

**"I BELIEVE THIS COUNTRY IS IN REAL TROUBLE."
Mia Love discusses why she ran for Congress
and her goals for the coming year**



The Rippon Forum

December 2014
Volume 48, No. 4



TRUST IN GOVERNMENT

Why it's important, and what Republicans can do to restore it in 2015



With essays by Cathy McMorris Rodgers, Charlie Dent, Shelley Moore Capito & Bill Flores

Plus: Rick Snyder's plan to boost immigration in the State of Michigan



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Volume 48, Number 4

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In this Edition

According to the latest polls, trust in government is at an all-time low. Depending on who you talk to, this may either be a good thing or a bad thing.

For some on the right, it may be a good thing because it is consistent with their core belief that government has gotten too big and is trying to do too many things. For some on the left, it may be a bad thing because it contradicts their core belief that government can be a source of good and should be doing even more.

Lost in this debate are those in between – the Americans who view government not in ideological terms, but in practical terms. These are the Americans who simply want to know their money is being well-spent – who want value out of the tax dollars they send to Washington, DC. For these Americans, restoring trust in government is not a liberal or conservative issue. It's a pocketbook issue.

It's also an issue that the new Republican majority in Congress must confront in the coming year, and one that we look at in this latest edition of THE RIPON FORUM. We do so with essays from four of Capitol Hill's brightest stars: Cathy McMorris Rodgers, who Chairs the House Republican Conference; Charlie Dent, who Co-Chairs the House Tuesday Group; Bill Flores, who Chairs the Republican Study Committee; and, Shelley Moore Capito, who has represented West Virginia's 2nd District since 2001 and was just elected as the first woman Senator from the state.

The latest edition of the FORUM also features an interview with Pew Research President Michael Dimock, who discusses the low level of trust in government and how it compares to previous years, and a pair of essays by veteran strategist John Feehery and Bipartisan Policy Center President Jason Grumet, who examine and propose ways in which Members of Congress can end the era of dysfunction on Capitol Hill. With immigration continuing to be in the news these days, we also hear from Governor Rick Snyder about the effort he is leading to address the issue in the State of Michigan. And in our latest Ripon Profile, newly-elected Utah Representative Mia Love discusses why she ran for Congress in the first place, and what she hopes to accomplish in the coming year.

We close this edition of the FORUM with a tribute to Bill Frenzel, who served as Chairman of our Editorial Board and who passed away on November 17th. It's fitting that the last edition of the FORUM with his name on the masthead is devoted to trust in government, for if there was ever a leader who embodied the qualities that inspire trust among the American people, it was Bill. Among these qualities was Bill's strong belief that good ideas can come from anywhere on the political spectrum – be it the left, right or center. He tried to instill this belief here at the FORUM. When we strayed, he let us know about it in his pleasant but direct way. After Republicans won back the House in 2010, for example, I wrote a column that Bill believed was a bit too strident in tone. He sent me a note about it in which he reaffirmed not only his vision for this journal, but his political philosophy, as well:

"Those who do not agree with us are the opposition, not the enemy," he wrote. "They may be wrong-headed, but they are not (usually) evil. Their principles ought to be given the same respect we would want them to give to ours. We should be able to debate the opposition aggressively, but only fight after the opposing bully has thrown the first punch. I believe that we also have to be careful not to overdo our newly discovered aggressiveness. The convert often becomes the most rabid zealot. If we get rabid, we will have to be awfully sure of ourselves."

Like so much of what he wrote and said, these words are timeless and are one of the many reasons he will be missed. They are also why – as we look for ways to restore trust in government – we would be wise to look at the example set by Bill Frenzel over the course of his long and distinguished career.

Lou Zickar
Editor of THE RIPON FORUM
louzickar@riponsociety.org



TRUST IN GOVERNMENT

**Why it's important, and what Republicans
can do to restore it in 2015**

“We cannot achieve great things alone.”

CATHY MCMORRIS RODGERS

It was nearly a decade ago when I made the cross-country journey from one Washington to the other, a newly elected Member of Congress and the 200th woman ever to serve in the United States House of Representatives. When I put my hand on the Bible and was sworn in to serve the people of Eastern Washington, I was eager and excited to represent them. I was determined to legislate with both my head and my heart. And I was humbled that so many people had instilled their trust in me to make their lives better. It was a charge I intended to keep – and one that I carry with me every single day as I walk the halls of the United States Capitol.

Years later, as Chair of the House Republican Conference, I can say with certainty that trust is fundamental to effective lawmaking. At a time when Americans’ trust in government has hit an all-time low – with just 28 percent in the legislative branch and 43 percent in the executive – it’s time to change the culture in Washington.

We need to bridge the ever-growing chasm between the American people and their elected leaders – a rift that has been exacerbated by the Administration’s flagrant executive overreach, a loss of opportunity for middle-class Americans, and a lack of transparency that pervades the federal government. But it hasn’t always been this way. And it certainly doesn’t need to stay this way. We can restore the public’s trust by fostering relationships; advancing 21st-century solutions; and incorporating technology and American ingenuity into public policy.

Fundamental to the restoration of trust is the cultivation of relationships – not only among Republicans and Democrats, the House and the Senate, and the White House and Congress – but between Washington, DC

and the American people. If there is one thing I have learned as a legislator, it’s that we cannot achieve great things alone. It takes a willingness to come together, put aside our differences, and advance solutions that make people’s lives better. And as we welcome America’s New Congress this month, I am eager to continue the work we’ve begun to do just that.



We need to bridge the ever-growing chasm between the American people and their elected leaders.

As Co-Chair of the Congressional Military Family Caucus, Co-Founder of the Congressional Down Syndrome Caucus, and a member of the bipartisan women’s caucus – I have learned firsthand the importance of good relationships, especially in the politically charged and divisive world of Capitol Hill. Whether it’s advancing solutions for individuals with disabilities, or protecting our military families, or expanding opportunities for America’s working moms – it all starts by building those relationships. There is always common ground to be found. Sometimes we just need to work a little harder to find it.

But the relationships we build in Washington – and the dialogue that accompanies them – are just the beginning. If we learned anything from the 2014 midterm election, it’s that Americans want us to surmount partisan politics and work together. They’re tired of the gridlock in Washington – so much so, in fact, that in a recent Pew poll, just 20 percent of Americans said they trusted the government to do what is right “always” or “most” of the time. That is unacceptable. The American people want us to chart a new path forward – a better, bipartisan path – that will help them pay their bills, bring home more take-home pay, and make their lives better. The passage of the Achieving a Better Life Experience (ABLE)

Act earlier this month – which passed the House with an overwhelming 404 votes – is a perfect example of how we can do that. This legislation will create tax-free savings accounts for individuals with disabilities so they can save for their future expenses and reach their full potential. It's these bipartisan solutions – ones that begin with a recognition that no single person or party has all the answers – that empower people, change lives, and rebuild trust.

As I join my colleagues in the House and our new Republican majority in the Senate, I am confident we can restore trust among the American people by embracing a culture of innovation and ingenuity on Capitol Hill. Technology allows us to maximize communication, accessibility and transparency between elected leaders and those we represent. And as this Administration continues to exert its unilateral, executive overreach – most recently with immigration reform – it is imperative we promote transparency within our government if we want to regain the trust of the American people.

It's time for lawmakers to approach public policy with the same ingenuity we find in start-ups all across the country. The federal government – particularly the VA – could take lessons from apps like ZocDoc that have

helped millions of Americans schedule appointments with doctors in a matter of hours – or from Microsoft's new CEO, Satya Nadella, who recently met with the Republican Conference to discuss his visions for the future of Microsoft. It's this innovative culture – one that challenges the status quo and promotes commonsense, forward-thinking solutions – that would help bridge the growing disconnect between the American people and the federal government.

While the challenge to restore the public's trust in Congress may be a tremendous one, it is far from impossible. I welcome America's New Congress – one that will find common ground, advance 21st-century solutions, and embrace a culture of innovation to empower people in every corner of this country. We will be guided by principle, not politics. We will challenge the status quo. And we will chart the path toward a government that is more open, transparent, and trustworthy. **RF**

Cathy McMorris Rodgers represents the 5th District of the State of Washington in the U.S. House of Representatives. She serves as Chair of the House Republican Conference.

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“Republicans need to show that we can deliver.”

CHARLIE DENT

American voters were spectacularly supportive of Republican candidates in this year’s elections. We have 54 Republican Senators and we’ll have more Republicans in the House than at any point since Harry Truman was President.

And, it could all be for nothing if we as a Party squander the opportunity we have been given by failing to restore peoples’ trust that government can function competently.

Let’s be clear. The voters gave us a second look, and expect us to govern and solve problems. They question and reject many of the President’s policies, and have had their fill of the Harry Reid “Do-Nothing” Senate.

If we end 2014 and begin 2015 threatening to shut the government down; if we give voters the sense that we’re ready to take the process hostage, we will suffer the same fate the Democrats just did. We need to regain trust. We need to show that we are a party more interested in building than in tearing down. We need to demonstrate that when there’s trouble, we’re the ones with a reasonable solution.

How often have you heard Republicans say that we should run government like a family runs their household? Consider that if a family disagrees about spending priorities, they don’t get the leisure of “shutting down” and telling their credit card companies, their utility providers or their mortgage lender that they’re closed until one side wins the argument. Or, that they’ll start meeting their obligations again once things are ironed out.

Republicans want a limited, competent government that functions in the “real world.” We offer ourselves as the contrast to out-of-touch federal government functionaries who do not have to confront the realities that face average Americans.

Republicans are right about this. But, people will never trust us if we make that argument and then scare the financial markets by playing chicken with the debt ceiling.

There are a large number of commonsense pieces of legislation, which enjoy broad, bipartisan support not only in Congress, but with the public as well, that went nowhere in the Senate for political reasons. We should immediately pass some

of these bills, like construction of the Keystone Pipeline, the elimination of the Medical Device Tax and the restoration of the forty-hour work week, which was done away with under the health care law, to show people we have the capacity to govern.

Republicans need to show that we can deliver.

Government’s core functions include providing for the national defense and supporting the nation’s infrastructure. We can win back a lot of trust just by showing that we can accomplish the basics of what people expect government to do.

We should pass a budget and the necessary appropriations bills. We must then move aggressively to pass a Transportation Bill. People want roads and bridges built and repaired in their states and towns. They want us to accelerate growth in the economy. We can do that by reforming the 70,000 plus page tax code to make it fairer, flatter and simpler. They want us to open markets for trade to benefit our manufacturers, farmers and workers. They want us to work in a bipartisan manner to accomplish these goals.

As Republicans, we are in a unique position to lead and provide opportunity. President Obama is in a weakened position. He can choose to exceed his executive authority on divisive matters like immigration, but he will only be making himself

weaker with these power plays. His actions give Americans even less reason to trust the government.

Republicans can seize the initiative from the President by showing that we will work to enact legislation supported by the vast majority of Americans. We must govern while the President lashes out and fumes. To regain the public’s trust we must do what we say we’ll do.

That goes beyond partisan politics. A functioning Majority focused on doing the right thing to grow the economy and get people working is exactly the trust-boost Americans need. **RF**

Charlie Dent represents the 15th District of Pennsylvania in the U.S. House of Representatives. He serves as Co-Chair of the House Tuesday Group.



We must govern while the President lashes out and fumes.

“We can restore the trust and confidence by coming together to find common ground.”

SHELLEY MOORE CAPITO

If there is one thing that members on both sides of the aisle can agree on, it is that our country is divided politically. Members of Congress approach issues from different perspectives and come to different conclusions about the best solutions to the problems we face.

The American people delivered a strong message on November 4, 2014, casting their votes to say that they expect leaders in Washington to work together to solve the problems facing our nation. Voters rejected the current makeup of the Senate – and with that, the way that the chamber has operated under Democrat control.

It’s no secret that the approval ratings of Congress are abysmal, but we can restore the trust and confidence of the American people by coming together to find common ground.

In the most recent Congress, there were glimpses of bipartisanship that we can build on in the years to come. I served as a conferee on the bipartisan *Water Resources Reform and Development Act*, which became law earlier this year and will improve our nation’s ports and inland waterways. The broadly supported *Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act* will help more American workers gain the skills they need for jobs in their local communities.

These two pieces of legislation passed with bipartisan support in both the House and the Senate because members – and leadership – were willing to hear each other’s concerns, engage in a robust debate in their respective chambers, and negotiate on final legislation.

Unfortunately, these bills were anomalies in the 113th Congress. Too often, however, Congress has avoided making the tough choices that are necessary to reduce our deficit, build our infrastructure, and preserve entitlement programs

for future generations.

The U.S. Senate failed to consider dozens of jobs bills passed by the U.S. House of Representatives – good pieces of legislation that would have helped to create jobs, spur investment and grow the economy.

The Hire More Heroes Act would exempt businesses from the Affordable Care Act employer mandate to encourage the hiring of more veterans. It passed the House with overwhelming support – 406-1 – but was never considered in the Senate.

The Domestic Prosperity and Global Freedom Act would grow our economy by allowing for increased exports of liquefied natural gas. It passed the House with the support of 46 Democrats but was never brought up for consideration in the Senate.

Even more significantly, the Senate screeched to a halt because of the Democratic leadership’s decision not to allow votes on scores of amendments – including amendments filed by Democrats – in order to protect senators running for reelection from making politically difficult choices.

The American people will not, and should not, have confidence in a Congress that seeks only

to preserve itself. By opening the Senate floor to debate and amendments, we can restore the institution’s role as the world’s greatest deliberative body. Congress must earn back the trust of the American people by functioning as the Founders intended, offering a robust debate on the issues that matter to the American people, and ensuring them representation in the crafting of the laws of our land. **RF**



The American people will not, and should not, have confidence in a Congress that seeks only to preserve itself.

Shelley Moore Capito will be sworn into office as U.S. Senator from West Virginia on January 6, 2015. Since 2000, she has represented the 2nd District of West Virginia in the U.S. House.

“Washington needs to be recalibrated so that it is smaller, less intrusive, and more accountable.”

BILL FLORES

President Ronald Reagan spoke often about America being the “shining city on the hill”. Unfortunately, the dysfunction taking place in Washington has blurred this aspirational vision of America.

Over the past six years, the headwinds coming out of Washington have severely impacted opportunities for hardworking American families and taxpayers. Because of these headwinds and the conflicts arising from divided government, the approval ratings of President Obama and Congress have dropped to historically low levels. In addition, about two of every three Americans think that our country is on the wrong track. Moreover, during this time period, the typical American family has seen its income remain stagnant while their costs for food, education, healthcare and energy have risen.

Over the past few months, the failed economic policies of the Obama administration have allowed the Chinese economy to surpass ours. Terrorist groups and rogue states are on the rise around the world and our border security is non-existent. The federal budget is a mess. Unelected, unaccountable Washington bureaucrats have inserted themselves into far too many aspects of American businesses, educational institutions, and our homes. Lastly, the ideologies of a radical left have placed a higher value on bugs and trees than on human lives and economic opportunity for families. These conditions are unacceptable and it is time that elected officials in Washington work to renew Americans’ trust in their government.

The results of the recent midterm elections show that Americans want change. Americans are looking

for Washington to do the following – create an environment of economic opportunity for American families, restore our national security, balance the federal budget, limit the federal government to its constitutional roles, and reinforce traditional American family values.



The results of the recent midterm elections show that Americans want change.

While it will take substantial time to reverse the problems described above and to restore our country’s exceptionalism, we need to first focus on creating an environment for economic growth. Every piece of legislation and every federal regulation should be judged by its impact on an overarching goal of creating “more jobs and better paychecks for hardworking American families.” To do this, Congress should tackle tax reform, regulatory reform, litigation reform, and patient-centered health care reform based upon private sector principles (to replace Obamacare). In addition, Congress should develop a 21st century energy strategy based upon “architecture of abundance,” similar to the energy strategy I recently co-authored with Louisiana governor Bobby Jindal.

The economic growth that arrives from the successful implementation of the foregoing policies will help produce additional revenues to allow us to restore our country’s defense and border security resources. We are safer at home and the world is more stable when America is strong. Rebuilding our national defense is essential to restoring America’s respect around the world. Again, the words of Ronald Reagan are relevant as he believed in a philosophy of “peace through strength.” We are much less likely to have war if our national security is strong.

Solving the federal government's fiscal mess is also a national security issue because our exploding debt is now our nation's biggest security weakness. Washington needs to be recalibrated so that it is smaller, less intrusive, and more accountable. This includes fixing our on-going fiscal crisis by balancing the budget, being fiscally responsible in spending, and reforming entitlement spending – the true driver of our debt. Over the past four years, the House of Representatives has passed four "Path to Prosperity" budgets which tackle these issues head-on and set the federal budget on a glide path to balance in the next few years. In 2015, we need to build on those budgets and have them enacted by both the House and Senate.

The 114th Congress will be sworn in on January 6. During that process, each Member of the House and Senate will take an oath to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States of America. Both Congress and the American people would be well served if all Representatives and Senators would also recommit themselves to adhering to the Constitution by limiting the activities of the federal government

to those which are specifically enumerated in that document.

As the new Congress carries out its business, it should reaffirm its commitment to protect all human life (including the lives of the unborn) and to protect the values that enable families to be healthy – emotionally, physically, and economically. Our reaffirmation should also include commitments to protect our religious liberties set forth in the Bill of Rights.

Through these efforts, we can rebuild trust with American people; and we will help restore America's promise, prosperity, and security for current and future generations.

The 114th Congress presents America with a unique opportunity to return to its exceptional roots. By taking full advantage of the possibilities that lay ahead, we can restore America to the "shining city on a hill" that Reagan envisioned. **RF**

Bill Flores represents the 17th District of Texas in the U.S. House of Representatives. He serves as Chairman of the Republican Study Committee.



Here's to all the possibilities

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*“When people feel insecure,
they will hold leaders to task.”*

Q&A with Michael Dimock

Michael Dimock is president of the Pew Research Center. A survey researcher and political scientist by training, he oversees the center’s overall operations and research agenda.

The Pew Research Center is a nonpartisan fact tank that informs the public about the issues, attitudes and trends shaping America and the world. It conducts public opinion polling, demographic research, media content analysis and other empirical social science research.

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The FORUM recently asked Dimock about the low-level of trust Americans have toward the federal government and how it compares to past years.

RF: Trust in government is at an all-time low. How did we get to this point?

MD: As our reports on views of government have shown, public trust in the federal government first began declining in the 1970s, with Watergate and the Vietnam War. In fact, prior to Ronald Reagan’s election as president in 1980, the percentage saying they could trust the federal government always or most of the time had sunk to 28 percent – roughly half the level it had been a decade earlier. Even so, the last 10 years have seen a prolonged period during which trust has remained at or near historic lows.

There are many causes for this, and our 2010 report on trust in government outlined some of them: “a dismal economy, an unhappy public, bitter partisan-based backlash, and epic discontent with Congress and elected officials.” Though there has been a modest increase in positive views of the economy since then, those conditions largely persist today.

RF: Is this basic lack of trust shared by all of the public, or are there some groups who still have faith that government will do the right thing?

MD: Majorities across all demographic groups express low levels in trust in government. That said, currently, young people and minorities are more likely to trust government at least most of the time, compared with older Americans and whites.



Michael Dimock

There is also a partisan factor that varies with changes in administrations. Democrats tend to hold more positive views of government, though these views often fall a bit under Republican administrations. Republicans express much higher levels of confidence in government when a Republican administration is in the White House, but that confidence plummets under Democratic administrations.

RF: How does this era compare to other moments in American history when trust in government was low, such as the post-Watergate era of the mid- to late 1970’s?

MD: The current levels of trust in the federal government are similar to those of the late 1970s and the early 1990s. Trust was at a particularly low ebb in 1994 (Clinton’s second year), just prior to the Republican revolution.

Again, what the current period has in common with those earlier times is a gloomy national outlook and

widespread pessimism about the nation's economy.

RF: Trust in government increased by around 20 percentage points during the presidencies of both Ronald Reagan and Bill Clinton. Is this because the economy also grew during their presidencies, or are there other factors as well?

MD: An improving economy was a factor, definitely. Still, the data show that trust in government was more consistently positive during Reagan's second term than in Clinton's second term, though both were periods of robust economic growth.

In part, this may reflect the impeachment of Clinton during his second term. In addition, Reagan and Clinton were popular presidents whose predecessors – particularly Carter – were much less popular. Trust in government rose substantially immediately following Reagan's election – before he even took

office, and remained substantially higher throughout his administration than it had been when Carter was in office.

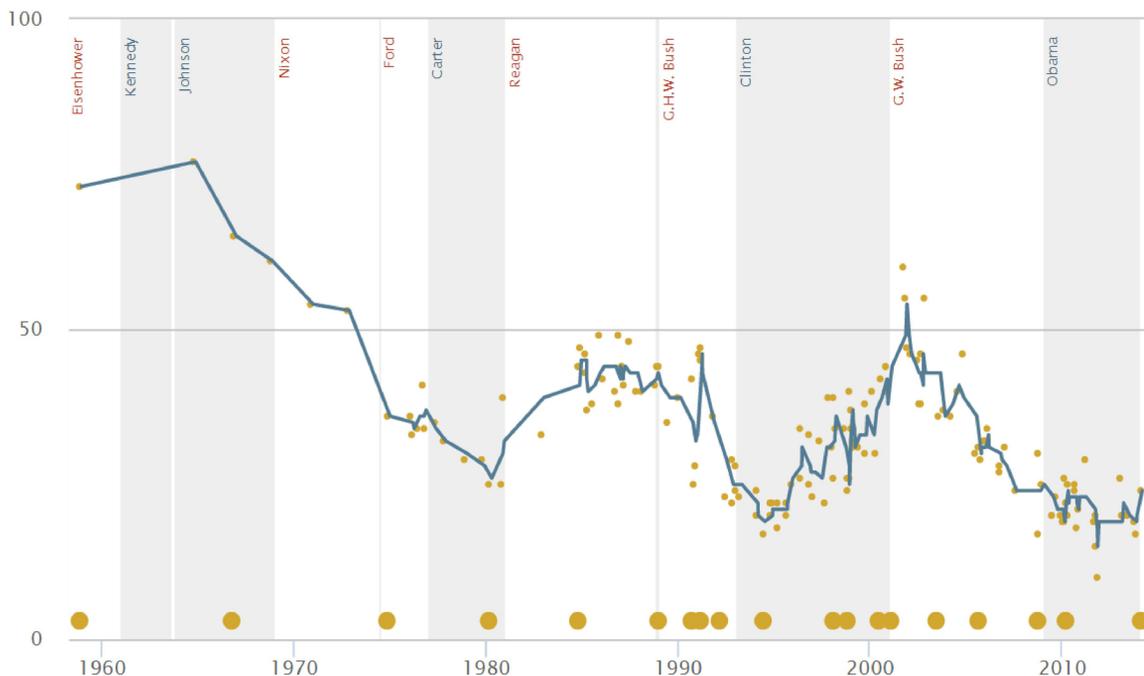
RF: Of course, government isn't the only institution that people are losing faith in. From religious organizations to the news media, people are losing faith in other institutions also. Is there a common thread or underlying current that is breeding distrust in our society?

MD: To some degree it depends on the institution. The military, for instance, continues to be viewed very favorably. Views of labor unions and business corporations recovered in

The current levels of trust in the federal government are similar to those of the late 1970s and the early 1990s. Trust was at a particularly low ebb in 1994 (Clinton's second year), just prior to the Republican revolution.

2013, after plummeting earlier this decade. And the public continues to hold state and local governments in fairly high regard, even as views of the federal government have grown much more negative, as shown in our April 2013 report on views of government.

Public Trust in Government: 1958-2014



Sources: Pew Research Center, National Election Studies, Gallup, ABC/Washington Post, CBS/New York Times, and CNN Polls. From 1976-2010 the trend line represents a three-survey moving average. For party analysis, selected datasets obtained from searches of the iPOLL Databank provided by the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, University of Connecticut.

The federal government and its three branches have taken perhaps the heaviest toll. Even the Supreme Court is viewed much more negatively than in the past.

RF: What is the role of the news media in all of this? Is the seemingly endless coverage of partisan conflict and political strife driving trust in government down?

MD: It's difficult to say how much of a factor, if at all, the news media have played. We do know that over the course of the last 10 years – a period of continued low levels of trust in the federal government – there has been a fragmentation of the public's news sources and a rise of ideological media.

On the other hand, trust in government was nearly as low in the late 1970s, when the public relied on a handful of news sources – the three major networks,

as well as national and local daily newspapers. And that was decades before the rise of outlets such as Fox News, MSNBC and the Daily Show with Jon Stewart.

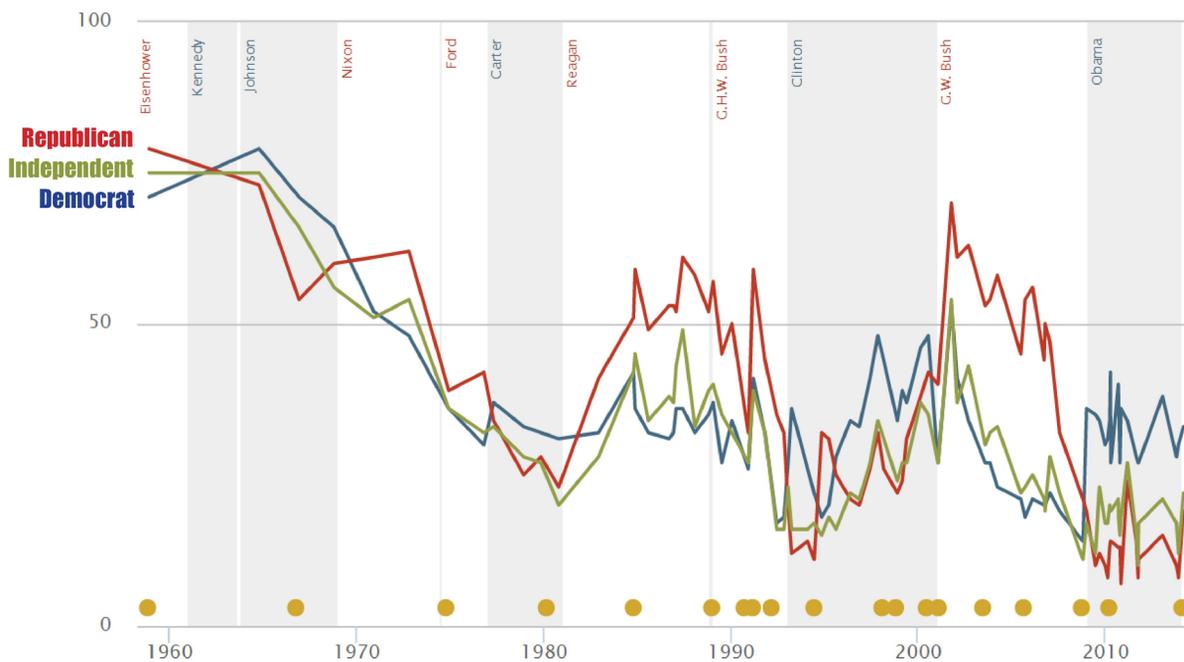
RF: How do we turn things around and get people to trust government again? Are there any lessons from the past that could serve as guideposts for today?

MD: Overall, when people feel insecure, they will hold leaders to task. The perception of dysfunction in Washington, along with a persistent sense of economic insecurity, is clearly weighing down views of government. And just as

with interpersonal relationships, trust in government can be lost easily, but takes a lot of time, effort and consistent performance to win back. There is no single factor, silver bullet or flip of a switch that builds trust immediately. **RF**

The perception of dysfunction in Washington, along with a persistent sense of economic insecurity, is clearly weighing down views of government.

Trust in Government by Party: 1958-2014



Sources: Pew Research Center, National Election Studies, Gallup, ABC/Washington Post, CBS/New York Times, and CNN Polls. From 1976-2010 the trend line represents a three-survey moving average. For party analysis, selected datasets obtained from searches of the iPOLL Databank provided by the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, University of Connecticut.

Want to Improve Trust in Government?

Then improve the tone & tenor of political campaigns.

JOHN FEEHERY

Should we be surprised that so many Americans hold Congress in such low regard?

For the last decade, Congressional approval ratings have held steady between 10 and 20 percent.

John McCain likes to joke that the only folks who give Congress the thumbs up are “paid staffers and blood relatives,” but the American people’s persistent disillusion in our democracy is no laughing matter.

I think the fact that we live in a brave new world of 24/7 campaigns is a big reason why people hold the Congress in such low regard.

As soon as one election is over, Members of Congress immediately prepare themselves for the next campaign, raising money, doing opposition research and otherwise girding themselves for battle.

And given the state of modern campaigning, it is not too hard to see why they so aggressively worry about defending themselves and their reputations.

The new world of campaigning has poured more resources and spewed more vitriol at more people than at any time in our nation’s history.

If Coke and Pepsi ran the same kind of negative campaigns that the Republicans and Democrats run against each other, nobody would ever pick up a soft drink again.

I have a simple solution to stopping this endless race to the bottom.

Apply the rules of decorum that are followed in both the House and the Senate to political campaigns.

If a candidate or a Super PAC associated with a candidate’s campaign break those rules of decorum, they should face a significant penalty, perhaps even expulsion from the Congress.

Let me explain.



John Feehery

The new world of campaigning has poured more resources and spewed more vitriol at more people than at any time in our nation’s history.

Under the Rules of the House, based on the book of parliamentary procedure written by Thomas Jefferson (according to the House Rules Committee website): “a Member should avoid impugning the motives of another Member, the Senate or the President, using offensive language, or uttering words that are otherwise deemed unparliamentary. These actions are strictly against House Rules and are subject to a demand that the words be taken down.”

The Senate has similar rules. According to Senate Historian Richard Baker’s excellent little pamphlet on the history of the upper chamber, called *Traditions*: “Early in the 20th century, the Senate added an important decorum-related rule. During 1902 floor proceedings, a senator openly questioned a colleague’s integrity. When that colleague stormed into the

Chamber to brand the assertion ‘a willful, malicious, and deliberate lie,’ the accusing senator jumped from behind his desk and punched his challenger in the face. Efforts to separate the combatants sparked a brawl. After the galleries were cleared and order restored, the Senate temporarily suspended both members from serving, censured them, and adopted stricter

decorum guidelines. Today's Rule XIX includes those 1902 guidelines: 'No Senator in debate shall directly or indirectly, by any form of words impute to another Senator or to other Senators any conduct or motive unworthy or unbecoming a Senator.'"

Imagine how differently the American people would feel about their elected representatives if they weren't barraged by thousands of 30 second commercials calling candidates crooks, liars and thieves.

Imagine if our campaigns were based on issues and experience, rather than ad-hominem attacks and slimy innuendo.

Imagine the quality of candidates who would decide to throw their hats in the ring if they knew that they could engage in substantive discussions about real solutions, rather than risk their reputation in the cesspool of the current political campaign.

Perhaps by extending the rules of decorum to campaigns, Congress could lead a revolution in social engagement.

Perhaps instead of living in a society of gotcha, of rudeness, of hostility, Members of the House and the Senate could teach us how to act with good manners and how to disagree without being disagreeable.

When they engage each other inside the hallowed Halls of Congress, our leaders either act like responsible adults or face stiff sanctions. Those sanctions should apply outside the Congress too. **RF**

I have a simple solution to stopping this endless race to the bottom. Apply the rules of decorum that are followed in both the House and the Senate to political campaigns.

John Feehery is President of Communications and Director of Government Affairs for Quinn Gillespie

and Associates. He previously served as a top aide to the Republican leadership in the House of Representatives.



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Restore Regular Order

Productivity and Public Trust will Follow

JASON GRUMET

Of late, many leading politicians are calling for a return to “regular order.” For those not steeped in the nuance of congressional procedure, regular order sounds like a way to get a favorite sandwich. For the majority of Congress, regular order dictates whether they will have a meaningful role in debating and influencing legislation. For the country, regular order largely determines whether our government will be capable of solving problems.

So, what is regular order and how would restoring it shape our nation’s future? Don Wolfensberger, an expert on Congress here at the Bipartisan Policy Center, has offered a definition: “those rules, precedents and customs of Congress that constitute an orderly and deliberative policymaking process.”

Put another way, regular order is Congress doing the basic work of legislating which includes deliberating in committees, engaging with stakeholders, offering and voting on amendments and ultimately passing or rejecting legislative proposals. These cornerstones of the democratic process have not been the hallmarks of the 113th Congress. Instead, this last Congress spent very little time in D.C. Committees were largely sidelined and worst of all, the Congress hardly ever engaged in actual debate. Not surprisingly, the result was a caustic and unproductive session. In fact, the current Congress is on track to produce the least legislation in the last 60 years.

But there is good news. A very small group of legislative leaders has the power to break this vicious cycle and restore a culture of productive partisanship. Any realistic proposal to improve congressional function must appreciate that our Congress and our country are deeply divided politically, philosophically and geographically. These are not new challenges and they well describe the dynamics in place when our Constitution

was crafted. Our cumbersome system of checks and balances was created to draw resilient and cohesive policy out of this diversity and division. From these hurdles and tensions, a legislative process developed to metabolize the hostility that is inherent in a pluralistic democracy. These rules and traditions are the regular order that newly elected congressional leadership has committed to restore. Some of the key steps are elaborated below:



Jason Grumet

**Our cumbersome system
of checks and balances
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and division.**

committees far less relevant. Passage of the twelve traditional appropriations bills has also been abandoned in favor of huge “continuing resolutions” funding the entire government. Such monstrosities make it practically impossible for Congress to provide responsible oversight of programs or meaningfully enhance government efficiency.

Spend more time with colleagues: It is impossible to run a business, let alone the world’s greatest democracy, if you’re only in the office on Wednesdays. The current congressional schedule does not provide the time to engage on substantive issues or forge the relationships needed to navigate disagreements. Moreover, the Senate and House are often not even in session at the same time. In a very encouraging sign, the schedules recently released by Senator McConnell and Speaker Boehner have both chambers in session on Fridays with similar recess schedules.

Restore the authority of legislative committees: These deliberative bodies have historically been the engines of our democracy. Members spent time in their committees developing expertise and common interests that provided some ballast against purely partisan motivations. In recent years, congressional leadership has taken over the development and control of most legislation rendering the

Let them vote: Open debate and amendments must be restored. Today in the Senate, the majority rarely allows open amendments and the minority requires 60 votes for most everything. Both parties deserve ample blame for abusing their procedural authority and neither can point to an “original sin” to justify its behavior. There are many nuances here, but the core solution is that the majority must allow more amendments and the minority must allow legislation to move to the floor for substantive debate without 60 votes. While the House is designed to be a majoritarian body, House leaders should consider legislation under open rules that allow for more amendments.

The purported rationale for preventing amendments has been the desire to protect members from having to take “tough votes.”

Beyond the idea that tough votes are the essence of the job, the 2014 elections indicate that short-circuiting the voting process is a losing strategy. Senate efforts to “protect” endangered Democratic incumbents failed across the board. Ironically, the inability to cast “tough votes” also diminished the ability of senators to demonstrate independence and leadership. Many were undermined by opponents’ assertions that they had voted with the administration over 95% of the time.

The good news is that both houses of Congress have expressed the desire to get the legislative process back on track.

The good news is that both houses of Congress have expressed the desire to get the legislative process back on track. House Majority Leader Kevin McCarthy has already pledged to give committees a larger role. Immediately following the election, Senator McConnell promised to “get the Senate back to normal” by allowing open debates and amendments, restoring the role of committees and spending more time at work. McConnell also said, “We’re going to pass appropriations bills.”

All of this requires active support and engagement from the White House. While not explicitly involved in the congressional rules, the president has a profound role in enabling or scuttling good will between the parties. The 113th Congress is ending on a rough note,

but the great thing about our democracy is that every election offers a fresh start. Just like the Chicago Cubs, Congress will begin next year undefeated. A return to the basic processes that have enabled progress despite partisanship is key to a productive 2015. **RF**

Jason Grumet is president of the Bipartisan Policy Center and author of City of Rivals: Restoring the Glorious Mess of American Democracy.

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The Michigan Example on Immigration

RICK SNYDER

Thousands of international students graduate from Michigan colleges and universities each year, often with advanced degrees in science, technology, engineering and mathematics fields.

They have a world-class education. They have skills Michigan companies are looking for in employees and leaders to grow and thrive, creating more and better jobs. They want to stay in our state.

And our country tells them they must leave.

That just doesn't make sense.

Our country needs a long-term, comprehensive solution to an immigration policy that everyone knows is broken and continues to hold back our economy. It's essential that the White House and Congress work together on an innovative approach that will address our country's present needs as well as those long into the future.

Here in Michigan, we've demonstrated how we can work together to solve difficult problems. We've made great progress and we aren't taking our foot off the accelerator as we move forward.

We've got a plan that celebrates our diversity, adds to our vibrant cultural fabric and strengthens our growing economy.

We're proud of our rich heritage of immigration, which has contributed economically and culturally to Michigan's greatness. Look around our state and you'll see brands known around the world, like Ford, Vlassic and Dow, founded by immigrants or their families.

Foreign-born residents are proven job-creators and we are looking to tap their entrepreneurial spirit to accelerate our recovery.



Foreign-born residents are proven job-creators and we are looking to tap their entrepreneurial spirit to accelerate our recovery.

Nationally, immigrants start businesses at twice the rate of native-born Americans. During the last decade, immigrants created nearly one-third of Michigan's high-tech businesses, at a rate six times the rest of the population.

I've asked our leaders in Washington, D.C. to approve 50,000 visas over five years for immigrants to put down roots and build their lives and careers in Detroit. It's a plan supported by Detroit Mayor Mike Duggan and other city leaders. Together, we believe it will help our state's largest

and iconic city – and all of Michigan.

This plan is about creating jobs for Detroiters, as well as growing the economy and reversing the city's population decline.

We all want Detroit to thrive. The success of the city's Downtown and Midtown sections can extend to the neighborhoods. Letting the world know that Detroit is open for business by encouraging legal immigration is an opportunity we should not pass up.

A big part of that is reaching out to people who already have come to Michigan.

Our universities and colleges have more than 25,000 international students. They are three times more likely to major in STEM fields than American-born students. More than 82 percent of the state's international students who use their student visas to work in the United States earned advanced degrees.

We aren't looking for these students to take job opportunities away from native Michiganders. There is far more demand for these specialized skills than we have people able to fill them. In fact, each international student retained in the STEM fields creates about 2.5 jobs for U.S. natives.

There are needs for people with specialized skills in other fields, as well, including agriculture, manufacturing and tourism.

There is more that we can do to help people with specialized skills who want to call Michigan home. I've created the Michigan Office for New Americans to coordinate with state agencies that provide services for immigrants through programs concerning entrepreneurship, licensing, work force training, education, housing, health care and quality of life.

The office also is leading the Global Michigan Initiative – a collaborative statewide effort to retain and attract international talent – and developing sustainable partnerships with existing community foundations, nonprofits and private-sector service providers already serving immigrant communities statewide.

It's all a part of making Michigan a more welcoming state and tapping the talent of skilled people who are here and want to stay.

We must never forget that the United States – and especially Michigan – remains the land of opportunity that

people in other nations dream about.

We also must never forget that we are a nation of laws. Our leaders in Washington need to make sure that our borders are secure, our employers have the ability to verify status and that those who have worked for years to follow the legal path to citizenship are treated fairly. These leaders also have to reform our current, broken system in such a way that legal immigration is the only attractive and viable path for those who aspire to become Americans.

There is no question that immigrants helped make our state great. And there also is no question that legal immigrants can continue to play an important role in Michigan long into the future.

We embrace the cultural diversity and ingenuity that our immigrants have brought throughout our history and can continue to bring under a bipartisan system that addresses our national interests and moves our state and country forward. **RF**

Rick Snyder was recently elected to his second term as the Governor of the State of Michigan.

It's all a part of making Michigan a more welcoming state and tapping the talent of skilled people who are here and want to stay.



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Where Consensus Exists

SUSAN M. COLLINS

On November 4, 2014, the American people sent a powerful statement, one that resonated from Washington to state capitals around the country. In the marketplace of ideas, our Republican values of freedom, personal responsibility, and a strong national defense, of government that is less expensive and intrusive, yet more effective and accountable, carried the day.

Now, the American people are wondering. Can we deliver? With a new Republican majority in the Senate and an even stronger representation in the House, will the next Congress work together to address issues that truly concern our citizens?

Obviously, the Republican House certainly will find a Republican Senate to be a more willing legislative partner. That comity will be to no avail, however, if we in the Senate continually find ourselves unable to muster the needed Democratic votes to bring cloture, or if Congress passes legislation only to find it blocked by a presidential veto.

So, the real question is this: Was the end of this election the beginning of a period committed to governance or merely the beginning of the 2016 campaign season, with all of the gridlock and divisiveness that implies? More to the point, can the Congress and the White House earn back the trust our citizens deserve to have in their government?

Restoring that trust must be our highest priority. That can only be done if we in Washington work together to get something done. Our first initiatives in the New Year must produce actual results, not bickering and hyper-partisanship.

In order to do so, we should concentrate on one broad issue that is of great concern to the American people and that transcends party – jobs. With unemployment still too high and with a record number of Americans having withdrawn

from the labor market, this is one area in which Republicans and Democrats should come together quickly. I suggest that we focus on three measures which would help create an environment that fosters economic growth and job creation.

One of those measures should be job training. Robust workforce development, ensuring that American workers get the education and training they need to compete in the

21st Century, must be a top priority. I have met with business owners in my home state of Maine who have jobs available but cannot find qualified and trained workers to fill these vacant positions. It is estimated that one-third of the U.S. unemployment rate is due to the imbalance between workers' skills and open jobs. *The Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act* I cosponsored, which became law in July, encourages public-private partnerships that include institutions of higher education, employers, and workforce boards to build customized training solutions for specific industries. Further expanding these reforms will help align America's workforce with the needs of our employers to promote a robust and growing economy.



We should concentrate on one broad issue that is of great concern to the American people and that transcends party – jobs.

A second is further investments in biomedical research. These investments improve the health and longevity of Americans, and they provide ongoing benefits to our economy as well. According to multiple economic analyses, there is roughly a 2:1 return on investment for federal support of biomedical research. Investments in National Institutes of Health research spur job creation and are also critical to America's competitiveness in the global research environment. We see this in Maine, where the Mount Desert Island Biological Laboratory and the Jackson Laboratory are conducting world-class research to prevent, treat, and cure devastating diseases. With the assistance of federal funding, such facilities bring

hope to humanity and distinction to our State and others, while they create the high-tech jobs of the 21st Century.

Finally, the Congress and the White House should be able to come together to improve our transportation systems. Rebuilding crumbling roads and bridges, and improving such critical infrastructure as airports, seaports, and railways, create immediate construction jobs and set the stage for ongoing economic growth. As the Ranking Member, and likely incoming Chairman, of the Transportation Appropriations Subcommittee, I have ensured continued investment in the Transportation Investment Generating Economy Recovery (TIGER) grant program for highway, bridge, port, and rail projects.

Access to affordable, high-quality broadband is also critical to our nation's future. Congress should come together on policies to spur investment in rural broadband and continue to insist that laws affecting the Internet encourage robust investment in broadband in rural areas.

These are important matters on which real and immediate progress is possible. Before the new Congress takes on many contentious issues, we would be wise to first demonstrate to the American people that we can act with civility and in a spirit of compromise. Otherwise, we will only demonstrate why the

American people are justified in holding Congress in such low esteem.

I am optimistic that we will succeed. Shortly after the election, I joined a bipartisan group of colleagues calling on Senate leaders to schedule monthly lunches between the two caucuses during the 114th Congress in the hope of building more productive relationships among all members of the Senate. It is encouraging that Sen. Mitch McConnell, in preparing to take over as Majority Leader, vowed to return the Senate to "regular order" so that budgets and spending bills are given thorough deliberation to avoid the threat of a government shutdown.

2014 was a great year for Republicans, but we would be overly confident to assume that the results signal a permanent shift in the electorate. The mercurial results of national elections going back decades signal deep dissatisfaction with both parties. As Senate Republicans transition from minority to majority, we must listen to what our citizens have said: this is not a license to get even, but a mandate to get going.

RF

Susan M. Collins represents the State of Maine in the United States Senate.

Our first initiatives in the New Year must produce actual results, not bickering and hyper-partisanship.

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Frontrunners, Dark Horses, and the Presidential Nomination Contest

LARA M. BROWN

In February 2007, Gallup's survey showed, "Democrat Hillary Rodham Clinton and Republican Rudy Giuliani widening their leads in national support for their party's respective presidential nominations...both are now at their high point in support since last year's midterm elections -- the unofficial kickoff for the 2008 campaign."

Clinton had a 19 percentage point lead over her nearest competitor, then-Senator Barack Obama (40 percent to 21 percent). Giuliani had a 16 percentage point lead over his nearest competitor, Senator John McCain (40 percent to 24 percent).

On hearing the news, Washington's political pundits seemed delighted: "Imagine -- an all New York presidential race! It would be historic!" (No, Thomas Dewey took on Franklin Roosevelt in 1944.) In short, speculation abounded.

But when votes replaced opinions, Obama and McCain had each won his party's 2008 nomination.

What should we glean from this?

Frontrunners don't always win, but presidential nomination contests are rarely wide-open races. Dark horses don't emerge from the back of the pack. The 2008 winners were in second place in their respective party's poll.

Said another way, nomination winners typically arise from the handful of viable candidates at the outset of the race. Whether the winner had been the frontrunner or another aspirant in the top-tier largely depends on three contextual variables: structure, unity, and the competition.

Structure refers to whether it is an open-seat contest, or includes an incumbent or "heir apparent" (i.e., a sitting vice president). It also refers to whether the party is "in" or "out" of the White House. Generally speaking, if there's no incumbent running, it's better to be the "out" party because since 1952, only George H.W. Bush has

managed to win his party a third term in the Oval Office.

Whether or not a party is unified is difficult to ascertain. Both parties contain many factions and it seems that on most days, there's a report of a "civil war" breaking out within one of them.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, unity is easiest when the party holds the White House and the incumbent president is running for re-nomination. Since the start of the modern nomination system in 1972, only two incumbents

have faced serious intra-party competition: Jimmy Carter by Ted Kennedy in 1980 and George H.W. Bush by Pat Buchanan in 1992. Even though Buchanan did not win a single contest, scholars view his challenge as being emblematic of an ideologically divided party.

Structure and unity are related to the third variable: the competition. As a rule, open-seat elections spur nomination races with several credible aspirants. And when an "out" party is divided, the number of viable candidates and the competitiveness of the contest tends to grow.

That was the position of the Democrats in 2008. It is also the position of the Republicans in 2016.

Aside from Clinton and Obama, the 2008 Democratic nomination race included in its top tier former vice presidential nominee John Edwards, New Mexico governor Bill Richardson, and Senators Joe Biden and Chris

Dodd. Not an amateurish crowd. That Obama bested them also raises the fact that uncertainty often increases with competition. Similarly, former Georgia governor Jimmy Carter upset an even-more qualified field in 1976.

The key to 2008 (and 1976): Iowa and the momentum that Obama's unexpected win produced. It sparked his party to unite around his candidacy. In sum, dark horses need bright lights to be seen.

Looking to 2016, the Republicans have numerous



Lara M. Brown

Nomination winners typically arise from the handful of viable candidates at the outset of the race.

credible potential aspirants, from Senators Rand Paul and Ted Cruz to Governors Scott Walker and Chris Christie to former governors Rick Perry and Jeb Bush, naming only a few. With this much competition across what is considered a divided party, the aspirant most likely to secure the nomination will be the one with an early win.

Observers should watch Iowa and New Hampshire closely, and trust that whoever “skips” these contests, isn’t really running (e.g., Giuliani).

As for the Democrats, Clinton appears to be an heir apparent. While the sitting president has not bequeathed this unofficial title to her with an endorsement, she seems fine without it. Her minimal competition (Bernie Sanders, Jim Webb, and Martin O’Malley) resembles the weak effort made by Senator Bill Bradley against Vice President Al Gore in 2000.

Since the 2014 midterm elections, however, the unity of the Democratic coalition has been fraying. Were a substantive progressive candidate (e.g., Senator Elizabeth Warren or even Howard Dean) to leap into the race, it’s possible that Clinton would experience a 2008 flashback. Still, that dark horse candidate would have to win in Iowa to have any chance of staving off Clinton’s likely momentum.

Could it be done? Yes. Is it likely? No.

Taken together, Clinton seems more likely to follow McCain’s jagged path, then her own from 2008.

Frontrunners and top tier aspirants win presidential nomination races. Don’t place a bet on any dark horse too far down the list. **RF**

Lara M. Brown, Ph.D., is an Associate Professor at The Graduate School of Political Management at George Washington University.

As a rule, open-seat elections spur nomination races with several credible aspirants. And when an “out” party is divided, the number of viable candidates and the competitiveness of the contest tends to grow.





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Remembering BILL FRENZEL

July 31, 1928 – November 17, 2014

If there are wise men left in Washington, then Bill Frenzel was most assuredly one of them. He was both a scholar and a statesman who served his country in many important ways.

As a Member of Congress from 1971 to 1991, he was known as a voice for reason and compromise who was respected on both sides of the political aisle. In the years since, he became known as a voice for fiscal responsibility and global trade who was called upon by Presidents for his counsel and expertise on these and other issues.

His service to The Ripon Society was similarly without parallel. Over the years, Bill served as our President and Chairman Emeritus. He also Chaired the editorial board of The Ripon Forum. He led with a steady hand and a leadership style that was marked by intellect, warmth, humor and grace. At the end of every meeting with Bill, you were guaranteed to have two things: consensus — Bill was an expert at bringing people together and finding common ground; and a 'Frenzel doodle' — Bill was also a skilled artist, whose intricate and beautiful drawings over the course of a meeting now adorn the walls of many offices in this town, including, fortunately, our own.

Our organization — and, indeed, our country — was richer with his presence and is poorer with his loss. On behalf of The Ripon Society, we mourn his passing, pay tribute to his life, and extend our thoughts and prayers to his beloved wife Ruthy and their daughters and grandchildren.

On November 19th, his friends and former colleagues in the House of Representatives held a Special Order to remember the life of this great and humble American. Below are some of the tributes from that night.

*Jim Conzelman
President & CEO
The Ripon Society*

“HE WAS ALWAYS CREATING.”

ERIK PAULSEN

Mr. Speaker, tonight, I rise with several of my colleagues to honor the work and memory of Congressman Bill Frenzel, who passed away on Monday. Congressman Frenzel represented Minnesota's 3rd Congressional District for 20 years, first elected in 1970 and retiring in 1990.

Actually, Mr. Speaker, many of us tonight had already planned to speak today to express our love and appreciation to Bill from this floor, even before we learned of his death.

Now, it just feels too late, in a way, but one of the benefits of extolling the virtues of people greater than ourselves is that we become better still, so we are keeping with that plan tonight.

I must admit, Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, that as I stand here in this Chamber, where Bill did some of his best work, my heart is more full of emotions than my head is full of ideas, and there are many facts that I could recite about the service of Bill Frenzel; instead, I am going to try to capture the man that I knew, the man that we all knew, and the man that we all truly loved and respected.

When I received the news that Bill passed away on Monday, there was a scrap of paper hanging on my wall in my

Washington office and also a scrap of paper hanging on my Minnesota wall that became my prized possessions. They are two vintage Frenzel doodles.

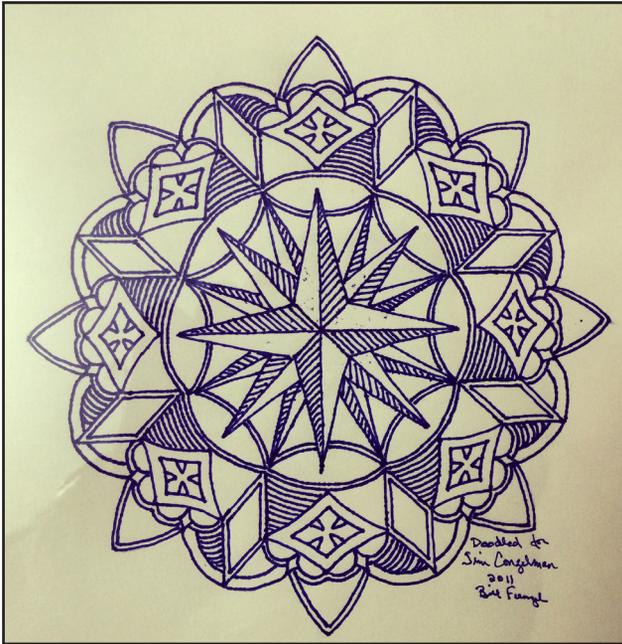
There are hundreds of them out there--whimsical, fantastically detailed little drawings that Bill Frenzel did while he was on the phone, while he was in committee meetings, listening to testimony, or during debates. Such was the hyperactivity of this brilliant mind, that when he was required to sit still, his drawing hand had to be moving.

I say that to convey the idea that Bill Frenzel was just more alive than most people that you meet. He was always thinking. He was always creating. He was always pushing positive ideas, and in the interactions that I had with him, it was like he was always leaning forward at you at an angle, like a person walking boldly into a stiff wind.

Bill Frenzel was a serious legislator, often pouring over line by line of the Federal budget. In fact, that practice continued after he left Congress. Every year, he would make a phone call to my office, requesting his copy of the annual Federal budget.

It is amazing to me that anyone would even want this massive document sitting on their bookshelf, but what is truly amazing is that Bill would actually go through this budget line by line for decades after he left this institution.

Bill believed in and dedicated his life to doing the greatest



good for the greatest number of people, and for Bill, the way that he did the greatest good for the greatest number of people was by promoting and advancing international trade.

I suppose it began by looking at the great good being done around the world by many outstanding companies that operate out of the district that we represent in Minnesota, companies that feed and restore health to millions and billions all across the borders of the world.

Bill believed -- and he was absolutely right -- that there is no force in the modern world that has done more to raise people out of poverty, to foster the spread of human rights, or to expand democracy than international trade.

Within Bill's own lifetime, the United States and Germany and Japan were mortal enemies, doing terrible violence to each other's lands and peoples, but through the experience of being trading partners, they have become our best friends and our best allies.

For three decades, there was no stronger advocate for international trade that was more persuasive than Congressman Bill Frenzel. He was the indispensable man, in many ways, in the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement, which has benefited all of the people of our continent immeasurably and has been the model of our agreements now for all over the world.

Just last month, in October, Bill received the Mexican Order of the Aztec Eagle--that is the highest honor of the nation of Mexico that can be given to a noncitizen--in appreciation of his work on the North American Free Trade Agreement.

In 2000, he also received the Order of the Rising Sun, Gold and Silver Star, from the Emperor of Japan for his efforts to advance trade and the U.S. relationship with Japan.

He deserves America's highest honors as well. He worked across the aisle as a consensus seeker because he understood that relationships matter, that relationships make a difference,

especially on the big issues like Social Security reform, budget reform, tax reform, welfare reform, and, of course, trade agreements.

After retiring from Congress in 1991, he became a guest scholar in economic studies at The Brookings Institution, and he remained very active in public policy, being appointed to governmental panels by Presidents on both sides of the aisle.

Just two months ago -- in fact, in September, President Obama reappointed him to the White House Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations. That is a position that he was first appointed to by President George W. Bush in the year 2002.

He also co-chaired the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, a bipartisan organization dedicated to educating the public about the impact of fiscal policies.

I will just tell you, personally, Mr. Speaker and Members, that I will miss my conversations with Bill Frenzel. I got together with him every three or four months over coffee, where he would share his years of wisdom, his experiences, and his insights that he gained during that tenure in public service.

There is no doubt that he was a good friend and a mentor in many respects; however, there is no temptation for any of us to try to do a Bill Frenzel imitation because there will never be another like him.

For me, Bill absolutely inspires me to be the best that I can be and search for ways that I can do the greatest good to help the greatest numbers of people.

I offer my condolences tonight, Mr. Speaker, to the Frenzel family; to his wife, Ruthy, who was always by his side; and to his three daughters, Debbie, Pam, and Mitty.

I also want to give thanks to Minnesota's 3rd Congressional District voters for electing him in the first place and for giving me an amazing set of shoulders to try to stand upon, as well as my thanks to God for the life and service and the example of Congressman Bill Frenzel.

Erik Paulsen represents the 3rd District of Minnesota in the U.S. House of Representatives.

"WE'LL REMEMBER HIS CHARACTER."

PAUL RYAN

Mr. Speaker, this past week, we lost one of our former colleagues, Bill Frenzel. Bill served in the House for 20 years, during which he gained a vast amount of knowledge and an even greater amount of respect.

He was a leading voice for fiscal responsibility, serving as the ranking member of the House Budget

Committee. He also served on the House Ways and Means Committee, specifically the Subcommittee on Trade. He took on the work with relish, serving as a congressional representative to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in Geneva for 15 years. He was so knowledgeable on the topic that he was indispensable -- so much so that after he left Congress, three successive presidents sought his counsel.

Bill's hard work won him respect in the House and around the world. After he retired from the House, he kept active on fiscal issues, serving as co-chair of the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget. In 2000, the emperor of Japan awarded him the Order of the Rising Sun, Gold and Silver Star. And just this year, Bill received the Mexican Order of the Aztec Eagle. I think other countries saw in Bill the same thing we did -- a man who loved his country and wanted it to be a force for good in the world. He understood that trade wasn't a form of competition so much as a form of collaboration -- of countries working together to build a better life. He understood that the free world was stronger when we banded together, and he wanted to strengthen those bonds.

We'll remember his know-how. We'll remember his wit. (He once called gridlock the best thing since indoor plumbing.) But most of all, we'll remember his character. He served his country in both war and peace. He spent his life in public service. He was a Midwesterner, a man of the House, a voice for fiscal responsibility--an American through and through.

Paul Ryan represents the 1st District of Wisconsin in the U.S. House of Representatives. He is Chairman-elect of the Ways & Means Committee.

"WE NEED MORE PEOPLE IN WASHINGTON LIKE BILL."

STENY HOYER

Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to a friend and former member of the House who passed away on Monday.

Bill Frenzel served the people of Minnesota's 3rd District for twenty years. Bill was a Republican. I am a Democrat. That difference did not stand in the way of the respect I had for him or our friendship as colleagues in this House.

Though we did not agree on every issue, Bill and I found common ground on our shared concern for fiscal sustainability and the necessity of compromise to achieve bipartisan progress.

As a Korean War veteran, a businessman, and a legislator, Bill exemplified the highest American values of service to community and country.

In the years following his retirement from the House, where he had served as ranking member on the Budget Committee, he continued his service by remaining a powerful voice for bipartisan budget solutions and a more sustainable fiscal future at the Brookings Institution.

He also served as a co-chair of the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget.

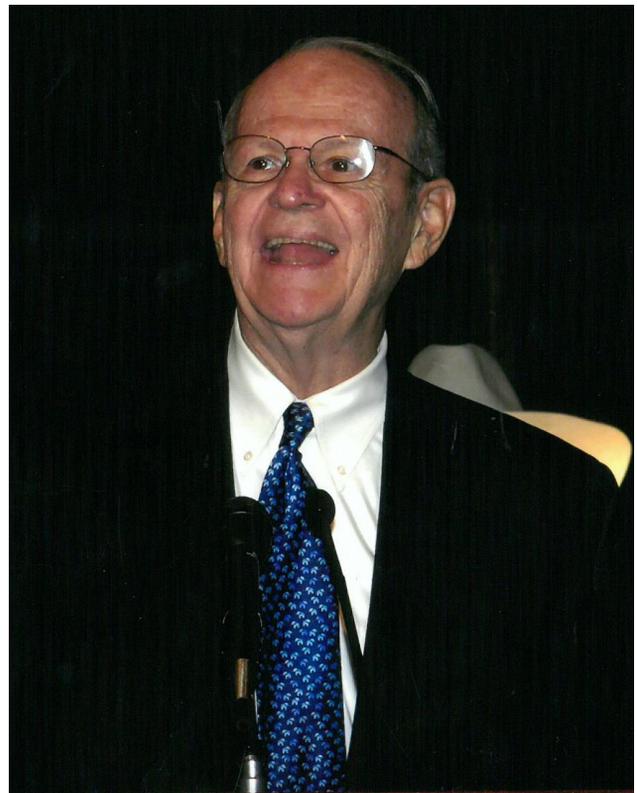
We need more people in Washington like Bill who believe strongly in the importance of bipartisan compromise when it comes to our budget and making the tough choices necessary to afford the investments we need to make in a more competitive economic future and greater opportunities for our people.

I join in offering condolences to his wife Ruth and their three daughters -- Deborah, Pamela, and Melissa -- their grandchildren, and the entire extended Frenzel family.

May Bill's memory inspire greater bipartisan cooperation in this House in the months and years ahead.

RF

Steny Hoyer represents the 5th District of Maryland in the U.S. House of Representatives. He serves as the Democratic Whip.



Ripon Profile

Name: Mia Love

Hometown: Saratoga Springs, Utah

Professional Experience: Flight attendant, Continental Airlines, 1997-1998; Technical support team lead, Sento Corp, 1998-1999; Marketing manager, Echopass Corp, 1999-2000

Past Political Activities: Saratoga Springs City Council, 2004-2010; Mayor of Saratoga Springs, 2010-2014

Why did you run for Congress in the first place? I ran for Congress because I believe this country is in real trouble, and it's up to We the People to fix things before it's too late. The people of America want a government that is transparent. Our citizens deserve to know and understand the "hows and whys" for decisions made at every level of government. The people also want to see a government that is accountable for the decisions it makes. Cities, towns, and the state of Utah operate budgets that must be balanced each year—and so should Washington. Sound financial management is essential to preserving opportunity for future generations.

Who is the Member of Congress you admire most?

I am still getting to know many of my colleagues in Congress. Two leaders who have been great mentors for me thus far are Paul Ryan and Kevin McCarthy. There is virtually no one I agree with 100% of the time, but I will support anyone committed to fighting for transparency, fiscal discipline, and the Constitution.

What are your top three legislative priorities in Congress?

First, quality education -- as a mother with three children enrolled in public schools, I believe that Utah—not the federal government—knows what is best for Utah's students. I trust Utah teachers and Utah parents over Washington bureaucrats, and I want to give our parents and teachers as much flexibility as possible when it comes to making education decisions for our children.

Second, improving the economy -- during my term as mayor of Saratoga Springs, I focused my time and energy on economic development. To promote job creation, I understand the importance of keeping taxes low and eliminating unnecessary red tape.

Third, repealing Obamacare -- like the vast majority of Americans, I oppose Obamacare, but more importantly, I have a plan for what to replace it with. My health care plan calls for common sense solutions that empower patients and doctors, reduce costs, increase competition, and place more freedom and health care options back into the hands of the American people.

What was the most unexpected question you encountered on the campaign trail (and what was your answer?) A couple months ago I was at a cottage meeting in my district, and a man asked me whether there's any real hope for the future of America. I pointed out to him that there is great cause for optimism because real hope lies in the people, not the government. Yes, these are tough times, but I remain confident that America will come back stronger than ever—just as we have always done when faced with difficult situations.

What would an ideal day off entail for you? An ideal day off is one that I spend with my husband and my three children. Our family loves spending time in the outdoors, so my ideal day would include camping or hiking with my family in one of Utah's many beautiful state or national parks.



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1155 15th Street, NW
Suite 550
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