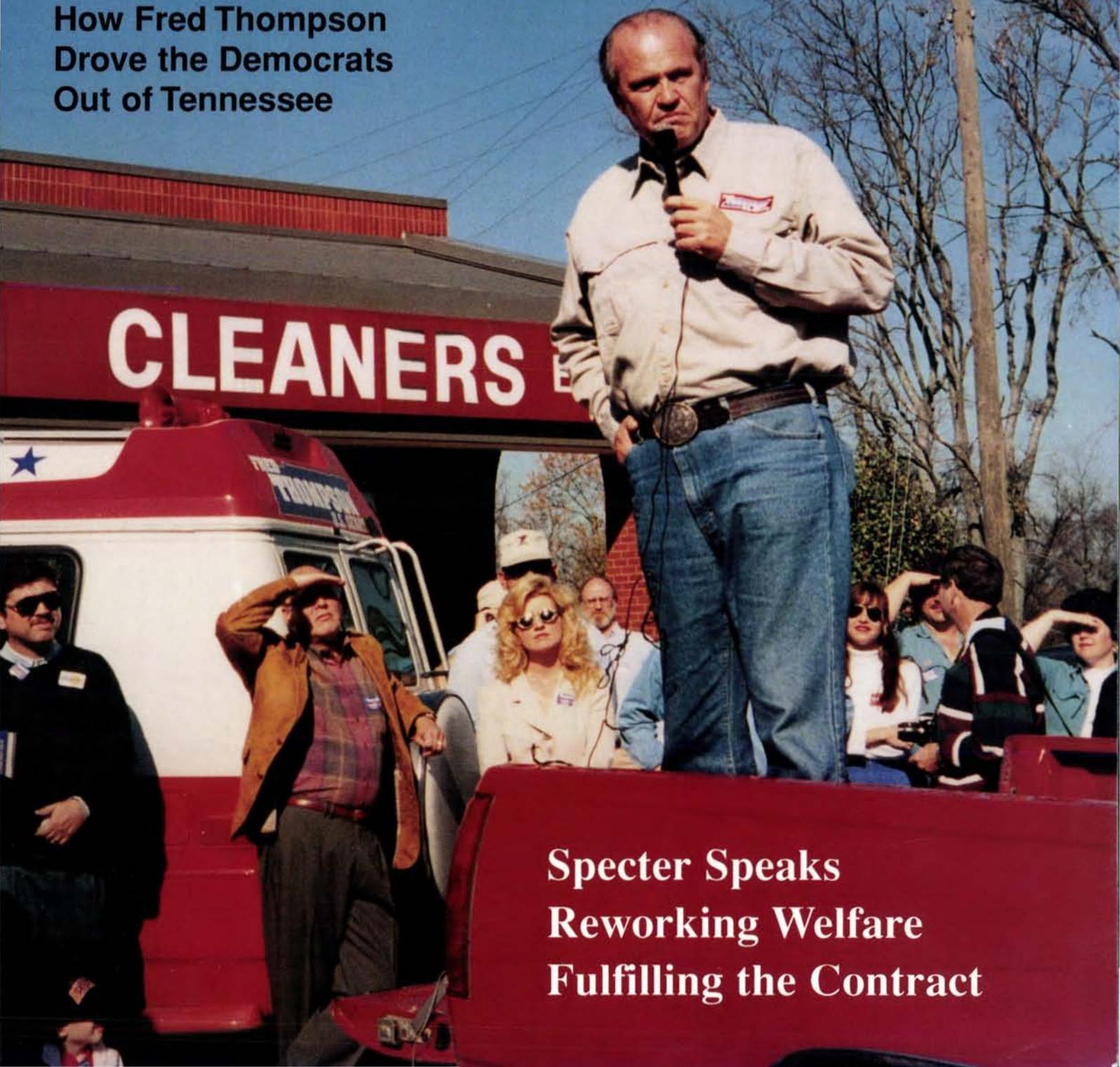
THE RIPON FORUM

VOL. XXX, NO. 1, JAN./FEB. 1995

\$2.95

PICKUP MAN:

How Fred Thompson
Drove the Democrats
Out of Tennessee



**Specter Speaks
Reworking Welfare
Fulfilling the Contract**

RIPON SALUTES THE REPUBLICAN FRESHMEN OF THE 104TH CONGRESS

In the Senate:

Jon Kyl, R-AZ
Olympia J. Snowe, R-ME
Spencer Abraham, R-MI
Rod Grams, R-MN
John Ashcroft, R-MO
Mike DeWine, R-OH
James M. Inhofe, R-OK
Rick Santorum, R-PA
Bill Frist, R-TN
Fred Thompson, R-TN
Craig Thomas, R-WY

Gil Gutknecht, R-MN (1)
Roger Wicker, R-MS (1)
Jon Christensen, R-NE (2)
John Ensign, R-NV (1)
Charles Bass, R-NH (2)
Frank A. LoBiondo, R-NJ (2)
Bill Martini, R-NJ (8)
Rodney Frelinghuysen, R-NJ (11)
Michael P. Forbes, R-NY (1)
Daniel Frisa, R-NY (4)
Sue W. Kelly, R-NY (19)
David Funderbunk, R-NC (2)
Walter B. Jones Jr., R-NC (3)
Frederick Kenneth Heineman, R-NC (4)
Richard Burr, R-NC (5)
Sue Myrick, R-NC (9)
Steve Chabot, R-OH (1)
Frank A. Cremeans, R-OH (6)
Bob Ney, R-OH (18)
Steven C. LaTourette, R-OH (19)
Steve Largent, R-OK (1)
Tom Coburn, R-OK (2)
J.C. Watts, R-OK (4)
Wes Cooley, R-OR (2)
Jon D. Fox, R-PA (13)
Phil English, R-PA (21)
Marshall "Mark" Sanford, R-SC (1)
Lindsey Graham, R-SC (3)
Zach Wamp, R-TN (3)
Van Hilleary, R-TN (4)
Ed Bryant, R-TN (7)
Steve Stockman, R-TX (9)
William M. "Mac" Thornberry, R-TX (13)
Enid Greene Waldholtz, R-UT (2)
Thomas M. Davis III, R-VA (11)
Rick White, R-WA (1)
Jack Metcalf, R-WA (2)
Linda Smith, R-WA (3)
Richard "Doc" Hastings, R-WA (4)
George Nethercutt, R-WA (5)
Randy Tate, R-WA (9)
Mark W. Neumann, R-WI (1)
Barbara Cubin, R-WY (At Large)

In the House:

Matt Salmon, R-AZ (1)
John Shadegg, R-AZ (4)
J.D. Hayworth, R-AZ (6)
Frank Riggs, R-CA (1)
George P. Radanovich, R-CA (19)
Andrea Seastrand, R-CA (22)
Sonny Bono, R-CA (44)
Brian P. Bilbray, R-CA (49)
Joe Scarborough, R-FL (1)
Dave Weldon, R-FL (15)
Mark Foley, R-FL (16)
Bob Barr, R-GA (7)
Saxby Chambliss, R-GA (8)
Charlie Norwood, R-GA (10)
Helen Chenoweth, R-ID (1)
Michael Patrick Flanagan, R-IL (5)
Jerry Weller, R-IL (11)
Ray LaHood, R-IL (18)
David M. McIntosh, R-IN (2)
Mark Edward Souder, R-IN (4)
John Hostettler, R-IN (8)
Greg Ganske, R-IA (4)
Tom Latham, R-IA (5)
Sam Brownback, R-KA (2)
Todd Tiahrt, R-KA (4)
Edward Whitfield, R-KY (1)
James B. Longley Jr., R-ME (1)
Robert L. Ehrlich Jr., R-MD (2)
Dick Chrysler, R-MI (8)

FEATURE

- 6 **The Senator From Central Casting**
Fred Thompson and Tennessee's GOP Revival
by David R. Beiler



POLICY ON PARADE

- 20 **Making Welfare Work**
Finding a Replacement for the Welfare State
by Andrea Spring



ON THE RECORD

- 16 **Specter Over the Right**
A Moderate Aims for the White House



DEPARTMENTS

- 4 **Under the Big Tent** by Michael Dubke
5 **To the Ripon Readers**
12 **The Analyst** by Christine Mathews
14 **Capital Comix**
25 **Book Review-**
"Arrogant Capital" Controversy
28 **Fact Findings-**
Moderate GOP Committee Chairs in Congress
30 **Notes & Quotes**

Welcome Back to the Reincarnated Ripon Forum

For the past two years we have been diligently working to position the Ripon Society so that it can once again be a gathering place for Republicans who are fiscally conservative and socially tolerant. To that end, I reintroduce to you the *Ripon Forum*.

The Ripon goal has always been—and continues to be—the presentation of provocative ideas and interesting stories that broaden and enhance American political debate and practice. And now, with the *Ripon Forum*, we have a vehicle to bring them to you. The new *Forum* will contain articles from inside and outside the Beltway, written by experts, politicians and those “in the know.” We hope the new format will help you connect with the moderate Republican movement of the 1990s.

New Leadership

Along with the resurrection of the *Forum*, Ripon is pleased to announce a new slate of leadership for the Society. Former Minnesota Congressman Bill Frenzel has signed on to be the next president, replacing former Vermont Congressman Peter P. Smith. Peter has moved on to become the founding president of the California State University at Monterey Bay. We wish Peter the best of luck as we welcome Bill to the helm.

Bill Frenzel has had a long and illustrious public career. He was first elected to state office in 1962 and served in the Minnesota House of Representatives until 1970, when he was elected to Congress. In 1990, the *Almanac of American Politics* described Bill as “one of the hardest working and most influential Republicans in the House.” He still carries that reputation today; so much so that when it appeared NAFTA was

going down in 1993, President Clinton asked Bill to serve as Republican liaison in its struggle for passage. Bill currently is a guest scholar at the Brookings Institution in Washington.

Also joining the leadership ranks of the Society as Chair of the Advisory Board will be Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-KS). Senator Kassebaum will be assuming the post that Representative Sherwood Boehlert (R-NY) has held for the past four years. Other members of the Advisory Board include: Governors William Weld and Christine Todd Whitman, Senators John H. Chafee, Mark O. Hatfield, James M. Jeffords, Bob Packwood, Olympia J. Snowe, Arlen Specter, Ted Stevens; Representatives Sherwood Boehlert, William F. Clinger, Jr., Tillie Fowler, James C. Greenwood, Steve Gunderson, David L. Hobson, Amo Houghton, Nancy L. Johnson, Scott L. Klug, Jim Kolbe, Jim Leach, Bill Martini, Joseph M. McDade, Jan Meyers, Susan Molinari, Constance A. Morella, Michael G. Oxley, Tom Petri, Jim Ramstad, Marge Roukema, Christopher Shays and Peter G. Torkildsen.



Bill Frenzel

NGB Storms Capitol Hill

Two members of our National Governing Board vied in 1994 to become members of our Advisory Board. State Sen. John Carroll of Vermont came within a few thousand votes of defeating the one independent of the 103rd Congress, Socialist Bernard Sanders. Carroll came so close that the National Republican Congressional Committee has put Bolshevik Bernie on its top ten “most wanted list” for ‘96.

In Massachusetts, Michael M. Murphy attempted “Mission

Impossible:” bringing down Joe Moakley (D) in a district that includes South Boston, Brockton, the textile mill town of Taunton. Although Mike was not victorious, he was successful—along with Marilyn Rollins and other members of the Massachusetts Chapter of the National Black Republican Council—in spearheading the passage of an “Inclusion Resolution” as part of the Bay State Republican party platform.

Leadership Summit

The Inclusion Resolution will be part of the policy discussions at the Moderate Republican Leadership Summit, to be held in Washington on Friday, March 31st and Saturday, April 1st. The Summit’s main goal is to bring together the leaders of over fifty moderate Republican groups to participate in a discussion of how to transform the Republican party into the majority party for the next generation. By working with the leaders of Republican moderates, we will be able to strengthen the communication between pragmatic members of the GOP and create an affiliation of like-minded individuals in anticipation of the 1996 GOP Convention.

The Ripon Society is in a unique position in 1995 to become an umbrella organization to the burgeoning number of moderate Republican groups sweeping the nation. During the 1994 election campaigns, the national media continually turned to the Ripon Society for the moderate Republican perspective. One of Ripon’s assets is its reputation as the national organization for Republican moderates, and we plan to use it.

To that end, please enjoy this issue of the *Ripon Forum*.

—Michael Dubke,
Executive Director

Wanna Be a Majority? Represent the Majority!

The 1994 elections succeeded in turning the Congress upside-down, changing the established Washington order to an extent many considered no longer possible, just a few months ago. But this remarkable shift in electoral fortunes did not involve a massive shift of voter allegiance. Rather, a disgruntled swing faction of moderates—disproportionately male, middle-class and southern—shifted the balance of power. Nominally Democratic in their down-ballot voting habits, they simply could no longer bear an arrogant Washington power structure fostered and programmed by powerful special interests. Republicans—with their outsider status and program for reform—offered a ticket out. It was eagerly grabbed.

Anyone doubting this reading of the situation need only look at the exit polls: While nearly all '92 Bush and Clinton voters opted for the same respective parties in their '94 congressional choice, Perot voters stampeded to the Republicans by a 2:1 margin. The same polls in '92 had shown Perotistas breaking evenly between Clinton and Bush with their man out of the race. The Perotista shift accounted for almost all the Republican gains outside the South. Below the Mason-Dixon Line, a stronger linkage between presidential and congressional voting behavior provided most of the pickups.

The message here is clear: Republicans can become the majority party of the next generation only if they respond to this key segment of the electorate. That has been done—with words. It is now time for follow-up with action.



That means more than passing the most important elements of the Contract, which appears to be well underway. It means stopping the revolving door between government and Gucci Gulch—the plush life of special interest lobbying. It means stopping the gifts, the trips, the special privileges bestowed upon lawmakers by lobbies and government policy. It means eliminating antiquated, debilitating programs and wasteful pork—be it hiding in Defense outlays or elsewhere. It means eliminating tax loopholes aimed making the powerful more so at the expense of the middle class.

It does NOT mean pushing a Radical Right/fundamentalist social agenda that will only alienate this crucial cohort. These are NOT doctrinaire ditto-heads; if they were, they would have been on board long ago. They are the moderate middle-class bulwark that made this country a beacon of democracy and a colossus of capitalism. As they go, so goes America.

To learn how they can best be recruited to the Republican ranks, we studied the most successful GOP campaign of the year: the Tennessee triumph of Fred Thompson, the U.S. Senate quest that turned partisan politics in the Volunteer State upside down (page 6). We found that message was not personally negative or shrilly ideological. It was simply: get Congress out of its ruling class mentality and make it representative of the common people again. Any Republican who runs on that platform and stays true to it in office will never lack for votes.

THE RIPON FORUM

EDITOR
David Beiler

PRODUCTION
Lori Wyard

EDITORIAL BOARD
Michael Dubke
Gregg Edwards
Bill Frenzel
Peter Smith

*Copyright 1995
by The Ripon Society.
All Rights Reserved.*

*One Year Subscriptions:
\$20.00 for individuals
\$30.00 for institutions
\$10.00 for students*

*Second class postage paid at
Washington, D.C. and
additional mailing offices.*

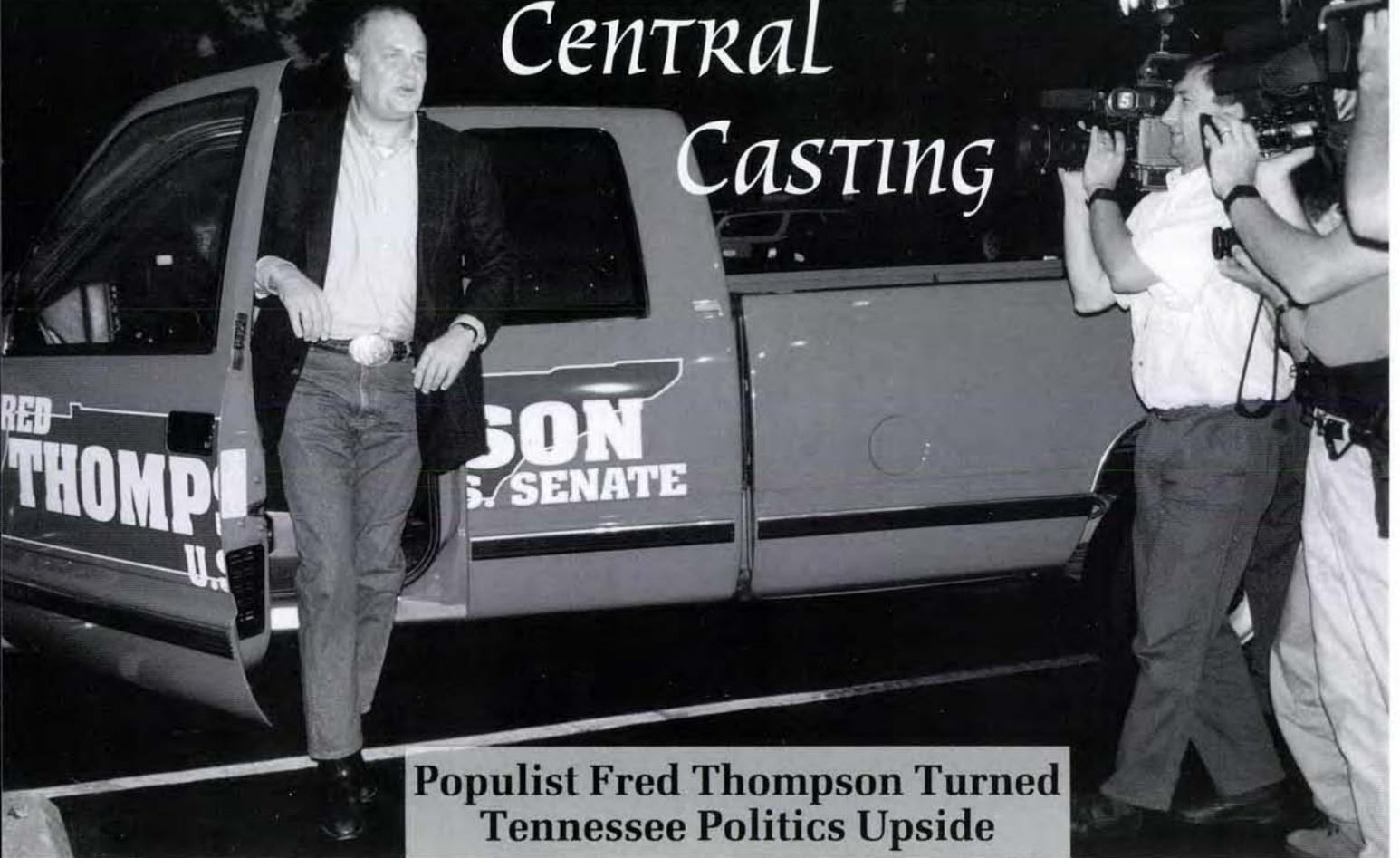
*Postmaster, send address
changes to:
The Ripon Forum
227 Massachusetts Ave., NE
Suite 201
Washington, D.C 20002*

*The Ripon Forum
(ISN 0035-5526)
is published bi-monthly
by The Ripon Society.*

*The Ripon Society is a
research and policy
organization. It is
headquartered in
Washington, D.C., with
National Associate members
throughout the United States.
Ripon is supported by
chapter dues, individual
contributions, and revenues
from its publications.*

THE SENATOR FROM

Central Casting



Populist Fred Thompson Turned Tennessee Politics Upside Down in a Matter of Weeks; Washington Could Be Next. . .

Nothing doing. And they call this the "Volunteer State"The GOP here is stuck in Munchkinland....[But] who knows? Tennessee may become the next frontier conquered by democracy.

— *Campaigns & Elections*, commenting on the moribund state of the Tennessee Republican Party during the 1990 campaigns.

If Tennessee voters had made it to the polls in recent years, they weren't drawn by statewide races: the top three positions (governor, both U.S. Senate seats) were all held by Democrats who had faced no serious opposition to their last re-election. That carved-stone status quo exploded in 1994, as Republicans captured all three slots by convincing margins. Democrats had held every statewide office for the past eight years; this November, they barely won one—a

seat on the Public Service Commission. Jim Sasser, the man expected to become Democratic Leader of the next U.S. Senate, was beaten by fourteen points—by a political unknown who had not registered to vote until he was 36.

The sudden and dramatic shift in GOP fortunes in the land of Andrew Jackson could be traced to the electorate's enthusiastic reaction to Senate candidate Fred Thompson, a straight-talking attorney/actor who had succeeded in defining Tennessee's political agenda. Thompson's star quality—already evident in such films as *Hunt for Red October* and *In the Line of Fire*—soon took center stage in Washington, where he was chosen to

By David R. Beiler

deliver the GOP response to President Clinton's mid-term address to the nation in

December.

The Prince and the GOPER

Not so long ago, this drawling Vol was anything but the center of adulation. As late as August—when a treasureless salesman held him to little more than three-fifths of the vote in the Republican primary — Thompson looked like a sure loser in the race to complete the last two years of Al Gore's Senate term. Opponent Jim Cooper had the strongest credentials of any non-incumbent candidate in the country. A Rhodes Scholar son of a former governor, he had already put in a dozen years in Congress at the age of 40; his much-touted health care bill had provided the insurance industry its first line of defense in its battle against the far more sweeping program proposed by Clinton. Cooper

was a legitimate national figure, and his campaign coffers reflected it, even though he had decided not to accept PAC money.

By contrast, Thompson's political career appeared stillborn. Ever since his high-profile role as the young minority counsel in the Senate Watergate hearings of a generation ago, Thompson had been considered a heavyweight potential candidate for statewide office. As the years and opportunities passed, the once-rising political star began to look like a political Kahoutek—all hype and no happening. After playing himself in a 1985 Sissy Spacek film about a crusade against corrupt state government, Thompson launched a side career in the movies as a character actor, a move that seemed to categorize him as little more than the question to a \$1,000 Jeopardy answer: "After uncovering the secret Nixon tapes, he later played a presidential chief-of-staff in the movies."

Now that he was finally in the field, campaigning for the Gore seat, Thompson was being roundly criticized for what appeared to be a languid, laconic start. He still bristles about it today:

Thompson: It seems like the experts are always fighting the last war and really don't have the ability to project—here in Tennessee especially. The way they saw it, Cooper had a million dollars going in, was the fair-haired boy of the health care industry, and was an effective campaigner. The fact of the matter was the only race he'd ever had was that first race for Congress 12 years ago.

True enough, but that first race had left a deep impression. Running in a newly-created, marginal district that sprawled 300 miles across the state, Cooper faced Cissy Baker, whose father (Howard Baker) and grandfather (Everett

Dirksen) had both served as Republican Leaders in the U.S. Senate. Baker spent a record \$1.2 million, but Cooper crushed her by a 2:1 margin. One indicator of the effectiveness the Baker campaign was its bumpersticker, whose black letters on a yellow background proclaimed one word: "Cissy." It was not often found on the back of the rural district's many pickups.

Scorching the Scab

A self-proclaimed "New Democrat" whose path to the nomination had been cleared by the Nashville establishment, Cooper had gone a long way toward alienating his party's base support. He had recently voted against shifting the tax burden toward the wealthy, for NAFTA, and had been fingered by the White House as the most dangerous opponent of the President's elaborate and ambitious health care designs.

All that made Cooper a particular *persona non grata* with Tennessee's labor unions, who burned a copy of his health care plan at a March 10 rally in Chattanooga. "You don't reckon he's putting that bill in because its good for the people, do you?" bellowed Marty Berger of the Garment Workers. "You don't think he wants to grow up to be a Senator, do you?"

The idea that the Congressman was a tool of special interests gradually took hold, despite his PAC ban. A March 21 Cooper fundraiser in the insurance capital of Hartford, Connecticut drew 100 protesters

chanting "shame!" and led to unflattering headlines back home, such as the Nashville Banner's "Insurance Execs Fill Up Cooper's Collection Plate."

For his part, Thompson generally laid low on the issues that threatened an intraparty revolt against the presumed Democratic nominee. He took no position on the controversial GATT trade treaty that would soon be coming before Congress, and offered no specific alternatives to the Cooper health care plan, which he claimed was too expensive and restrictive. Instead, he harped on Cooper's insurance industry funding, reportedly lobbied GOP senators in Washington to avoid compromise on health care, and carefully laid plans for an image-driven campaign that would appeal to the widespread disaffection with Congress among middle class voters.

Remarkably, it would be the only non-incumbent Senate campaign in the country whose advertising would virtually ignore the opposition—even that favorite GOP punching bag, Bill Clinton.

"It was something I had in mind from the very beginning," Thompson recalls, explaining why he passed up a concurrent chance to run for a full six-year Senate term, challenging liberal establishment figure Jim Sasser, a seemingly inviting target. "One of the reasons the open seat appealed to me was that I thought I could talk about what I wanted to do instead of complaining about the other guy. It worked out that way...[and] was

AROUND THE TRACK

Tracing the Tennessee Senate Race By the Numbers

(The first percentage in each column refers to support; the second refers to name identification.)

Candidate	1/Late July	2/Mid-Sept.	3/Mid-Oct.	Returns
Thompson (R)	33/49%	39/62%	46/85%	61.1%
Cooper (D)	45/88	41/84	40/89	38.9%
Undecided	22	20	14	

All surveys by Mason-Dixon/PMR for THE (Nashville) TENNESEAN: 1) taken 7/24-26 of 838 likely voters (margin of error +/-3.5%); 2) taken 9/15-19 of 814 likely voters (margin of error +/- 3.5%); 3) taken 10/8-10 of 804 likely voters (margin of error +/- 3.6%).

responsible for a major part of our success."

Stalking the Wild Voter

Success looked a long way off when Thompson formally opened his campaign on April 18. Cooper was leading him by a 3:2 margin in most surveys and had outraised him 3:1. The Democrat's \$2.5 million war chest was the largest of any open seat Senate campaign in the entire country. Although the *March Campaigns & Elections* had tabbed Thompson the "upset pick of the year," it was an increasingly rare assessment. "Fred's frittered away his chance," a Republican activist reported from Nashville.

The filing deadline was only a month away, but Thompson faced only nominal primary opposition from Memphis salesman John Baker. The

early low profile was "more or less the plan we laid out in September [1993]" reports Thompson manager Bill Lacy. "We knew little attention was going to be paid to our race during the primary season, with a big, well-financed field shaping up in the Republican primary for the other seat. So we concentrated on raising money for the big media push that would start the day after the primary, in mid-August."

A native of Cookeville, in populist/Democratic Middle Tennessee, Lacy was a veteran GOP operative from the highest levels, having managed Bob Dole's 1988 bid for the Presidency. Coming on board the campaign at its inception the previous Fall, he had helped put together a crack team of professionals that included pollster Linda DiVall and media maven Alex Castellanos, a veteran of Jesse Helms' 1990 comeback and the

Bush re-election effort. But it was clear this candidate would need little instruction in how to communicate to the voters, particularly the key swing "3-M" cohort: Moderate, Middle-class and Mad."

"The people around me had the confidence to sublimate their own ideas and professionalism," Thompson fondly recalls. "They let me go with what I felt I had to do."

Thompson's instincts told him to avoid negative attacks in his advertising until fired upon, concentrating on a reform agenda and the conveyance of empathy for the disillusioned working class. It was a unique strategy among the nation's major races, and it initially appeared to be going nowhere.

The Thompson campaign ran only one TV spot during the primary season: an interesting 30-second bio that recounted his various adventures as a prosecutor, Watergate investigator, crusader against corruption in the Governor's Office, and actor. Riding high in the polls and awash in cash, Cooper avoided joint appearances over the summer, citing the contested GOP primary.

The pair finally clashed for the first time at a convocation of the state bar association in June, with Cooper acting like an incumbent while Thompson relished the role of challenger. Known in Washington as a policy wonk, the Congressman studiously ticked off the details of his background and health care plan. To pre-empt being stuck with the "Washington Insider" label, he tried to position Thompson under the mantle of campaign heavy. "We've seen very little in the way of negative campaigning here in Tennessee," he cautioned ominously. "That may be about to change."

Tennesseans deplore uncivility in their politicians, and Thompson wasn't about to rise to the bait with his advertising, despite his underdog status. But for the more studious voters who were noting these early face-to-face showdowns, he was more than willing to demonstrate his opponent's alleged unworthiness. Cooper was guilty of "the old congressional two-

TV, Thompson-Style

Spot: I Believe (0:30)

Campaign: Thompson/Sen/TN/94

Producer: National Media

Conferring with consultants Bill Lacy, Alex Castellanos, and Linda DiVall, Fred Thompson wrote a series of 30 second "barnyard chats" for his paid media campaign. The ads of which this is typical - propelled him to a permanent lead.

[FRED THOMPSON, FROM THE FRONT PORCH OF A FARMHOUSE]:

To get elected today, politicians will say just about anything. Then they get to Washington and we find out what they really think. I'm Fred Thompson, and I'm going to tell you what I believe right now. I believe you can't spend more than you got coming in. We can't tax ourselves into prosperity. I believe you can't pay people more not to work than to work. And criminals can't hurt anybody if they're behind bars. Common sense? Maybe. But it's not too common in Washington right now.

[ANNOUNCER]:

The Change Congress Needs- Fred Thompson, U.S. Senate.



step," Thompson charged, pushing a health care plan favorable to the insurance industry while raking in contributions from it. Furthermore, he had "ignored the need for congressional reform while voting to increase his own salary."

Cincinnatus in Plaid

The day after the August 4 primary, Thompson leased a red pickup from a Knoxville car dealer, emblazoned the doors with his campaign logo, and set off on a trek that would carry him to every one of Tennessee's 95 counties he had not already hit in his quest for office. Wearing jeans and plaid shirts, the one-time bicycle assembler pressed the flesh at county fairs and country stores and in small hamlets far off the beaten campaign trail.

The shift in tactics caused no great commotion until the Cooper campaign ridiculed it as "a Hollywood actor driving around in a rented stage prop." As the news media took note of the amusing controversy, Thompson and the truck became overnight celebrities.

It was a sequence of events reminiscent of the very first media campaign, the presidential contest of 1840. A Democratic newspaper berating Whig nominee William Henry Harrison as an antiquated backbencher sneered, "set him up on the porch of a log cabin with a barrel of hard cider, and he will sit contentedly for the rest of his days." Heretofore known as the party of privilege, the Whigs adopted the log cabin and cider barrel as campaign symbols and swept Democrat incumbent Martin Van Buren out of office in a "tidal wave of apple juice."

The new-found Thompson imagery had a similar effect. Following up on the avalanche of populist publicity, the part-time actor wrote and recorded a series of "talking head" spots that used farm scenes as a backdrop. Dressed in his now-trademark uniform of denim and flannel, a folksy-but-firm Thompson harkens reform from the

heartland:

They have no idea, do they. The career politicians. How the laws and taxes they put on us affect us. So let's stop Congress from exempting themselves from the laws they make for the rest of us. Let's take away their million-dollar pensions and payraises. Same laws that apply to us ought to apply to them. Who knows? Maybe they wouldn't make so many laws if they actually had to live under a few of them.

Usually closing with footage of the red pickup hurtling through the countryside along a rail fence, the farm ads put Thompson's numbers on the move. By mid-September he had pulled even in the polls, and Cooper had begun to panic, charging in a radio debate that Thompson was concealing "his secret life...as a foreign agent" from the voters. Slowly the race was being defined as John Wayne meets Miles Silverberg.

The Bronk vs. the Wonk

In an attempt to turn the tide, the lisping lawmaker did his best to appear tough in an ad that called on him to recount the attempted burglary of his home by a man with a pitchfork. The episode was plainly overblown, with Cooper describing his home-alone wife's alarm and declaring the arrested criminal "got off." In fact, the incident took place in Washington; the burglar avoided serving time there only because he was subsequently given a much longer sentence in another jurisdiction. As his numbers continued to wane, Cooper put Al



Cooper in Stripes: Bad Company

Gore's old media firm (The Campaign Group) on the bench and called in Strother, Duffy—specialists in southern populism.

Castellanos became concerned that the Democrats would soon use their larger media budget to drive home the charge that Thompson's common-man image was another movie role; that he was really an elite lobbyist for special interests. He urged the reluctant candidate to discredit his opponent first, loading ammunition he had already fired in debates into attack ads. Thompson finally relented, allowing the production of a single negative spot (*Stripes*). But he dictated it be held in reserve and used only in response to Cooper's first negative advertising.

Like duelists from Jackson's time warily keeping each other in their sights long after the count of ten, the candidates showed remarkable restraint, neither wanting to take the first ungentlemanly plunge into the quagmire of negative advertising. With only a month left on the campaign schedule, it was the only competitive major race in the country that had avoided muddying up the voters' living rooms.

Finally, a Mason-Dixon poll published October 14 in *The (Nashville) Tennessean* reported Thompson had pulled six points ahead. Steaming over what he regarded an artful subterfuge, an exasperated Cooper found his *vox populi*, dubbing his homespun opponent a "Gucci-wearing, Lincoln-driving, Perrier-drinking, Grey Poupon-spreading millionaire

THE TOTEBOARD

The Horses, Handlers, Wagers and Payoff

	Fred Thompson (R)	Jim Cooper (D)
Manager	Bill Lacy	John Cooper
Media	National Media	Strother, Duffy*
Polling	American Viewpoint	Hickman-Brown
Spending	\$3,643,905	\$3,863,389
Votes	878,426 (61.1%)	559,356 (38.9%)
\$/Vote	\$4.15	\$6.91

* Superseded The Campaign Group
Source: Federal Election Commission records.

Washington special interest lobbyist." The mud-caked message soon hit the airwaves in a spot that featured Thompson's Washington home.

The gloves were off, and Stripes was finally unleashed from the can. It opens with Cooper piously explaining he doesn't take PAC money because "I don't want to be beholden to special interests." It then recreates a clip from an ABC News broadcast that identifies Cooper as the biggest recipient of insurance industry largesse in the entire U.S. House. After citing the Democrat's several votes for tax hikes and congressional pay raises, the 30-second devastation concludes with priceless footage of Cooper chasing after a jogging Clinton on the Mall, looking like Sweet Pea trying to tag along in Popeye's wake. "Jim Cooper," a voice disdainfully offers. "He's running with the wrong crowd."

In the final ten days, with Thompson's advertising shifting to inspiring spots that recalled the campaign's grassroots images and message, Tennessee registered as the epicenter of a national Republican earthquake. The sea-saw governor's race turned into an eight-point GOP win, while Sasser's precarious lead over surgeon Bill Frist slid into a landslide loss.

And at center stage, Farmer Fred was burying Gentleman Jim by more than 22 points, rolling up the biggest non-presidential year vote in Tennessee history. A month later he was being simulcast by the major TV networks as the national spokesman of the Republican Party. Before he was even sworn into his first elective office, Thompson was asked on America's top-rated public affairs program if he would be running for president in 1996.

What makes this latest figure on our political landscape so compelling a force? "He's formed a chemistry with the voters," reports Larry Daughtrey, political columnist for *The Tennessean*. "He looks and sounds...down-to-earth; a plain-spoken guy with common sense and values who'll do what he says he'll do. It

helped that he was of the Howard Baker/Lamar Alexander mold, an East Tennessee-style moderate Republican who didn't scare Democrats away."

Fessin' Up

It is a stirring television image. Draped in the homespun rainments of the backwater, The Man of the People looks out of place in the political arena—where the other gladiators all evince the image of formal, authoritative conformity. An entertainer by trade, he speaks engagingly, amusingly, in the vernacular—but straight-on; no phony, studied double-talk here. And he is seething with the discontent of the ignored masses:



WALT DISNEY HOME VIDEO

"Crockett" Castigating Congress: Thompson Role Model?

You wouldn't be doing the [people] any good voting for this bill. You'd only be making rich men out of the land-grabbers and speculators who've been trying to get it passed. Now, just who are these scalawags? Well, one of them could be the President himself...[but] I'm sure he has only the good of the country at heart. No, it's just a few thievin' varmints hangin' on, givin' dinners and fancy parties, reachin' for whatever they can get their hands on. But they're a no-account lot about as natural as flies around a molasses barrel. The real scalawags in this here capital of the brave and free is us—you and me...It's nobody's fault but our own if a bill like this gets passed.

Video Frame Grabs by Jim Rhodes

No, that is not a Fred Thompson commercial from 1994, though it might as well be. It is a Walt Disney production from 1954, a scene from the first TV mini-series, *Davy Crockett: King of the Wild Frontier*. Actor Fess Parker's drawling Crockett is railing away on the floor of Congress, scolding the Members for caving to fat cat special interests.

The Crockett saga became an instant international sensation: its theme song camped out in the *Billboard* Chart's number one slot for seven weeks; raccoons became an endangered species as millions of kids clamored for Davy-style coonskin caps. Re-run every other year for a decade, *Crockett* profoundly influenced Baby Boomers in their formative years. Writing 15 years later in *The Strawberry Statement*, student radical James Simon Kunen declared the series had led him to question the powers-that-be. Of Walt Disney, Kunen wrote: "The old fascist never knew he was creating a generation of revolutionaries."

Forty years ago, Fred Thompson was a working-class adolescent in Crockett's bucolic hometown of Lawrenceburg, Tennessee (pop. 10,000). One can scarcely imagine the impact Parker/Crockett must have had on him, but it seems evident today in the way he speaks to the unblinking eye that carries his message to millions:

Let's limit the terms of career politicians and open the system to average citizens. Let's stop their automatic payraises and make them live under the laws they make for the rest of us. To restore our confidence in our government again, Congress needs a major shakeup. I'm Fred Thompson. If you'll help me, I'll lead that fight.

If Tennessee voters are any indicator, the idealistic-turned-surlly Boomers have found their voice in this reincarnation of their childhood hero. Those wishing to stay in power had better listen.

LD

FRED'S BEST PICK-UP LINES

Even before Fred Thompson assumed his first elective office, he was being besieged by a capital elite in search of clues that would explain the recently evident revolt of the masses. Ripon interviewed him as he was unpacking his boxes, and came away with the following insights:

ON THE SECRETS OF HIS ELECTORAL SUCCESS:

"It was the combination of a straightforward reform message by a fellow who was not a politician and the fact that it was not a negative campaign. When you tell people you're not going to be a politician, it helps your credibility if you don't act like one. We did not act like one, from the way we campaigned to the message we delivered."

ON WHAT CONGRESS CAN DO TO REGAIN PUBLIC ESTEEM:

"Apply laws to Congress that are applicable to the average person and small business. Restrain themselves in the way they spend money: a balanced budget amendment. Cut staff. Carry out some of the measures that were recommended in the past by the Joint Commission on the Organization of Congress, such as paring down committees and subcommittees. Discipline itself, cut itself back."

ON APPLYING HIS MESSAGE TO THE '96 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN:

"I wouldn't be surprised to see it happen. Frankly, I think there will be more than one presidential candidate taking out after Congress. That's why

we especially need to take this window of opportunity to make those changes. If we don't, we're going to have any smart Republican who can claim to be an outsider running against Congress. And although it's going to be our Congress now, that message will resonate even within the party, unless we get about the reforms that we promised. That will be additional pressure on us. I expect Lamar Alexander to continue in that vein and I don't think that he'll be alone."

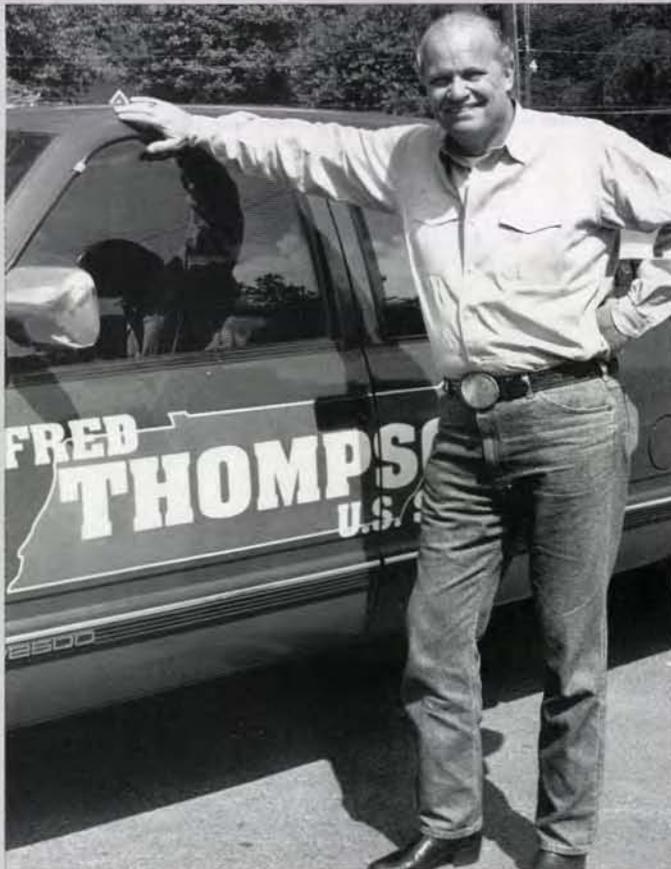
ON READING THE MANDATE OF THE '94 ELECTIONS:

"There were a lot of people at these victory rallies on election night saying 'Oh, the Democrats don't know what happened to them.' It's much more important that WE know what happened to them, and know what hap-

pened to us. The American people are ready to give our substantive proposals a try in terms of welfare and handling the crime issue—just to use a couple of examples. But I really think the driving force behind what happened was the fact that we were there; we were a tool the people used to express their dissatisfaction. It has to do with the reform issues; it has to do with changing the way the federal government does business, the way Washington operates—particularly in regard to special interests. If Republicans think we were given an overwhelming mandate—that people suddenly woke up and started loving Republicans and all the details of our programs—we're making a terrible mistake. But if we can take the lead on reforming ourselves, thereby putting us in a position to move outward, then we're going to have much more success enacting these substantive programs."

ON THE IMPORTANCE OF REFORM AS AN ISSUE:

"It could wind up being the only defining area. Many tend to speculate—and I tend to agree—that Clinton will move rightward. On welfare, for example: if the question becomes: "after two years [on the dole], then what?"—that's a pretty narrow debate. We could wind up with a pretty minor philosophical difference, if he decides to go back to his original campaign pledges. And if Clinton is additionally smart, he'll take it to us on some of the reform measures—starting with the executive, making it apply to the executive branch and challenging Congress to do the same. Another good reason for us to stay in the forefront of reform.



Freshman Senator Fred Thompson

There's something people like about a pickup man



The Lessons of Victory, '94

The 1994 elections have been described in terms usually reserved for natural disasters: tsunami, earthquake, avalanche. The force behind this cataclysm—the American electorate—have been described as angry, apathetic, unaware, and vengeful.

A longer, perhaps more spiritual perspective of last November's events suggests use of the Buddhist term *samsara*, meaning a state of endless change from which there is no escape. That seems a more apt description of the electoral carousel we've been on recently. The motivating factor behind both the 1992 and 1994 elections is an esoteric dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs in Washington, and a strong desire to change it.

In days past, "status quo" was a term that inspired a sense of security with regard to the federal government; today, it means unresponsiveness and gridlock. Voters seem to have embarked on an endless quest for change. As in the search for lost youth, such a journey never quite takes you to the destination you're looking for.

To some extent, the '94 elections were also representative of the politics of scarcity: "us vs. them." This sentiment is reflective of a crumbling Old Order embodied by the lack of good-paying jobs, increased global competition, an over-taxed infrastructure, dwindling Social Security funds and chaos on the streets.

There is immense polarization in the electorate. Republican congressional candidates carried

the white vote by a substantial 16 points, but trailed among all minority groups: Asians (by 10 points), Hispanics (20 points) and blacks (a stunning 84-point margin). Feeling threatened and ignored, middle-class white male voters lashed out against government, perhaps with the sense that government had helped to uplift and support everyone else at their expense. That anger found its most direct expression in California's Proposition 187, which called for the denial of government services to illegal aliens and passed comfortably.

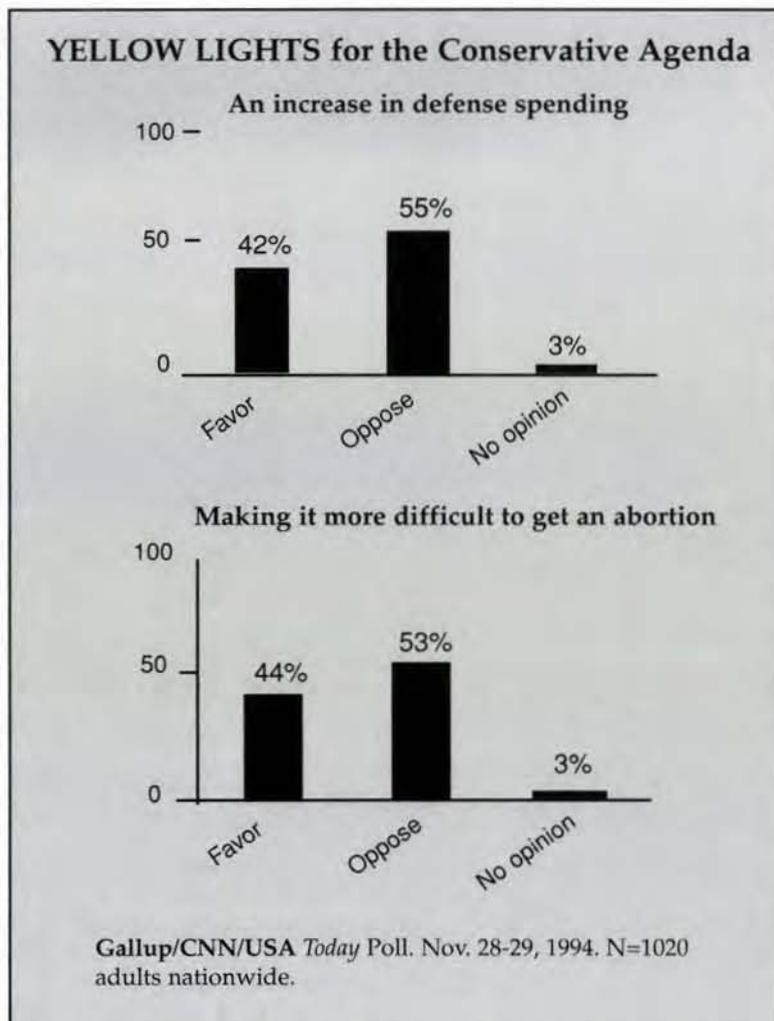
However, the impatience and intolerance seen in this and other recent elections is a reaction—not a phil-

osophy. What is the genuine article is a prevalent lack of confidence in government. In response to every conceivable question about the role of government, voters are emphatically telling pollsters they want less. President Clinton overstepped his boundaries by pushing for more.

Voters have indicated they would have preferred to focus last year's debate on welfare, not government-run health care. Exit polling indicated they felt putting off health care reform was a good idea, by a decisive 58-39% margin. Overhaul of the welfare system is an integral part of the Republican Contract With

America, and those newly elected to Congress would do well to study the examples set by the Republican governors who are leading the way for progressive reform at the state level.

In fact, the power and future of the GOP truly rests at the state level, where 31 governor's mansions are occupied by Republicans, including those in eight of the nine largest states. Heading into the November elections, Republican governors had the highest average job approval scores of any group of politicians tested; they also registered the largest collective margin over their opponents at the polls (56-40%, compared with two-point collective margins for Republican U.S. House and Senate candidates). These same popular governors are now lobbying



Congress for the authority administer welfare at the state level, without unwieldy mandates from the federal government.

Congressional freshmen should listen carefully to their request, and resist partisan instincts that tell them Bill Clinton is their target: revenge and spitefulness are indulgences the voters will not tolerate. Pulling Whitewater out of the hat again will look nasty and irrelevant. The public will rightfully want to know why we are getting distracted by something that is so off-course from what they've been shouting about. Fully 65% of those interviewed for a Time/CNN national post-election survey said they were opposed to revisiting the Whitewater case; if coverage of it dominates the news once again, voters will collectively throw up their hands in disgust. Republicans in Congress would do much better taking on the status-quo in Washington than ganging up on Clinton, who is already well on the move toward the center.

Republicans also must be cognizant—as Speaker Gingrich indicates he is—of the path of distraction. Elected by a campaign focused on the economy, change, and middle-class concerns, Clinton seemed to lose course in his first few months in office. He became distracted by gays in the military and other peripheral controversies. Only now—in the wake of Democratic devastation at the polls—can he hear the faint echo of his pledge to cut taxes for the middle class.

Republicans must keep this example close at hand when tempted to veer off course on issues such as abortion (a majority opposes making them more difficult) and the separation of church and state; otherwise, we too will be swept away in a cataclysm. Samsara makes no exceptions.

Christine Mathews is the principal of CM Research in Alexandria, VA. A veteran Republican pollster, she previously served as vice-president of Public Opinion Strategies and project manager of the Wirthlin Group.

THE PULSTER

Policy Preferences of the Public

CBS News Poll. Jan. 2-3, 1995 N=931 adults nationwide.

"Do you support or oppose a constitutional amendment to require a balanced federal budget?"

Support	80%
Oppose	16%
No Opinion	4%

If "Support": Would you support or oppose a constitutional amendment to require a balanced federal budget if it meant cuts in federal spending on:

	Support	Oppose	No Opinion
Welfare	59%	38%	3%
Nat'l Defense	56%	41%	3%
Education	37%	62%	1%
Social Security	34%	65%	2%

"Do you think the president of the U.S. should or should not have the authority to veto individual items in the federal budget, something known as the line-item veto?"

Should have line-item veto	64%
Should not	31%
No opinion	3%

"Do you support or oppose a reduction in the federal capital gains tax- that is, the tax on profits from investments?"

Support capital gains tax cut	52%
Oppose	40%
No opinion	8%

"Do you favor or oppose a limit on the number of years a person could serve as a U.S. representative in Congress?"

Favor term limits	75%
Oppose	23%
No opinion	2%

Division of Authority: State vs. Federal

NBC News/Wall Street Journal Poll conducted by the polling organizations of Peter Hart (D) and Robert Teeter (R). Dec. 10-13, 1994. N=1000 adults nationwide. (Each item asked of half the sample.):

"Which do you think should have more responsibility for achieving this goal, federal government or state government?"

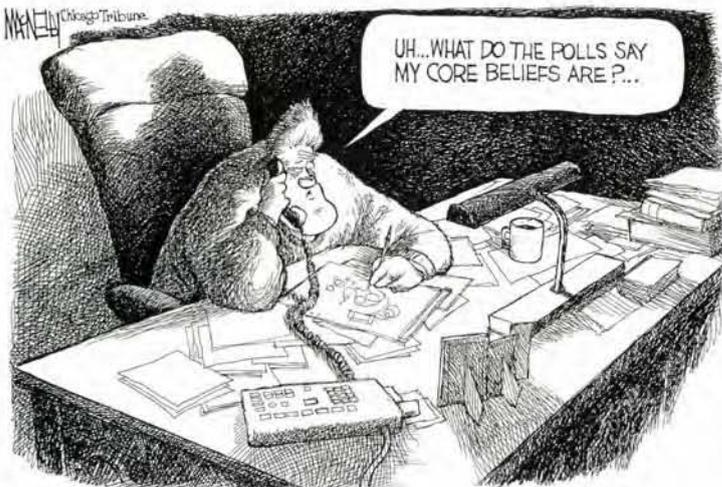
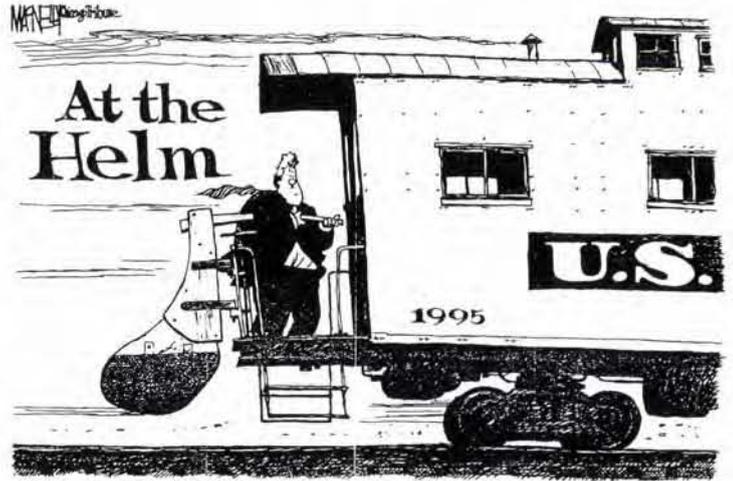
	Federal	State	Neither	Both	Unsure
Strengthening the economy	67%	23%	1%	8%	1%
Improving health care	45%	48%	2%	4%	1%
Protecting the environment	44%	45%	---	10%	1%
Improving opportunities for racial and ethnic minorities	41%	46%	2%	10%	1%
Providing assistance to poor	40%	44%	2%	12%	2%
Reforming welfare	39%	52%	---	9%	---
Providing job training	31%	55%	3%	9%	2%
Reducing Crime	24%	68%	---	7%	1%
Improving morals and values	24%	44%	24%	6%	2%
Improving public education	22%	72%	---	5%	1%

CaPiTOL CO



MIX

by Jeff MacNelly



Specter Over the Right

There's a Moderate in the Crowded GOP Presidential Field. In Lack of Numbers, There May Be Strength.

Eyebrows arched this Fall when U.S. Sen. Arlen Specter (R-PA) became the first GOP presidential candidate to register an exploratory committee with the FEC. It wasn't merely the fact he is the first moderate in 16 years to have the temerity to ask for the party's top slot. It was more pointedly his seeming lack of a base even that sizable.

A pro-choice moderate might just turn the trick against a field stacked with "wingers," but Specter had alienated moderate women activists—a key part of his constituency—with his dogged interrogation of Prof. Anita Hill during the 1991 hearings on the Clarence Thomas Supreme Court nomination. A year later, he had just barely won reelection over a novice woman candidate, despite a record of accomplishment [see sidebar] and ideological compatibility with his middle-road Rust Belt state.

The pundits all muse:

What could this guy be thinking?

To find out, *Forum* snared the frenetic Senator on his way to the athletic club and posed some obvious questions.

RIPON: *In 1992, 63 percent of an angry electorate voted against an incumbent president. Bill Clinton took his 43 percent mandate to mean voters wanted a return to paternalistic government. He obviously miscalculated. Are Republicans in similar danger of misreading their '94 mandate as being given carte blanche to enact pet conservative causes?*

SPECTER: Our Republican Party now has a historic opportunity for long-term control of the Congress and winning back the White House in '96, but only if we unite behind our traditional core values: fiscal conservatism and social libertarianism. If we allow what I call the "Far Right Five Percent Fringe" to use the party as a vehicle to push an extremist social agenda, the American people will turn from us as quickly as they turned from President Clinton and the Democrats last year.

These last two elections reveal a formula for Republican victory: DO run on a platform of less government and more individual freedom. DON'T focus on divisive social issues like abortion. DO emphasize the "Big Tent" approach of appealing to more women, blue collar workers and minorities. DON'T embrace intolerance and allow the Far Right Five Percent Fringe to slam the door on those who disagree.



Sen. Arlen Specter (R-PA)

Banking on a reaction against the Religious Right

RIPON: *You seem to be offering your candidacy as an insurance policy against control of the party by the Religious Right. Your alarm may be well taken, as a survey last Fall by Campaigns & Elections magazine found 18 state Republican organizations already under such domination. But while the other potential GOP presidential candidates are quite conservative, none of them—with the possible exceptions of Pat Buchanan and Bob Dornan—seem to have much connection to the Religious Right. How might it succeed in taking control of the party in '96 if it doesn't have a candidate?*

SPECTER: You know, Dan Quayle was right when he wrote in his book that the intolerant tone of the '92 convention hurt the Bush/Quayle re-election campaign. Pat Buchanan was dead wrong when he said America is engaged in a "holy war." Pat Robertson wields considerable political influence through his various organizations, but I am completely at odds with his statement that the Constitutional doctrine of separation of church and state is a—quote—"lie of the left." That doctrine is more than the soul of the Republican Party; it is the soul of America.

Pat Robertson, Pat Buchanan and their confederates dominated our '92 convention and undermined our effort to retain the presidency. Their control would have been even greater if the incumbent had not been a mainstream Republican. It is only realistic to expect them to be a formidable force at our '96 convention, but we must not allow them to hamper our Republican drive for the White House in the Fall.

RIPON: *The pundits say you cannot be nominated primarily because you are pro-choice on abortion. They speculate you are running solely to bring a bloc of pro-choice delegates to San Diego that will be strong enough to scuttle a pro-life platform plank. Christian Coalition Executive Director Ralph Reed has flatly declared that a pro-choice Republican is automatically ruled out as the GOP's presidential nominee in 1996. How do you expect to win, given your abortion views?*

SPECTER: I take strong exception to that statement by Ralph Reed. It suggests Arlen Specter or any other pro-choice Republican who may aspire to the nomination is a second-class citizen. I supported [pro-life] Sen. Rick Santorum [R-PA] in the last election because I believe there should be not litmus test for Republicans, just as I supported President Reagan and President Bush. Again, the Republican Party should emphasize the issues that unite us....As my former colleague [and current supporter] Barry Goldwater said: "The government should stay out of our pocketbooks, off our backs and out of our bedrooms."

The Pilgrims came to America in the early 1600s for equality, just as my parents came to America in the early 1900s so their children would not be second-class citizens. A single-issue litmus test for the presidential nomination makes all pro-choice Americans second-class citizens. That is unacceptable in America. The Republican Party will not be blackmailed by any special interest group. Our nominee will be selected in the Republican primaries.

RIPON: *Clinton voters went as heavily Democratic in the '94 elections as Bush voters went Republican. The dramatic difference came by way of the Perot vote, which went 2:1 Republican. Our '96 presidential nominee will have to do as well with these voters to win. Why would you be better equipped to do that than the other Republicans in this race?*

SPECTER: I have long been in close communication with United We Stand in my home state, particularly with regard to the two most important issues of the day: health care and crime. Mr. Perot called me up to ask if he could borrow some charts we'd put together showing the bureaucratic mess that would be created by the Clinton Health Care plan. Those people are particularly impressed with my work on crime prevention, and my background as a prosecutor, having been Philadelphia's district attorney for eight years. And they very much appreciate my blend of fiscal conservatism and social libertarianism. They are radical only in their demands that the federal government clean up the way it conducts its business, which are well-founded. I

have no doubt that I can appeal to that crucial vote as well as anyone.

RIPON: *A female state party official recently told us: "I've been waiting a long time for a moderate, pro-choice Republican to run for president. Finally, we've got one, but wouldn't you know it—it's Arlen Specter, who I have real trouble with because of Anita Hill." Fair or not, your questioning of Hill was seen as bullying by many women activists. That would seem to deprive you of what ought to be the cornerstone of a winning coalition for your campaign. How are you going to clear that high hurdle?*



"...Emphasize the 'Big Tent' approach of appealing to more women, blue collar workers and minorities. DON'T embrace intolerance."

Hill." Fair or not, your questioning of Hill was seen as bullying by many women activists. That would seem to deprive you of what ought to be the cornerstone of a winning coalition for your campaign. How are you going to clear that high hurdle?

SPECTER: I was able to overcome concerns about my questioning of Anita Hill in my 1992 re-election effort—when it was much more recent, less than a year away—by candidly acknowledging that those hearings were a learning experience for me. I had no idea how extensive sexual harrasment was in America. Many women told me afterward that they had been sexually harrasmed, and found it very painful when I was questioning Professor Hill, almost by transference. They knew they had been harrasmed and felt they weren't being believed. I told them I regretted that, for that certainly was not intended. And I point out to people something they have not focused on: When the hearings were going on that Sunday afternoon—spilling over until two a.m. Monday

morning—Sen. Hank Brown (R-CO) and I were the only ones who stood up and said we ought to take more time [so that] we could question Angela Wright, who was later featured in the book *A Strange Justice*. I don't know that Angela Wright's testimony would have made a difference, but it should have been heard.

The second, and perhaps more important reason I was able to overcome [the fallout from] my questioning of Professor Hill was my very strong record on women's issues. I had been a leader in setting up the separate unit at NIH for women; a leader on [obtaining funding for] breast cancer research, long before it became a national issue; my leadership in tearing down the glass ceiling and making sure women got equal pay for equal work; my hiring of women, going back to my days as district attorney, when I had 29 professional women on my staff; my consistent pro-choice position. When all that was considered, overcame my questioning of Prof. Anita Hill. I can do it again.

RIPON: *President Clinton appears to be veering to the right in response to the Democratic debacle at the polls this November. But Speaker Gingrich appears to be maintaining his confrontational stance. Is that good strategy, either in regard to the '96 election or policymaking in the 104th Congress?*

SPECTER: I'm optimistic that Speaker Gingrich can focus on the core issues. I know that some of his statements have been taken out of context and exaggerated. But I think it's very important for all Republicans to be very careful about what we say, so that we do not appear to be picking on the President or lesser matters, instead of trying to work out a bipartisan relationship on the big issues. I think that Speaker Gingrich made a mistake—and I've said this both publicly and privately—on this business about people in the White House using drugs, when he didn't have the hard evidence to back it up. It gives the public appearance of

our being confrontational instead of cooperative. So I think we have to be very, very careful, and I include myself in that along with Newt Gingrich. He's quoted a lot more than anyone else today, so the media has more to pick at.

RIPON: *The provisions in the Contract With America are popular, but polls say its call for increased defense spending is at odds with the voters. Considering public opinion, our ack of a comparably powerful military rival, our huge deficit and national debt, and the fact the Contract also calls for tax cuts, a balanced budget, and holding Social Security sacrosanct—how can increased defense spending be justified?*

SPECTER: I, for one, think it IS justified. We have critical responsibilities across the globe, and serious potential adversaries in many places, as has been recently demonstrated in North Korea, Iraq and elsewhere. In my view, President Bush cut defense spending to the bone, and Clinton has cut into the bone. I sit on the Appropriations Committee, where we will be faced with tremendous pressure this year to cut further, but it is critical that we withstand those pressures.

RIPON: *Partisanship and gridlock seemed to take control of the last session of Congress. Clinton and the Democrats were in control, so they got hung with the blame. If we have another unproductive two years between now and '96, do you think there's a danger that Republicans—having now gained control of Congress—will be held equally responsible and a major third party will emerge from the voters' frustration?*

SPECTER: Let me answer your question in two parts: Will Republicans be blamed if there's gridlock? Absolutely. We have the precedent of Republican control in 1947-48, which enabled President Truman to brand that congress as the "Do-Nothing Congress." And while the President and the congress controlled by the Democrats took the brunt of the [blame for] gridlock in the last Congress, we Republicans will in the next Congress. Will it produce a third party? I think that's a real risk. And I believe we Republicans have a real responsibility to exercise care in not providing the seed for a third party. America's done well with the two-party system, and if we get multiple parties—like the Italians or French have—it would be very bad for the country. That's why we have to look at the issues of concern to United We Stand, Perot and his followers, and meet that challenge head-on.

'96 PRESIDENTIAL PROFILE

Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania

Current Office: United States Senator since 1981.

Chairmanship: Intelligence Committee

Last Re-election Vote: 49% (1992).

Previous Office: Philadelphia DA, 1966-74.

Fundraising: \$10.5 million in last re-election bid.

Endorsements: 1964 GOP presidential nominee Barry Goldwater, ex-Cong. Fred Grandy (R-IA).

Losing Races: D.A., 1974; U.S. Sen., 1976; Gov., 1978.

Born: Wichita, KS; February 12, 1930.

Education: Penn, B.A. 1951; Yale, LL.B. 1956.

Religion: Jewish.

Wife: Joan Specter, a Philadelphia City Councilwoman.

Children: Sons Shanin and Steven; one granddaughter.

Early Career: Asst. Counsel, Warren Commission, 1964; Pennsylvania Asst. Attorney General, 1964-65.

Accomplishments: Authored Armed Career Criminal Act, which makes career criminals found in possession of a firearm guilty of a federal offense, punishable by a mandatory sentence of 15 years to life; also crafted Terrorist Prosecution Act, and legislation creating the office of CIA Inspector General.

ON THE ISSUES:

Abortion Gag Rule—against
Increase Defense Budget—for
Ban Striker Replacements—for
Limit Death Row Appeals—for
Balanced Budget Amendment—for

School Prayer Amendment—against
Capital Gains Cut—for
Family Leave—for
GATT—for
Line Item Veto—for



The GOP's Garden of Greatness

Wannabee Republican Presidents Bob Dole and Arlen Specter Grew Up in the Same Small Prairie Town....A Town With Riponite Roots

We all know the story of how a handful of Whigs, Free Soilers and abolitionist activists gathered in a tiny clapboard schoolhouse in Ripon, Wisconsin and gave us the Republican Party, 141 years ago this February. But very few are aware of another civic crop planted by that same generation of Riponites; one that promises to provide the GOP with two of its most marketable presidential prospects for 1996.

Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole has never made a secret of his roots in the prairie soil of Russell, Kansas: he has often presided over events there—including his 1988 presidential campaign kickoff—with big-name politicians in tow. Born and raised in Russell, he subsequently served its 5,000 rural residents as state representative and county attorney before going off to Congress in 1960.

The Russell roots of another U.S. Senator and presidential contender come as more of a shock: Pennsylvania's Arlen Specter—the only Jewish Republican in the upper chamber—has long been identified as an urban politician from the Eastern Seaboard, having launched his career as the District Attorney of Philadelphia (see previous page). Yet his nasal midwestern twang is heavily evident, and didn't come from watching re-runs of *Green Acres*. Born 125 miles away in Wichita, Specter moved to Russell with his family at age four, and stayed until he enrolled as a freshman at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. After a stint in the Air Force during the Korean War and earning a law degree at Yale, he

returned to the City of Brotherly Love to launch his legal career.

While it is astonishing for a remote hamlet to have bred two contemporary potential presidents, the origins of the town itself lay yet another layer of karmic coincidence on this tale.

Eighteen years after the party of Dole and

a Godsend....We were able to maintain one of the finest school systems ever, even while times were so hard almost everywhere."

Two products of that system showed early promise. Dole was an accomplished athlete in high school "with a following," recalls Dawson, "especially with the girls." At 15, the future Senate Leader took a job at the Dawson family drug store for two dollars a week "and all the ice cream he could eat." There, he occasionally waited on a young customer with a fondness for malts: nine-year old Arlen Specter.

During World War II, Dole was severely wounded in a European foxhole and spent two years on his back in a succession of VA hospitals. The town took up a collection to help pay for an operation that restored

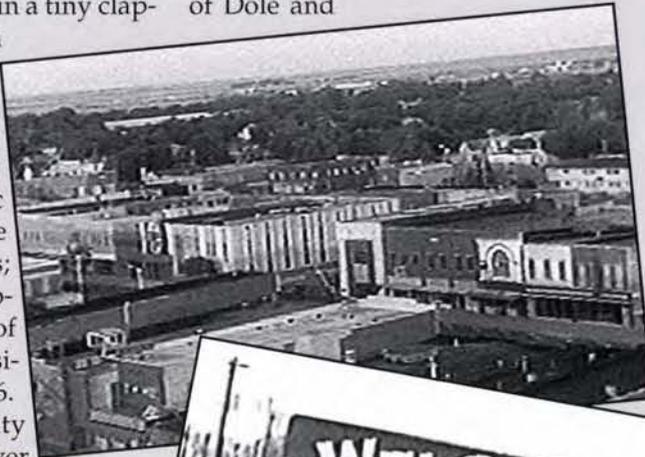
some use to a badly mangled arm. "Every store in town had an old cigar box on the counter with Bob Dole's name on it," Dawson proudly remembers.

His health much restored, Dole went back to college and was elected to the state legislature while still in law school—as a Democrat. Law degree in hand, he went to see local political sage John Woelk for advice on running for

county attorney. Unlike his legislative district, Russell County was heavily Republican, so Dole immediately heeded Woelk's first recommendation: "Become a Republican."

Specter did the hometown proud himself, anchoring a high school debate team that won the state championship. But there is little doubt where the sympathies of modern-day Russell lie, should the Republican presidential nomination come down to its two famous sons: billboards on the outskirts of town proclaim it to be "Bob Dole Country."

—David Beiler



Russell, Kansas: Roots in common with the GOP, two presidential prospects

Specter was founded in Ripon, a group of its townspeople set off for the fertile expanses of Western Kansas, then opening up in the wake of the Civil War. Once settled there, they named their new community after the man who had sponsored their exodus, a Civil War general named Russell.

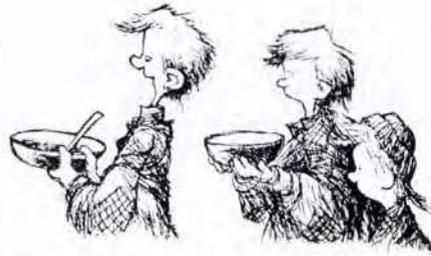
When Dole and Specter were growing up during the Depression years, Russell was in the middle of the Dust Bowl; its traditional livelihood in the processing of wheat literally dried up and blew away. But a major oil strike nearby on the eve of the stock market crash kept the town afloat. "That really saved our bacon," recalls retired druggist Bub Dawson. "It was



Making Welfare Work

Payments are Shrinking, But the Rolls Are Exploding as the Public Dole Continues to Undermine America's Work Ethic and Faith in Government. Is There a Moral Way Out?

BY ANDREA L. SPRING



"Everyone talks about the weather," Ben Franklin once observed, "but no one ever does anything about it."

Much the same could be said about our burgeoning, much-maligned welfare system. Almost everyone complains about it, agreeing that it is bloated, inefficient and debilitating to those it is supposed to help. Politicians have dredged this dissatisfaction for votes for at least a generation, promising sweeping changes that would cut off the loafers and put the able-bodied to work. Yet nothing very substantive has been done in the way of reform. Beneath all the rhetoric, there has been an all-pervasive resignation in Washington that the "welfare mess" is as impervious to human correction as the weather.

That attitude may be changing. The Republican sweep at the polls last year has brought to power a large new generation of revolutionaries who—at least for the time being—have the beyond-the-Beltway perspective necessary to see the fatal flaws in the federal status quo, and still have the willpower to do something about it. Most were elected by the swing of traditionally Democratic voters who feel their standard of living slipping, and who point the finger at a Washington culture that represents only wealthy

special interests or—as in the case of welfare beneficiaries—organized lobbies.

Were this a Democratic revolution, we might expect at least a superficial assault on the wealthy; and, in fact, the Clinton tax and health care initiatives were just that. But the '94 voter revolt utilized the GOP as a vehicle, and a Republican Revolution can be expected to advance down different avenues: congressional reform, a trimming of all government except Social Security and defense, and a drastic overhaul of the welfare state.

Bigger Than a Bread Basket

The welfare debate begins with what is included in the definition of "welfare." Generally, it includes a series of federal and state programs for the poor, the centerpiece of which is Aid to Families with Dependent Children. AFDC itself will cost the federal government about \$24 billion in 1994 — a relatively small slice of the national budget. The states administer AFDC and set maximum benefits in each state, ranging from 12 percent of the 1993 poverty threshold in Mississippi to 71 percent in Connecticut; federal funds pay at least 50 percent of each state's benefits and administration costs. In July 1994,

enrollment in AFDC totaled five million families (with 9.5 million children, and 355,000 two-parent families), receiving average cash benefits of \$377 a month.

Welfare programs have been growing astronomically in recent years, because they are entitlements, given automatically to anyone who meets the criteria. Congress has expanded AFDC to include unemployed married

couples and disabled people as well as single women with children. Although overall costs have been rising, the amount each recipient receives has been decreasing. The combined maximum AFDC and food stamp benefits for a family of four fell 22 percent in real value between 1971 and 1993. About 26 percent of AFDC families also receive direct housing subsidies.

The Heritage Foundation estimates that total welfare spending, on all levels of government, was \$304.6 billion dollars in 1992 — 73 percent of it federal funds, and all but 3.5 percent mandated by federal regulations. AFDC is only the tip of the spending iceberg. According to the Heritage Foundation, the government spent about \$65.9 billion in cash aid, \$34 billion on food programs, \$21.8 billion on housing, \$147.5 billion on medical programs, \$1.4 billion on energy aid, \$16 billion of educational aid, \$5.4 billion on job training, \$6.7 billion on social services, and \$3.9 billion on community aid in 1992. Enrollment in welfare is up 31 percent since 1989.

The welfare state has rightly become an important issue in the public discourse because of growing costs, concern about its effects on its recipients and society as a whole, and increasing reluctance by the public to hand out money without getting

something in return. There is little debate as to whether drastic change is needed. Altering the federal welfare system cannot be accomplished by tinkering with AFDC or food stamps; it involves fundamental changes in how the government treats the poor in this country.

Caught in the Safety Net

Critics see welfare as the creator of a culture of poverty, in which people forget how to work and traditional American values are subverted in favor of handouts and irresponsibility. Increasing welfare is viewed as the cause—not just the result—of the nation's exploding illegitimacy and crime rates. They say that the system fosters a lack of reciprocity and personal responsibility that is ripping apart the fabric of society.

There is ample evidence that the current welfare system encourages illegitimacy. Thirty percent of all American children are now born to single mothers, and two-thirds of all children born out of wedlock are born to women under 25. Households headed by young, single women are more likely to be poor, and 22 percent of all children live in poverty. Being raised in a single parent home and in poverty is positively correlated with increasing tendency toward crime, lower performance in school, and a greater likelihood of eventually ending up on welfare. Children raised in families that receive welfare assistance are three times as likely as others to enroll in welfare as adults.

There is some evidence that an increase in welfare benefits leads to an increase in illegitimacy; however, the fact that real welfare benefits have fallen over the past twenty years, while illegitimate birthrates have skyrocketed, indicates that benefits alone are not driving the illegitimacy rate. Welfare may encourage unwed women to have children by giving them the assurance of a safety net, but the lack of social sanctions against unmarried girls who give birth, and the lack of paternal responsibility, certainly play a large part in the rise of illegitimacy in America.

Although AFDC cannot be wholly blamed for the increase in illegitimacy, it does enable poor people to raise children without the stability of a two-parent family. One out of seven children in America is on AFDC, and roughly 40 percent of the families on AFDC are divorced or separated. When AFDC was enacted in 1935, 88 percent of families that received relief were needy because of the death of a father. Today, 98 percent of children on AFDC have two living parents (59 percent of whom were unwed), but 89 percent live with only one parent. Most parents on AFDC are divorced, deserted, or never-married mothers. By making fathers financially unnecessary in children's lives, AFDC absolves

them of responsibility to stay with and care for their families.

Americans are increasingly unwilling to provide welfare benefits without getting something in return. Stagnating real incomes, slower economic growth, burgeoning federal deficits, and increasing anti-government sentiment have led the public to target welfare for change. It's visible and simpler to understand than many government programs, agricultural price subsidies, for instance, and working people see it as an "us against them" issue. In 1988, 74 percent of people in a survey for the Times Mirror Center agreed that "It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of them-

Estimated FY 1993 Income-Tested Outlays for Children and Their Families from Selected Major Programs⁽¹⁾

	Federal \$ (in billions)	State-Local \$ (in billions)	Recipients ⁽²⁾ (millions)
Cash aid	\$29.0	\$11.7	—
AFDC	14.0	11.7	13.6 ⁽³⁾
EITC	11.8 ⁽⁴⁾	0	13.9
SSI	3.2	n/a	0.7
Food benefits	29.1	n/a	—
Food stamps ⁽⁵⁾	20.6	1.4	22.1 ^c
Free or reduced-price meals ⁽⁶⁾	5.6	n/a	15.7 ⁽⁷⁾
WIC	2.9	n/a	6.0 ^c
Medicaid ⁽⁸⁾	15.5	11.7	32.6 ^c
Housing Benefits	9.8	0	2.5 ⁽⁹⁾
HUD programs	8.4	(10)	2.1
Farmers' Home Administration programs ⁽¹¹⁾	1.4	0	0.4

Source: Congressional Research Service

FOOTNOTES*****

(1) Includes administrative costs where available. Excludes education, job-training, social services, energy aid, and numerous smaller programs. (2) Caution: Average monthly number of individuals, except: school meals, school-year daily average of lower income lunch recipients; WIC (Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children), July 1993; Medicaid, yearly total estimate (FY1993); EITC, yearly total number of families; and housing, number of households at end of year. (3) Includes parents. Child totals: food stamps, 14.1 million; WIC, estimate not available; AFDC 9.5 million; Medicaid (yearly total), 15.2 million. (4) Credit earned in calendar year 1992. Direct payments, \$10.6 billion; reduced tax liability, \$1.2 billion. (5) Includes Puerto Rico. (6) Includes income-tested parts of school lunch, school breakfast, and childcare food programs; also summer food service program. (Excludes cost of commodities.) (7) Excludes children in child care food program. (8) Spending estimate for FY1992, but recipient estimate for FY1993. (9) Estimated number of households with children: public housing, 41% of units; Section 8 certificates and vouchers, existing units, 61%; project-based aid, 38%. (10) Localities accept below-tax payments in lieu of property taxes on public housing projects. (11) Subsidized loans to low-income persons for home ownership (Section 501) and rental aid (Sections 515/521).

selves;" by 1994, only 57 percent agreed. People no longer want to support those who've made bad decisions, or maybe even those who've simply had bad luck.

The Search for Solutions

The most popular solution for the problems of AFDC is some version of "two years and out"—capping a recipient's benefits after two years. This solution hinges on the availability of jobs or funding for the recipients at the end of two years. Some proposals would keep people in subsidized jobs indefinitely, while some others plan to cut people off from such employment after a few years. The idea is to get people off welfare and into the work force, thereby creating a break in the culture of welfare. However, almost half of all mothers who enter AFDC can already be expected to leave within two years. The more serious problem is that most of the women eventually return. These families live on the financial edge, and an additional child, illness, or a broken car can be enough to send the women back on welfare. It may not be difficult to get a large number of women off welfare after two years, but if they are limited to two years in a lifetime, they no longer have a safety net.

Long-term users of welfare usually enter the rolls as young high school dropouts who have yet to marry, and most welfare families begin with a birth to a teenager. This is why many plans focus on keeping teen mothers from ever entering welfare in the first place. Welfare was never intended as a permanent option to raise families on, and it is this use that is most troubling to its critics. A woman without a high school diploma who has never held down a full-time job is difficult to employ, and her children don't have a productive role model to emulate in the work force. A reform plan must be somewhat punitive to young mothers if it hopes to dissuade single young women from bearing and keeping children before they are capable of supporting them. Although welfare may not cause the behavior that results in unwed moth-

erhood, it allows girls (and boys) to escape the full consequences of their actions: the government will pick up the pieces.

Job training and education has long been widely touted as the solution to getting women off welfare—by making them more employable. In 1992, less than five percent of families with children who had one or more family member employed year-round were poor. As NYU political scientist Lawrence Mead has written in *The New Politics of Poverty*, "On the whole, the immigrant poor of old were poor despite work, while the current poor are needy for lack of it." If the government can get women into jobs and keep them there, they will be able to support their families eventually.

Breaking the Chains

The first step is an entry-level job—probably at minimum wage—where people can gain experience and increase the value of their human capital. This is no pie-in-the-sky fantasy; it is economic reality that most adults deal with during their lifetime. Nor are there convincing indications of a severe shortage of entry-level jobs in the marketplace. Hardworking people may still find themselves displaced, however, so the principle of a safety net is sound. It should not, however, become a hammock or a spider's web.

To facilitate the transition from welfare case to productive worker, any policy reform should allow recipients of AFDC to retain a higher percentage of their earned income without experiencing a reduction in their monthly benefits. Such a raise in the "earned income disregard" would invigorate the lower-income sector of the economy by reversing a disincentive in the current system that discourages the chronically dependent from obtaining entry-level work—a disincentive that often seems to be a 100% marginal income tax rate.

Such a plan would increase the earned income disregard from the current 33% to to 80 percent, but rapidly decrease it over time: to 60 percent after six months, 50 percent after one year, 40 percent for the third year and

30 percent for the remainder of eligibility. Thus, there would be an incentive to find work as quickly as possible and enter into the American workforce. It should also disregard any income from account reserved for educational purposes and adopt an eligibility formula that does not deter the formation of a small business.

Unfortunately, the government's work placement record has been wanting. Women on welfare are rarely among the most employable people in the market: not only are they less likely to have a high school diploma, but over half of welfare mothers are found to have cognitive skill levels placing them in the bottom fifth of the population. These women may not benefit from years of specialized job training; basic workplace skills and intensive placement services are more important. A recent study of Job Training and Placement Act (JTPA) programs found that they increased wages of female trainees by only 3.4 percent—and those of men not at all—though participation in the programs increased the likelihood of finding a job.

Hop on Pop

Paternal responsibility ("dead-beat dad") clauses in reform proposals are necessary to provide not only the funds to support new mothers, but continuing funds to support children throughout their childhood. The best way to get women off welfare may not be just to get them to work, but to require the fathers of children on AFDC to work as well, garnishing their paychecks to provide support. Working mothers with two or more children typically have non-discretionary spending of around \$15,000 a year; a woman would need to earn \$7.50 an hour in a full-time job to provide that. A supplemental payment is necessary—from the father or the government—for those many women who will never qualify for better-paying jobs.

Lack of an available job is not the only barrier to getting women off welfare. Available jobs simply may not bring in as much as women do with a

DEADLINES FOR DEADBEATS: Welfare Reform Proposals in Congress

The following abstracts refer to bills introduced in the last Congress. It is expected that similar proposals will be brought forth as alternatives this year.

The Clinton Proposal: H.R. 4605

A two-year time limit would be imposed on adult recipients born after 1971. States would be required to establish a jobs program and pay wages to those without jobs after two years, supplementing with AFDC payments to prevent income loss. States would be allowed, but not required, to deny benefits to additional children born to a woman on welfare and allow states to pay AFDC to two-parent families, regardless of their work history. Minor mothers would be required to live at home, with some exceptions, in order to receive benefits.

The administration estimated that this plan would cost \$9.3 billion over five years, and funded it from cutting the eligibility of immigrants for welfare.

The Moderate Democrat Proposal: H.R. 4414

Presented by ex-congressman Dave McCurdy, this is very similar to the Clinton plan, but cuts even more aid to non-citizens to save money.

The Liberal Democrat Proposal: H.R. 4707

Backed by Cong. Robert Matsui, this plan would impose no time limits and not fundamentally change the current system. Instead, recipients would be encouraged to move off the welfare rolls by the government providing more education and training.

The Moderate Republican Proposal: H.R. 3500

This proposal, advanced by Cong. Nancy Johnson, Cong. Clay Shaw, Cong. Rick Santorum, and Cong. Mike Castle, would force recipients to work after two years of education and training. The states would have to provide jobs for those who



Cong. Nancy Johnson (R-CT):
Pushing a moderate alternative

hadn't found them at the end of two years, but they would have the option of dropping recipients totally after five years. Extra benefits would be denied to women who have more children while on AFDC, and no AFDC would be given to families where either parent is a minor. Women would have to establish paternity of their child to receive benefits (with some exceptions), so the state could sue fathers for support of children. Recipients under the age of 19 would have to live with a parent or guardian unless they were in an abusive home.

To make marriage more attractive, AFDC recipients would, in

some cases, be allowed to keep as much as 50 percent of their benefits for a year after marriage. New mothers, the sick, drug addicted, full-time students, those giving care to a disabled dependent, or those who were already working more than 30 hours a week would be exempt from the work provision. States could opt to receive their AFDC and food and nutritional funds in a block grant, and federal spending on AFDC, food stamps and Supplemental Security Income would be capped at two percent per year growth plus inflation plus the growth in the poverty population. This would end welfare benefits to most non-citizens. It is estimated that this bill would save \$19 billion dollars over the next five years.

The Conservative Proposal: H.R. 4414

Cong. James Talent, Cong. Tim Hutchison, and Sen. Lauch Faircloth would deny all AFDC, food stamps, and public housing benefits to mothers under the age of 21 with illegitimate children, raising the limit to under age 25 in 1998. This would drop 3.4 million children from the rolls, who would be cared for through block grants to the states to give services, such as orphanages and group homes, instead of cash grants to minors. Recipients would have to establish paternity to receive benefits. Total eligibility would be limited to five years, and half of all AFDC recipients would be required to work by 1996. No additional benefits would be given for more children. The states would receive money for job training.

Welfare benefits would be denied to non-citizens, and total benefits would be capped at inflation plus the growth in the poverty population. Its proponents estimate that this bill would save \$40 billion over the next five years.



combination of welfare benefits, off-the-books jobs, and handouts from family and friends. If the government provides a job that pays just as much as welfare benefits, it won't be enough. According to Christopher Jencks' influential book, *The Homeless*, women typically spend about twice as much cash as they receive from welfare: a full-time job would hinder their ability to supplement their income.

Job training and time limits are designed to give people a strong incentive to become self-sufficient, but what is to be done about people who do not respond? Some women are never going to hold down a steady job, because of drug and alcohol addiction, physical or mental illness, or behavioral problems. Some mothers will prove obviously unfit, but others may be borderline cases. Just because a woman can't hold down a job doesn't mean that she is a danger to her children, and keeping children in orphanages, group homes, and foster homes, is generally more expensive than subsidizing their mother to care for them. Any reform proposal needs to either provide for these children with their mothers (perhaps by appointing someone to oversee their funds) or take the children away and provide other arrangements for their upbringing.

Some ideas that have been floated are simple: don't give money to drug abusers or alcoholics; cut benefits if children are skipping school, or if mothers who haven't received their high school degree aren't working toward completion. Insist that children be immunized for mothers to receive benefits. Require that mothers (and, if possible, fathers) attend parenting, nutrition, and money management classes as well as job training. Promote abstinence and, yes, provide birth control. All of these programs are comparatively inexpensive, but the current welfare system doesn't allow states to require these without getting special waivers from the federal government.

Research director for this project was
Brinton Taylor Warren.

Streamlining the Leviathan

Money that is now spent on many different federal programs could easily be converted into block grants to states, allowing experimentation with different programs on a smaller, more manageable level than the chaotic national stage. Instead of administering separate food stamp, nutritional, housing, energy supplement, and cash grant programs, the federal government can give the money to states in large grants, cutting down on overhead costs and allowing states to adapt differently, but requiring that money be spent on helping poor children and their families. The 18,000 welfare recipients in North Dakota may derive optimum benefit from a different set of programs than those favored by Louisiana's 274,000 recipients. Economic efficiency could be promoted by block grants, as well, by targeting money to where it will do the most good, instead of spending it where federal regulations require.

Expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit could help families get off welfare and decrease the economic disincentive to working. Poor working families with one child are currently given back 26.3% of yearly earnings up to \$7,750 (for a maximum credit of \$2,038). The credit is phased out as income increases, until it vanishes at a family income of \$23,760 for one child, or \$25,300 for more than one child. The EITC rewards work instead of penalizing it, and a higher EITC could offset lower welfare benefits by making it more practical for mothers to work at the minimum wage. This could also be politically more popular than welfare, since it not only rewards work, but is less visible and can be portrayed as more of a tax cut than a handout.

Practically, any program that requires work is going to have to provide some sort of job training and subsidized jobs—at least to start people into the workforce—and is going to cost more money. The welfare system cannot be reformed simply by cutting its budget. In the short run, reformed welfare is going to cost more, though it may be funded by cuts in some ser-

vices, such as assistance to legal immigrants. Public support can be gathered for added costs as long as there are strings attached. Even blacks—who tend to be more liberal on welfare—support additional restrictions: 57 percent of them support the denial of additional benefits to single mothers who have more children, according to a 1992 survey by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. As the public generally supports spending more on programs to help children, reform should be pointed in that direction. If the issue is framed as helping families become self-sufficient in the long run by spending more in the short run, most people will assent. And while the specter of Dickensian orphanages and people starving in the streets may curtail some of the most conservative reform measures, the key swing element of the electorate is demanding radical change in the current welfare program.

The success of that effort will ultimately be measured by what is done about those who are resistant to all the economic blandishments offered by new proposals, and how many people this ends up being. If some cases involve irrational economic actors, all the sticks and carrots won't have the desired effect; the welfare culture may be emblematic of greater societal ills.

Although the increase in unwed teenage pregnancies is greatest at the lower levels of the socio-economic scale, it is increasing throughout society, and the destruction of the American nuclear family isn't limited to those who need welfare when they become part of the wreckage. Abolishing the current system of welfare, if not done right, may send people into the streets and not the workforce, and America may not be aware of the ultimate consequences of the change being contemplated.

A former managing editor of Campaigns & Elections magazine, Andrea L. Spring is currently studying at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government.

WASHINGTON: Wastrel or Whipping Boy?

Opposing Views of Kevin Phillips and His Theory of 'Capital Arrogance'

"A Venomous Screech... of Populist Mythology"

By Brinton Taylor Warren

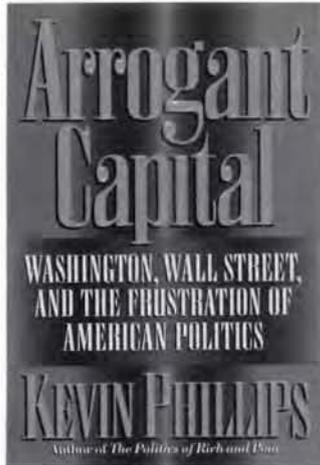
It is no brave new endeavor to denounce Washington and its inhabitants as out of touch, self-satisfied, profiting at the public's expense, and resistant to change. Criticizing Washington has become the platitudinous staple of public discourse, occupying the ground once held by motherhood, the flag and apple pie. Kevin Phillips nonetheless bashes with renewed vigor in his latest work, *Arrogant Capital*, a venomous screech which damns all things Washingtonian.

Phillips argues that Washington historically has been subject to periodic wholesale cleansing through electoral upheavals which amounted to nothing less than bloodless revolutions. Thomas Jefferson's election in 1800 brought about the expulsion of the once dominant Federalists. Years later, after the election of 1828, Andrew Jackson and friends literally tore through the White House, smashing China and basking in the disapproval of the cultural elites who had just been ousted by the voters. After the election of 1860, Abraham Lincoln and the Republicans arrived in Washington just as the Southerners who ruled during the Democratic 1850s were bugging out to prepare for rebellion.

The pattern of periodic bloodless revolution ended, Phillips asserts, in the Twentieth Century. After one last bloodless revolution, the New Deal of the 1930s, Washington was transformed from a backward and easily dominated hamlet into a metropolis brimming with entrenched special interests which, to preserve themselves, sabotage the efforts of those sent by Middle America to govern. The first Presidential victim of this sabotage, Phillips offers, was Richard Nixon. President Nixon's election in 1968 represented an electoral revolution, but the results of this electoral revolution were denied practical effect by a disapproving Washington elite which was now large enough to resist the will of the voters' representatives. What Mr. Phillips has to say in this regard is of particular interest, now that we have experienced one of the greatest electoral revolutions in our history. Could entrenched Washington deny effect to this revolution as well?

The ascendancy of Washington is representative of a general historical trend the author identifies as the almost inevitable decline of great national powers. Ancient Greece,

(Warren continued on page 26)



Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

"The Most Important Book of the Decade"

By David Beiler

Richard Nixon once said of Kevin Phillips: "Guts and brains are a rare combination in politics, and he has plenty of both." That may explain why Phillips and (perhaps) Bill Greider are the only Washington pundits who both understand the anger in the American electorate and are not afraid to explain it.

The Beltway ruling class has long clung to the notion that the massive American middle-class—what H.L.

Mencken termed "the booboisie"—has no inkling as to the context of government policy, and therefore must be kept from influencing it too directly. But as Phillips so carefully documents in his latest treatise, *Arrogant Capital*, the commoners have historically had a remarkable instinct for knowing when the ship of state was veering off course, away from the port of their well-being. Those in power were either too divorced from reality to realize it, or too focused on the pursuit of their own, very different interests.

Much as Thomas Jefferson foresaw the need for revolution every generation or so to keep democracy functional, so the voters reacted, overthrowing the political order in the elections of 1800, 1828, 1860, and 1932, while igniting a delayed-reaction progressive era in 1896. Whenever the powers-that-be got too smugly esconced with their special interest buddies, the public booted them out of office. Another revolution might have taken place in 1968, with the New Deal coalition collapsing in the face of cultural divergence among its component parts. But that last revolt never quite succeeded in overthrowing the established order, a failure Phillips blames in part on Watergate, but more fundamentally on the entrenchment of a parasitic class in Washington—one which ultimately represents international finance to the detriment of all else. According to Phillips, those parasites on the body politic have since made themselves indispensable to the maintenance of power while subjugating the interests of The Great Unwashed.

There is plenty of evidence to back up this assessment: 90,000 people are now employed in Washington's lobbying industry; those representing foreign governments include most living U.S. trade negotiators, trade commission chairs, and national party heads. A Public Citizen study of congressmen, congressional staffers and presidential appointees leaving public life in the early '90s found nearly

(Beiler continued on page 27)

(Warren continued)

the Roman Empire, Hapsburg Spain, eighteenth-century Holland and pre-World War I Britain all became infected by bloated capital cities containing a parasitic governing elite capable of defying the will of the populous. Also part of the pattern of great power decline, Phillips argues, is the emergence of a financial elite which profits from the true labor of the nation by speculating in financial markets and conducting international trade. Phillips warns that no nation is immune from history, and, unless we realize that "the time for another attack and purge is at hand," then we are doomed to repeat the demise of other great powers.

All in all, Arrogant Capital is an unfortunate contribution to the debate on what is wrong with Washington. While his historical thesis has plausibility, Phillips, understandably exasperated after decades of covering the Washington scene, reduces all in Washington to a caricature. The author thus tosses his rhetorical Molotov cocktails: Our two party system, aside from being bought and paid for, is too old to respond to our current problems. Politicians are too concerned with courting the favor of campaign contributors to heed the public interest. Members of Congress, the Administration and their staffs are all sell-outs who mark time before spinning through the revolving door to employment with a corrupting special interest.

Rather than enlightening the topic, Phillips merely rehashes the half-dozen or so stereotypes that commentators and candidates have been pounding into our skulls for quite some time now. Worst of all, when the author trains his scope on Wall Street rather than Washington, he really misses the mark. His discussion of the "Financialization of America" is some form of populist mythology regarding the financial sector, revealing the author's misunderstanding about economics and how social wealth is created.

Phillips' bitter hatred of Washington leads him astray. For example, he suggests that Congress convene in Denver during the summer to get away from the influence of lobbyists. After laying out a strong case against the pervasive influence of lobbyists, he somehow overlooks the fact that these same lobbyists have phones, fax machines and frequent-flyer miles. Lobbyists, as a species, are not confined to their habitat in Washington. They are capable of migrating in pursuit of their prey.

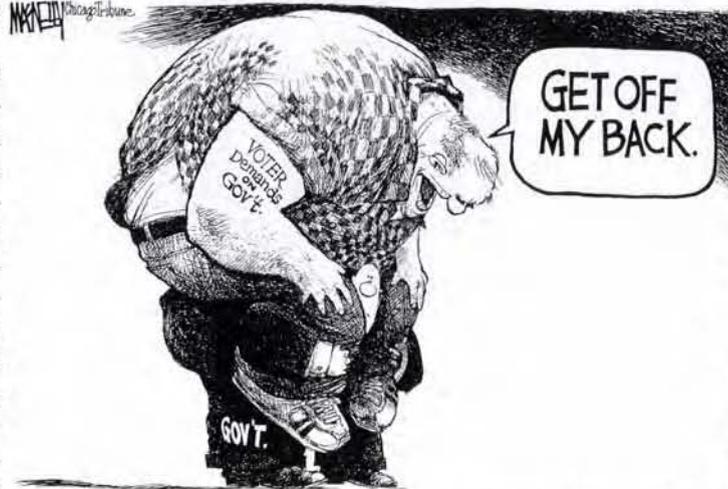
He also recommends that Members of Congress be allowed to serve in the President's Cabinet. Aside from his erroneous conclusion that we no longer need the Constitution's separation of powers as protection against overreaching government, it is surprising that he recom-

mends this course, given that it would only multiply the opportunities for conflicts of interest and special interest lobbying the author justifiably despises. He makes other, equally less thought-out recommendations for tax increases regulating financial markets and international investments, and, in a bow to the technological imperative, having voters go on-line for frequent national referenda.

Indeed, in his frenzy to scrap the Constitution, the author opens the door to a new age tyrant, one who could centralize power and have only to answer to his semi-crazed on-line followers. Such can be the result of "massive infusions of direct democracy." Perhaps only a Washington elitist with a vested interest in the current system would object. The Founding Fathers thought a lot about the system of representative government they established, and, while Washington has changed a lot in the past few centuries, human nature has not.

Most disappointing is that Phillips misses an opportunity to further the public discussion regarding the one Washington pathology deserving of his righteous indignation: influence peddling. The art of influence peddling in government is every bit as crass as Mr. Phillips makes it out to be, and the current state of the art has convoluted our nation's ideal of public service in the political arena. The problem, one Phillips aptly identifies, is an elite professional cadre of political staff who are able to make a career out of the specialized knowledge required to legislate and administer billions of dollars worth of government programs. What are we to think of people who go into government and its ideas for profit? In their defense, they often provide important services and often idealistically serve causes which they believe advance the common good. Calling the entire lot parasites, Mr. Phillips does not move us toward a useful theory.

Incredibly, Phillips seems to pooh-pooh the idea of legislating a ban on the revolving door, opting instead for some utopian evolution away from the lobbyist-inspired Washington culture. I would offer that, as part of reforming how Washington works, the new Republican majority in the next Congress should bring forth more draconian restrictions on the revolving door. Perhaps to Mr. Phillips, the suggestion of something less than the reversal of *Marbury v. Madison* and everything that followed is merely the minor tinkering of one clearly under the sway of the entrenched special interests who dominate the system. Mr. Phillips has expressed a liking for blistering public discussion, but, as we take on Washington, it would be better if our discussion was a little less blistering and a little more thoughtful.



(Beiler continued)

three-fifths going to work for lobbying firms or law offices with lobbying arms. In addition to \$400 million in PAC money and \$1,000 individual donations raised for the 1992 campaigns of federal candidates, another \$83 million flowed to the major party national committees from special interests—ostensibly for “party-building activities”—almost entirely in chunks that would otherwise be illegal. Phillips estimates the “Gross National Influence-Peddling Product” at \$20 billion per year, propelling the Washington suburbs to the top of the nation’s per-capita income heap.

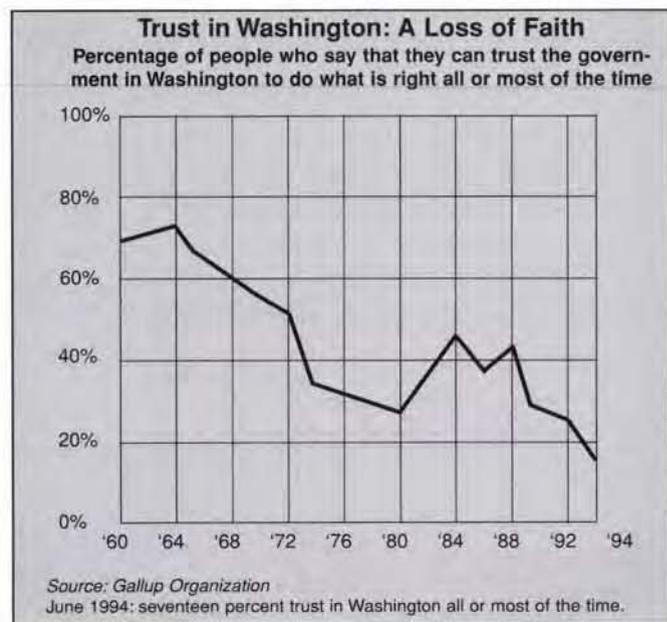
As lobbyists grew fat, so they made officeholders and their aides happy: yes, with gifts, junkets, and easy-money honoraria; but more significantly with campaign funds and implications of future employment. The represented monied and/or organized interests generally got their way with government policy, while the unrepresented middle-class picked up the tab, saw their purchasing power slide, and grew increasingly disillusioned (see table).

Other factors driving these past two decades of middle-class economic and political decline: the advent of computer trading, which helped inflate the paper economy’s size forty-fold in relation to the real economy; the globalization of major corporations, erasing the nationalist loyalties of high finance; the devolution of America to the status of a debtor nation, and the handcuffing of governmental economic policy by a tremendous surge in federal deficits—in effect, giving the bond market the keys to the kingdom. Of all public institutions, only the Federal Reserve—itsself stocked with financial elitists—retains any modicum of influence over the economy, an explanation for its recent hyperactivity.

Despite the hi-tech trappings, this is not a new phenomenon. Citing several examples—most recently Spain, then Holland, then England over the past 400 years—Phillips recounts the depressingly familiar symptoms of great economic powers in their seemingly inexorable decline: an ever-expanding capital city slowly strangling the nation with its bloated parasite class; increasingly maldistributed wealth and power as government policy comes under the sway of financial elites with an international perspective; a steady decline in the manufacturing base, with a concurrent rise in the service economy. In each case, there was some recognition of the sources of declines and reform movementstried to correct them—ever too little, too late.

Not content at playing Cassandra, Phillips insists America has a better chance at rejuvenating its once-vibrant economic and political institutions than these previous, failed examples, and insists that now is the perfect time to start. He seems somewhat vindicated already, in the wake of the 1994 elections held just six weeks after the publication of this book. Without doubt, the public will for a peaceful overthrow has arrived. Seemingly, Republicans can become the new majority party for the next two generations, but only if they deliver on their revolutionary rhetoric. To do so, there are lessons to be learned here.

True, Phillips can be as hyperbolic as William Jennings Bryan at his windiest while railing against eco-



omic elites. (“If Blackbeard and Henry Morgan could be reincarnated in the 1990s,” he bellows, “they would want to come back as head trader of Goldman Sachs or CS First Boston.”) That should not obscure the fact that this book is the most important of the decade, if only because it reveals the mindset of the Perot vote—much the same group that made the Democrats the majority party for 60 years. They have lost faith in the “Party of the People” because it has betrayed their trust, choosing instead to play valet to internationalist speculators while simultaneously pandering to its underclass base; in effect, representing the non-producing poachers of the paper economy and the welfare state—everybody but the real producers: the massive majority middle-class, the engine which drove America to the top of the world in the first place. There is a revelation in these pages for those befuddled about the electorate’s tremendous anger in the face of robust economic statistics: “Nations changing so that economic and cultural elites flourish while the average family sees its livelihood and beliefs threatened do not produce happy elections.”

On the ‘92 campaign trail, Bill Clinton became the first major party nominee to point out America’s slow strangulation by parasitic elitism. But once in the White House, he heard other voices: “You mean to tell me the [economic] program and my re-election hinges on the Federal Reserve and a bunch of f—ing bond traders?” he exclaimed at a meeting early in his presidency. Coming off a dozen years of nominal rule in a small backwater state basically dictated to by WalMart, Tyson Foods, Arkla and the Stephens brothers’ investment house, Clinton was easily convinced. The middle class tax cut he had promised the voters was quickly jettisoned, and deficit reduction and free trade became the top priorities for his administration’s crucial first year.

We have seen what Clinton has reaped at the ballot box from these seeds. Now that Republicans have a plow, they had better start raising more than hell or the two-party system will have the Devil to pay.

Moderate Republican Leaders

Our research department has uncovered information that most advocates of the Reactionary Right do not want you to know. This intelligence is so powerful that they will do anything from letting it slip out from beyond the Beltway. But we have painstakingly uncovered what even Rush Limbaugh could not keep out of his own Limbaugh Letter: proportionately, the moderate wing of the Republican party controls more leadership positions in the 104th Congress than any other ideological bloc.

Below and to the right we have listed those leaders and the committees that they control. It is an amazing feat, that with all the talk of a conservative wave sweeping the country, the Republican colleagues of these individuals have elected them to guide the Republican majorities in both chambers through the last two years of the Clinton Administration. We hope you will join the Ripon Society in saluting the moderate Republican leaders of the 104th Congress.

HOUSE COMMITTEES

Agriculture

Subcommittee Chairman: **Livestock, Dairy and Poultry** - Steve Gunderson (WI)

Banking and Financial Services: Chairman - Jim Leach (IA)

Subcommittee Chairmen: **Domestic and International Monetary Policy** - Michael Castle (DE)
 Financial Institutions and Consumer Credit - Marge Roukema (NJ)

Government Reform and Oversight: Chairman - William Clinger (PA)

Subcommittee Chairmen: **Government Management Information and Technology** - Steve Horn (CA)
 Human Resources and Intergovernmental Affairs - Christopher Shays (CT)

International Relations: Chairman - Ben Gillman (NY)

Subcommittee Chairman: **Asia and the Pacific** - Doug Bereuter (NE)

Science

Subcommittee Chairman: **Technology** - Constance Morella (MD)

Small Business: Chairwoman - Jan Meyers (KA)

Subcommittee Chairman: **Government Programs** - Peter Torkildsen (MA)

Standards of Official Conduct: Chairman - Nancy Johnson (CT)

Transportation and Infrastructure

Subcommittee Chairmen: **Railroads** - Susan Molinari (NY)
 Surface Transportation - Tom Petri (R-WI)
 Water Resources and Environment - Sherwood Boehlert (NY)

Ways and Means

Subcommittee Chairwoman: **Oversight** - Nancy Johnson (CT)



Jim Leach



Christopher Shays



Connie Morella



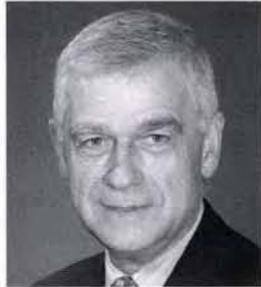
Peter Torkildsen



Susan Molinari



Sherwood Boehlert



Mark Hatfield



Bob Packwood



John Chafee



Nancy Kassebaum

SENATE COMMITTEES

Appropriations: Chairman - Mark Hatfield

Subcommittee Chairmen:

Defense - Ted Stevens (AK)

District of Columbia - James Jeffords (VT)

Labor-HHS- Education - Arlen Specter (PA)

Interior - Slade Gorton (WA)

Transportation and Related Agencies - Mark Hatfield (OR)

Commerce, Science and Transportation

Subcommittee Chairmen:

Communications - Bob Packwood (OR)

Consumers, Foreign Commerce, Tourism - Slade Gorton (WA)

Oceans and Fisheries - Ted Stevens (AK)

Environment and Public Works: Chairman - John Chafee (RI)

Finance: Chairman - Bob Packwood (OR)

Foreign Relations

Subcommittee Chairmen:

African Affairs - Nancy Landon Kassebaum (KA)

International Operations - Olympia Snowe (ME)

Government Affairs: Chairman - William V. Roth (DE)

Judiciary

Subcommittee Chairman:

Terrorism, Technology, Government Information - Arlen Specter (PA)

Labor and Human Resources: Chairman - Nancy Landon Kassebaum (KA)

Subcommittee Chairman:

Education, Arts, and Humanities - James Jeffords (VT)

Rules and Administration: Chairman - Ted Stevens (AK)

Select Committee on Intelligence: Chairman - Arlen Specter (PA)

Special Aging: Chairman - William S. Cohen (ME)

Coming to Terms

The effort to pass a term limits amendment to the U.S. Constitution has hit rough weather as proponents squabble over the number of years required before pulling the congressional career plug. Reform hawks are demanding a six-year limit on House service, bolstered by an advertising campaign by U.S. Term Limits which calls a 12-year lower chamber limit backed by Speaker **Newt Gingrich** "phony." Cong. **Tillie Fowler** (R-FL) is pushing a compromise eight-year House limit, calling it the "Goldilocks" plan: not too long, not too short. "If those of us who support term limits fixate on the number of years rather than the number of votes," Fowler warned, "we are destined to fail."

Detecting GOP backsliding on term limits, syndicated columnist **William F. Buckley** underscored the importance of the issue in late January, writing: "If Mr. Gingrich abandons or severely dilutes the term limits plank, then he will have problems two years from now, as will his party."

Newtered

The Speaker also touched a raw nerve with his lesbian sister, **Candace Gingrich**, this time when he recently urged "toleration" of homosexuals. "A leaky faucet is something you tolerate," Ms. Gingrich indignantly opined to *The Washington Blade*, a gay newspaper in the capital.

Fat Cats on the Prowl

Analyses of FEC reports reveals that the 74 Republican freshmen elected to the House in 1994 spent more than their Democratic counterparts in the in the final three weeks of the campaign, despite the fact nearly half of them faced incumbents. The figures indicate the flow of special interest money changed course once a shift in

control became plausible. That certainly bodes ill for the Democrats, who have largely financed their campaigns through such sources in the recent past.

Dole Picks Jockies

The evidence is now compelling that Sen. **Bob Dole** (R-KS) WILL be running for president next year at the age of 73. The new Majority Leader filed an exploratory committee with the FEC on January 12 and started signing on top campaign talent soon thereafter. **Scott Reed** resigned his post as Executive Director of the Republican National Committee on February 1 to assume new duties as manager of the Dole '96 effort. Veteran campaign operative **Bill Lacy**—who ran herd over Dole's 1988 presidential campaign—will be on board again as vice-chair and chief strategist. Lacy skippered the phenomenally successful **Fred Thompson** U.S. Senate campaign in Tennessee last year (see cover story).



Fowler:
Blonde Justice

Moderation on the Line

A national grassroots organization dedicated to advancing mainstream Republicanism has set up its hi-tech shop. **Republicans for ALL Americans** (RfAA) will be providing information and organizational links to mainstreamers through an on-line computer network, in preparation for the 1996 elections. Interested parties should contact **Jeff Osanka** at E-Mail: majordomo@efn.org/Message: subscribe rfaa. Or snail-mail Jeff at 1742 Skyline Boulevard/ Eugene, OR 97403.

Gopher Goes For Goodies

Ex-congressman **Fred Grandy** will be returning to Washington after all. The former Ripon Advisory Board member has become the President of Goodwill Industries, headquartered inside the Beltway. Grandy narrowly missed ousting Iowa Gov. **Terry Branstad** (R) in the '94 primaries.

Shays of Gingrich—The star of Cong. Chris Shays (R-CT) is clearly in ascent. His longstanding proposal to bring Congress under the laws it makes for the private sector became the first plank of The Contract With America to be enacted into law. Although the Ripon board member is opposed to term limits, he is considered the moderate closest to Speaker Gingrich.

Chafing Chafee Chased—The only chance federal health reform legislation had last year was provided by a group of moderate Republican "mainstreamers" led by Sen. **John Chafee** (R-RI), head of the GOP's task force on the issue. Chafee's initiatives for compromise raised the hackles of many right-wing Senate Republicans, however, who have now helped convince Majority Leader Dole to replace the Rhode Islander as the Party's health care point-man with the notably more conservative Sen. **Robert Bennett** (R-UT).

Ruins Of Ozymandias—The *Washington Times* reports that a huge dumpster parked outside Room 527 of the Hart Senate Office Building in late January was not large enough to contain a gigantic piece of cardboard left astride it—the blowup of a red, white and blue national health security card, used by **President Clinton** to trumpet his ill-fated health plan.

Rat on Pat—Televangelist/entrepreneur/politician **Pat Robertson** has been accused by a former top lieutenant of improperly diverting assets within the vast communications empire he controls. **Mark Barth**, former president of U.S. Media—a subsidiary of Robertson's gargantuan Christian Broadcast Network (CBN)—has filed a lawsuit which claims \$9 million in production assets were transferred without compensation from CBN to International Family Entertainment, another Robertson-controlled entity.

THE RIPON EDUCATIONAL FUND

TransAtlantic Conference

The Ripon Educational Fund will be sponsoring its 13th Annual TransAtlantic Conference August 19-26th in Dublin, Ireland this year. Issues covered will include: Irish - American Relations, Trade, Economic Opportunities in Ireland, Telecommunications, Agriculture, Transportation, Technology, and the Welfare State.

For more information please contact us at:

The Ripon Educational Fund
227 Massachusetts Avenue, NE
Suite 201
Washington, DC 20002

MARK O. HATFIELD SCHOLARSHIP

By providing scholarships to qualified individuals, The Ripon Educational Fund allows for original research into policy issues which are likely to have a direct influence on the concerns of the American people. Recipients are expected to produce a paper of publishable quality to be disseminated by The Ripon Educational Fund. Most grants are of \$2,000 and the reward is paid over the course of the scholar's work. Interested applicants should send a one or two page research proposal, writing samples, and a resume to:

The Hatfield Scholarship
Ripon Educational Fund
227 Massachusetts Avenue, NE
Suite 201
Washington, DC 20002

Papers should reflect the spirit and interests of Senator Mark O. Hatfield. This includes work in the areas of foreign affairs, civil liberties, the environment, and the nature of the government.

In the Mainstream of American Thought....

In today's world, everyone has an opinion. Be it the Far Right Republicans or the left wing Democrats, the voices that are heard seem to come loudest from the fringes of American political thought.

Not Anymore.

The Ripon Forum seeks to go beyond hard-edged ideologies and represent a voice for those in the mainstream of America. Afterall, it is people like you who elect our leaders and are affected by public policies.

Whether it's discussion on what's really wrong with the federal government or a discussion on the realignment of our political system, *The Forum* has it all.

Become a Subscriber Today!

YES! Send me *The Ripon Forum* for only \$20.

(students, people in the military service and Peace Corp volunteers pay only \$10)

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

You may FAX your subscription card to (202) 547-6560. Or mail it to *The Ripon Forum*, 227 Massachusetts Avenue NE, Suite 201, Washington, DC 20002.