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Republicans On The Run

Conversation with
Donald Shriver

Prescription
for Progressives

Forward a Progressive
Republican Agenda

Progressive
Republicans: Head
South and Go West

The Legacy of
Dietrich Bonhoeffer

RIPON FORUM

Editor's Column	2
Profiles and Perspectives: A Conversation with Donald Shriver	3
A Prescription for Progressives: Dale Curtis	7
Editorial: Looking Beyond 1984	8
Toward A Progressive Republican Agenda: David L. Sallach	12
Progressive Republicans: Head South and Go West: William P. McKenzie	15
The Painful Climb to Women's Equality — Circa 1984: Tanya Melich	19
Reader Profile	20
The Chairman's Corner: The Legacy of Dietrich Bonhoeffer: Jim Leach	21
6 Library Court	23
Washington Notes and Quotes	24

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Editor's Column

One of the first orders of business for Republicans on Capitol Hill following the 1984 election was the selection of new Senate leaders. For moderates and progressives, the news was encouraging. Bob Dole was elected majority leader; John Heinz again heads the National Republican Senatorial Committee; John Chafee is in charge of the Senate Republican Conference; Bob Packwood is chairman of the Senate Finance Committee; and John Danforth is in charge of the Senate Commerce Committee. They join other moderates and progressives, such as Pete Domenici and Mark Hatfield, in key leadership positions.

Our cover design points out that some moderates might, in fact, seek the presidency in 1988. Of course, it is too early, if not plain wrong, to start seriously hypothesizing about 1988. Yet it isn't too early for GOP moderates and progressives to begin organizing and focusing on specific goals. This is the theme of several articles in this edition of the *Forum*. Dale Curtis outlines several obstacles that must be overcome, but he also claims that five favorable trends exist for moderates and progressives. David Sallach presents the first in a series of progressive Republican "agendas," focusing primarily on U.S. responsibilities abroad. In an article by this writer, Ripon Republicans are urged to look to the South and West for new supporters. Each article carries with it the thesis that now is the time for Republicans dissatisfied with the party's rightward tilt to act with vision and boldness, a cry which has been heard before, but now with substantial power in the Senate, could become a reality.

—Bill McKenzie

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Profiles and Perspectives
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A
Conversation
with
Donald
Shriver



Imagination in political affairs is an essential ingredient, especially for resolving those conflicts that dominate today's headlines. This includes the relationship between the globe's two superpowers and the chronic problems facing Central America. But imagination, which can be best defined as having the ability to comprehend the needs of others, has been a scarcity of late. Senator Mark Hatfield spoke recently about this to a Ripon gathering, and claimed that if we are to resolve complex problems, then we must learn to live with "textured shades of gray." The inability to do such, and thus to imagine, has been compounded by the fact that some religious leaders on the right have preached that only black and white exist. To get the perspective of another religious leader, one who is not in agreement with such sentiments, we have turned to Donald Shriver, president of New York's Union Theological Seminary. In his remarks to *Forum* editor Bill McKenzie, Shriver, the author of *Is There Hope for the City?* and *Rich Man/Poor Man: Ethical Issues in American Economic Life*, makes it clear that imagination still has an essential role to play in global affairs, and that while the relationship between religion and politics has come under intense scrutiny recently, each stands to gain from the other.

Ripon Forum: Since you just returned from a trip to the Soviet Union, could you please give us your impression of current Soviet attitudes towards world peace?

Shriver: While much of our time was spent on matters ecclesiastical rather than economic or political, I can say that peace is a great central concern to most of the Soviet people we talked with. There is a tremendous groundswell of fear about war grounded in their experience during World War II.

The Soviets are hugely conscious of human life which they paid in that war. At least 20 million of their people were killed. In fact, we visited a cemetery outside Leningrad, where, from that city alone, the bodies of almost 700,000 people were buried. That's just about the number of human beings that the United States has lost in all its wars throughout its history. But the Leningrad toll was less than five percent of the people the Soviets lost in this one war.

"... We must now begin to imagine a war that can only be imagined and never fought. This is the nuclear dilemma."

When Soviets therefore talk about the fear of mass destruction and nuclear war, they already have created a work-up version of this destruction, as far as they can imagine. We should not discount this, because, among other things, it helps explain much of the paranoia and nervousness of Soviet policy concerning Western threats. They seem to be more aware of the deep threat to their national security created by our missiles pointed towards them than we do about theirs pointed towards us.

"... one of the things we have to learn from history is the experience of the people at the bottom of any society is always different from people at the top."

Ripon Forum: Imagination seems to be in short supply in global relations. In a 1983 sermon you addressed this subject by quoting the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and its pastoral letter on nuclear arms. "To believe we are condemned in the future only to what has been the past of U.S.-Soviet relations," the bishops's letter stated, "is to underestimate both our human potential for creative diplomacy and God's action in our midst which can open up the way to changes we could barely imagine." Yet one of Union Seminary's most illustrious theologians, Reinhold Niebuhr, a man who had great impact on American foreign policy during the 1950s, promoted a thesis which seems to have a different twist. Niebuhr argued that while men are redeemable — capable of love and harmony — nations are primarily motivated by the will-to-power. Individuals can act creatively, but nations most often act out of self-interest. If this is true, how can imagination, a relatively passive force, be exercised in global relations?

Shriver: In *The Irony of American History*, written in the 1950s before McCarthyism and the Cold War, Niebuhr had the imagination to know that nuclear war was an intolerable possibility for the future of relations between nations. Several places in that book, he underscores the fact that a humane society would not be possible after such a war. Niebuhr's imagination was vivid enough to know that a new era of warfare was being entered into in which power had out-distanced and even cancelled itself by becoming too great to serve rational and humane political ends.

It seems to me that we must now begin to imagine a war that can only be imagined and never fought. This is the nuclear dilemma. We should not rest comfortably in that dilemma because imagining wars that must never be fought is not a very hopeful human habit. Indeed, we must use that imagination as a stepping stone for the time when we don't even imagine such wars anymore. Of course, all through this logic we *are* talking "national self-interest." The nuclear weapon is the first weapon ever capable of *killing* a nation.

Ripon Forum: How do we get to the point of acting on that definition of national interest?

"I fear the identification of Gospel truth with political truth of any kind."

Shriver: Through a variety of pathways. One is that we must resolutely press for arms control talks that put some ceiling on arms development. Another thing we must do, especially in the realm of imagination, is try to understand the Soviet people from their point of view. Robert Burns said, "would some power the giftie gie us to see ourselves as others see us." This is a necessary characteristic in a world where international perception determines international policy — right or wrong perception determines it. Nothing is more true of Soviet-American relations. Niebuhr called them the two most innocent countries in the world. Both are so large and throw around such colossal national weight, yet both believe their motives and the consequences of their power are always good.

One of the things both countries hold in common is they don't have to care as much as a small country does about the rest of the world. For example, on a trip to Rumania a few years ago, I heard a number of Rumanians speak of the Soviet Union with great suspicion and with a memory of vast predations which the Russians have taken upon their country. If you are a small country, in danger of being trampled upon by a large country, you have a different view of the necessity to get along with big countries, even if you don't like them. The same thing must be true of the small countries to the south of us in Central America. Most Americans literally don't have the imagination to see some analogy between the Rumanias and Nicaraguas of this world. If we can't somehow have that imagination, we will stumble in our foreign policies. I'm not saying that Soviet policies toward Rumania are either worse or better than our policies toward Nicaragua. I'm just saying that small nations on the fringes of large nations have similar problems, no matter what the ideology of the large ones.

Ripon Forum: Let's return to Niebuhr's thesis of self-interest. The U.S. believes it has interests in Central America that must be protected from a Marxist regime. Similarly, the Soviets claim Eastern Europe is their domain, and that these nations must be protected from outside influence. Given such declared interests, how can imagination overcome the strong will-to-power nations possess?

Shriver: Let's take Poland. Can one imagine that the *Kremlin* imagined what the church was able to pull off — a kind of Polish revolt? Did it imagine what an independent labor union in Poland would bring by way of trouble to the Soviet Union? My guess is no; they never imagined that in the name of Socialist Solidarity — and with the aid of the church — Poland would be giving them all that trouble. You could flip that over in Central and Latin America. Whoever imagined that some of the fire of socialist conviction would be fed by the

fuel of Roman Catholic theology, working under the guidance of priests at the village level? This should show us that one of the things we have to learn from history is the experience of people at the bottom of any society is always different from people at the top. If I were trying to frame an astute political policy, in relation to any part of the globe, I would try to imagine what the country in consideration looks like from the standpoint of its different social stratas. This seems to me nothing but prudence. As Niebuhr underscored, in politics one must be aware in advance of as many consequences as possible. And when the consequences are post facto different from what you predicted, then you must learn from them to see the situation differently.

"There are growing numbers of poor people in Latin America who are unwilling to accept their poverty as a necessary fact of life . . . Breaking that habit is what both Marxism and liberation theology are about."

Ripon Forum: You said imagination is necessary to understand the Soviet fear of war. What other sort of creativity or imagination do U.S. arms control negotiators need?

Shriver: I'd make the point that Freeman Dyson, a physicist and an armaments consultant to the Pentagon, makes in his recent book *Weapons and Hope*. The Russians have a long history of invasion fear. But, having struggled with military invasions over the years, they are convinced they can at least survive any war. Tolstoy's version of Napoleon's invasion gives one a particularly good sense of the infinite flexibility of the Russian people. Today in Moscow they show you the little hill on which Napoleon stood awaiting the official surrender of the defeated city. The surrender never came.

"The church can furnish its own images of the world through international human contacts and the appropriate use of media communication."

Dyson says that their question in the nuclear scenario is: how shall we survive? We must have the imagination to read their history carefully enough to see why they think in this mode, rather than in the mode of intimidation about the possibility their nation itself will be destroyed. That seems an especially weak link in the chain of reasoning in the doctrine of mutually assured destruction. We look upon nuclear war very gloomily; we talk seriously, as Niebuhr did, of the untenability of human life after a major nuclear exchange. But the Soviets, with their history of minimalist survival against horrible odds, are tougher on the issue. That toughness, I think, is a real threat. It is evident in their civilian defense, in the ways they are planning in Leningrad and Moscow to use their subway system and other means to say to the world "we toughed it out before and we will do so again." We don't say that. We say that we can intimidate each other into peace. It's a treacherous dissonance between our respective logics of deterrence.

Ripon Forum: How do such attitudes translate into policy?

Shriver: They translate into the limitations placed upon the effectiveness of our threats. I don't think it works with them the way it works with us. Perhaps in the Cuban missile crisis, far from their borders, they were intimidated. But when it comes to crossing over the Russian border, which today's missiles can do, I think some of our bluster is based on a very shaky foundation of political psychology.

"Unfortunately, the television industry is primarily an instrument of entertainment and commerce, not an instrument of education about the things Americans desperately need to know."

Ripon Forum: How do we shift from a paradigm of angry rhetoric to one of trust?

Shriver: Here's where the rhetoric of self-interest is a lot more trustworthy than the rhetoric of naive anger or naive trust. We should do everything possible to make the Soviet Union believe we are not about to invade them, that we are chiefly concerned about the defense of our country. This seems to me the psychological reasoning behind Freeman Dyson's insistence that we must shift our whole military posture to defense. Although I'm not an expert on modern technological warfare, the most intelligent thing Ronald Reagan has said on this subject in recent months is that if we discovered a technological defense against nuclear warheads, we should share this information with the Soviets.

Ripon Forum: Why?

Shriver: That might demonstrate we're willing for *them* to be defended as well as ourselves. This would aid stability. Of course, you could argue that if they were assured that they could defend against incoming bombs, this just increases their freedom to find a way to break that technology and overcome us in some aggressive way. There are devious ways of following that out, but the important thing in the Reagan admission is that mutual survival, not the ability to conquer another country, ought to be our fundamental posture. We should continue to object to their Afghanistan venture, and their refusal to let democratic political development take place on the fringes of their Eastern European empire. But somehow we must make it clear to them — and to ourselves — that we intend to live with them and that we do not aspire to overcome their way of life with our way of life.

Ripon Forum: Let's shift to Central America. Ernesto Cardenal, the Nicaraguan priest who also serves as minister of the interior in the Sandinista government, wrote in his treatise on liberation theology, "For me, the four Gospels are all equally Communist. I'm a Marxist who believes in God, follows Christ, and is a revolutionary for the sake of his kingdom." What is your reaction to his statement, which reflects the thinking among some church people today in Central America?

Shriver: As it stands, I have some problems with it. I believe political philosophies are less enduring than the Gospel of Jesus Christ. I have no objection to people trying to correlate their political philosophies with the Bible or ancient Christian traditions. I expect those philosophies to be plural and diverse. But, at the same time, I fear the identification of Gospel truth with political truth of any kind. Therefore, I am troubled by that formula.

While you cannot avoid the political implications of Christian faith and ethics, the Christian must have some distance between the formulation of his or her faith and the formulation of his or her politics. Unless there is some distance, and some dialogue, there can never be any critical resource in the Gospel for changing that ideology, nudged by experience and reflection on that Gospel.

I know some other liberation theologians who have that distance because they think Marxism, as a tool of social analysis, is in a different category than the eschatological vision of the New Testament. For them, Marxism is more a method of understanding post-industrial society; it is a rather recent analytical system that permits one to see things in this society one otherwise would not. But, as for the definition of social justice, not to speak of love and community, these theologians would reserve something original and *more* "revolutionary" in the Christian sources that is not comprehended in Marxism.

"We need to know there are fathers and mothers and children in the Soviet Union whom our missiles are aimed towards, and they need to know the same about us."

Ripon Forum: Inherent in Marxian analysis is the concept of class warfare and revolutionary conflict, which some liberation theologians adopt. Is such a worldview reconcilable with the Judeo-Christian dictum to love thy neighbor?

Shriver: If that ideology becomes a mold to be foisted upon every existing human society, so that the real story of society's structure and development is class warfare, then it is likely to lead to dreadful empirical mistakes. There are existing societies in which class warfare is very minimal. Anthropology has helped us see that.

Yet it is quite possible for Marxists to speak of love and justice in terms of compassionate concern for all human beings. At its most idealistic, Marxism promotes a version of love in its insistence upon social justice. This isn't too far from what Reinhold Niebuhr said, but he insisted that Christian love transcends justice. It does seem, though, that if Marxism tilts toward the easy use of violence, if it loses a certain nervousness and deep regret of it, then it has shifted into Stalinism and out of the Judeo-Christian ethical orbit. Niebuhr said that it may be necessary on occasion for Christians to carry a gun, "but they must carry it with a heavy heart."

Ripon Forum: Let's put it on a more practical level. What influence is liberation theology having on Central America? What should our policy makers be aware of?

Shriver: That's a tough one. There are growing numbers of poor people in Latin America who are unwilling to accept their poverty as a necessary fact of life. They see enough resources in their countries for them to improve their standard of living, and they know that for centuries large landowners and colonial powers have had a larger role in the shaping of local economies than what is just or promising for human fulfillment. This is particularly true of certain countries in Central America where injustices of land maldistribution and

low wages have become a national habit. Breaking that habit is part of what both Marxism and liberation theology are about.

As far as practical implications go, I think we need to see what view the average Nicaraguan has of the United States. After all, we supported the Somoza family, which owned the majority of Nicaragua's land, for over 30 years. By what right do we shore up such people? It contradicts our capitalist theory of competitive economics, not to speak of our theory of democracy. If we hadn't have supported Somoza for so long, Nicaragua would have had its revolution a long time ago.

Ripon Forum: Much was written during the 1984 presidential campaign about the church's role in political life. What sort of imagination should the church give to American politics?

Shriver: Let me give an illustration. A young woman who recently graduated from this school took a pastorate in the Midwest. She decided to pray each week during the worship service for the people of a different country. After two or three months, she received a protest from some people in the church who did not want to be so regularly worried about people in other parts of the world. I believe that if there is somebody you refuse to pray about, then that says something about your religious imagination.

In addition to prayer, the church can furnish its own images of the world through international human contacts and the appropriate use of media communication. Missionaries, at their best, have been able to return to their home countries and make the humanity of those foreign nations real.

Today, we have resources of a different sort. Part of that is the mass media and communication. As part of the church's prophetic task, it should push the mass media to do a far more credible and accurate job of representing the interests and viewpoints of people from around the world. Unfortunately, the television industry is primarily an instrument of entertainment and commerce, not an instrument of education about the things Americans desperately need to know. It could be a marvelous international educator if we let it serve the discipline of inter-cultural understanding. But that would require a kind of self-denial on several levels which I do not see the media presently capable of. The church has a legitimate mission here, and perhaps we should be more active in producing our own television reports of our perceptions of the human community.

We must also move beyond abstract religious categories — such as "love God and thy neighbor" — to give them concrete locality. That's moving against the natural egotism of the human being and cultures. We need to know there are fathers and mothers and children in the Soviet Union whom our missiles are aimed towards, and they need to know the same about us. Neither side is innocent of villifying and denigrating the humanity of the other. Along these lines, a year or so ago a committee of the American Psychological Association made the not altogether unserious suggestion that the president of the United States should be required to kill a living human child before pressing any button to send off a nuclear missile. That's a psychologist saying, "Look, this warfare is about human beings as alive as you and me." If we don't realize that, and don't exercise our imagination, then we literally don't know what we do.

Ripon Forum: Pope John Paul II argues that religion must transcend politics, and that, in Christianity, the primacy of the spiritual can be surrendered by no faith worth its name. At what point does religion transcend politics?

Shriver: I have a terminological quarrel with the pope on that point. There are times historically when *politics* transcends *religion*. Religion has its share of crimes in the world, and they are being committed daily. One can think of the problems in India, Iran, and Ireland, where religion is used as an excuse to murder your neighbor. There are times when politicians come to the aid of warring religious communities and keep them apart to affect some tolerable peace. That's what Indira Gandhi and others tried to do in India. You may question whether they made a right use of violence in order to restore non-violence. But the fact is religion, like secular politics, has killed its thousands.

"There are times historically when politics transcends religion . . . [But] God transcends our politics, our religion, and our spirituality."

Therefore, let me reformulate the pope's statement: *God transcends our politics, our religion, and our spirituality*. For me, this is a very important theological point. Otherwise, we end up taking our religious feelings, institutions, and principles as the ultimate measure of everything. Anybody who really believes in God knows that God is the judge of all those things. How can we ever develop a spirituality of the "humble and contrite heart" if we're not on occasion ready to say, "Lord, that version of humility and contrition I had last year was not enough"? Paul Tillich would call this the "Protestant Principle" — the perpetual revisibility of all things human under the judgment and grace of God. To wrap anything dear to human beings in the mantle of religion is to court idolatry.

But the role of the church in modern world politics particularly comes home to me in a true story from a Lutheran Church in Charlotte, North Carolina. About two years ago, the minister preached a sermon on the prophet Jonah, which is really a parable about the intention of Israel's God to save more peoples in the world than Israel. After the sermon, a retired air force general, a member of the congregation, shook hands with his minister and murmured to him, "You know, for the first time in my life I see that God loves the Russian people as much as He does the Americans." I admire that general fervently. I admire, in particular, his capacity for a kind of imaginative political repentance.

To call for such repentance is not to overcome the differences or the hostilities that characterize the current relations of the Russians and the Americans. But it is to cut off, at the theological level, all sense of national superiority. It is to curb our natural human tendency always to see more virtue in our own causes than in our enemies's. It is to oppose all those forces in our own national politics which make us blind to the interests, the criticisms, and the human needs of other peoples. "God is no respecter of persons," we read in the Bible. God is no respecter of nations, either. To respect the humanity of the Soviet people is not to downgrade the humanity of Americans. It is to downgrade the inclination of all groups of people towards self-righteousness. Supremely, it is to acknowledge God's "upgrading" of us all. Genuine religion injects the spirit of humility and repentance into politics. By that standard, not many citizens and politicians are genuinely religious. But, like the pearl of great price, the genuine is worth yearning for. ■



A Prescription for Progressives

by Dale Curtis

In a post-GOP convention issue of *Time* magazine, the Republican Party was broken down into five somewhat humorous "tribes" based on cultural and political factors. According to the article, the GOP is comprised of Bible-Belt moralists or "preachers," populist-conservatives with mailing lists and blow-dried hair, cloakroom-dwelling congressional pragmatists, country club preppies with a power base in the "old-boy network", and snow-belt progressives who read the *Ripon Forum* and have no power base at all. Since the article appeared, the national office of the Ripon Society in Washington has received dozens of curious calls and letters asking, "Does the *Ripon Forum* still exist?"

This example, portraying progressive Republicans as an outdated, even unheard-of fringe group, is a typical manifestation of the current state of progressive Republicanism. (Let me emphasize at the outset my use of the word "progressive" — things have gotten so bad that many of us who are progressive or liberal have begun to misunderstand our historic coalition with pragmatic, moderate Republicans by calling ourselves "moderates". Let me also point out that this essay will not attempt to define "progressive Republicanism" — that has been done in these pages many times before.) What we should do immediately, and with vigor, is begin to reassert that a vision of America exists which is progressive *and* Republican, and that we are open to a coalition with anyone who shares some or all of our goals.

Indeed, progressive Republicans exist, although we have been in eclipse since the defeat of President Ford in 1976. We have been overrun at the polls, out-organized at the grass-roots, out-hustled in promoting ideas for good policy (and this is particularly ego-bruising, given our historic activism on ideas and policy), and overlooked by national news organizations. We do still exist in various niches in Congress, the Executive Branch, and across the country in state and local government, but it is clear that we are underrepresented and largely ignored. Together with moderates and pragmatic, open-minded conservatives, progressive Republicans can and must reassert a role in party affairs and, ultimately, in the affairs of the nation. There are major obstacles in the way, but there are also some very favorable factors that we can begin to harness immediately.

Obstacles for Progressives

The most visible obstacle blocking the advance of progressive Republicans is our conservative party leader, President Reagan. Commentator Richard Reeves recently wrote that "the contemporary test of position in the GOP is closeness to the power and person of Ronald Reagan." Such personalization of Republican Party power has meant that there is not a

single progressive adviser to the president, perhaps one progressive Cabinet officer, and only a dozen or so power-brokering pragmatists who guide the making of Republican policy through the administration and Congress. Even worse than this distance from the centers of decision-making, Ronald Reagan's successful re-election effort raised an obvious, more vexing question: with the economy growing and the nation at peace, what is the need for an alternative "progressive" Republican agenda? Reagan's personal power and popularity, rooted in these good times and reinforced by his impressive re-election margin, are the chief frustrations for progressive Republicans as we enter the late 1980's.

"The 1984 election confirmed yet again the massive shift of political power away from our strongholds and toward the South and West, an area where we historically have been practically invisible."

Yet we must point out that despite the big Reagan-Bush victory, the election result of real importance, in terms of impact on party affairs, was the lack of a clear philosophical victory. The election results clearly do *not* signal wholesale approval of conservative Republican policies. Ronald Reagan never sounded as centrist in his entire career as he did this year, substituting broad "feel-good" messages for his usual conservative arguments. George Bush gave no indication of what his own philosophical direction would be were he to become president. The Senate results were a tossup, with the election of conservatives like Helms, Armstrong, Humphrey, and Gramm more than balanced by the election of liberals like Simon, Harkin, Kerry, Pryor, and Rockefeller. In the House, a GOP gain of slightly more than a dozen seats indicates no rightward ideological realignment. In short, while there may be some pressure within the GOP to follow a more centrist course, progressives and conservatives are likely to clash frequently in the absence of a more conclusive ideological outcome.

Reagan's personal influence over the 1988 nomination contest is difficult to foresee, since he is likely to avoid factional bickering. But whether Reagan becomes involved in the intraparty maneuverings is not the issue of real importance, since the struggle for influence will likely be nasty, brutish, and long in any case. If progressive Republicans are not prepared for such a struggle, they will be at a great disadvantage.

A second set of obstacles to overcome is the power and influence of the institutionalized New Right. No longer a collection of isolated right-wing crazies, no longer even a "growing pressure" on the right, the New Right is an en-

(continued on page 10)

Dale Curtis is a new member of the Ripon Forum editorial board and is now working on a manuscript on progressive Republicanism.

Editorial:



The 1984 election, thank goodness, is over and we can now return to the business of running America. Two fundamental concerns remain atop our priority list: the securing of a verifiable arms control agreement and a reduction in the federal deficit. Regarding the latter, while deficits are out of sight and an indication that supply-side economists still haven't found an answer to John Anderson's 1980 question — how do you balance the budget, cut taxes, and increase

“Two fundamental concerns remain atop our priority list: the securing of a verifiable arms control agreement and a reduction in the federal deficit.”

defense spending without blue smoke and mirrors — the Reagan administration should be given credit for focusing the nation's attention on the need for economic renewal. Although poor Americans and black Americans have not benefitted from Reaganomics, the president has provided a theory of wealth creation which has restored the importance of economic opportunity to our national thinking. The lack of such a theory has been the major failing of mainline, liberal Democrats.

Concerning arms control, be assured we are not experts. The necessary details, requisite verifications, and private “walks-in-the-woods” must be left to those who specialize in such matters. But what we can tell those who do negotiate within this administration is that they better get busy. Politics, as conservative George Will says, is 95 percent talk, and that includes foreign relations. Talk is often painfully boring, but it is also absolutely necessary if we wish not to perish by the

“We would not be Ripon, of course, if we didn't add another important issue to our list of concerns: the direction the Republican Party will take over the next four years.”

sword. Our advice to the Reagan administration, then, is quit trying to find ways in which we disagree with the Soviets. We all know our systems are different. In fact, anyone who thinks that Soviet leaders (not the Russian people) have *not* created an empire that is evil is sadly mistaken. Control over the human mind and spirit — through press censorship, religious restrictions, and military rule — is wholly antithetical to the maximizing of freedom, one of humankind's most treasured goals. To a lesser degree, so, too, is the economic ineptitude which reigns when decision-making is controlled by a few. Soviet leaders are forced to perennially protect themselves and their empire because if its citizenry and surrogates saw behind the walls of the Kremlin, they would certainly know that their emperor(s) has no clothes. Having said that, unless both nations discover a common ground, namely that we are joint stewards of this planet, the future of too many people will be held in the balance.

The GOP's Direction

We would not be Ripon, of course, if we didn't add another important issue to our list of concerns: the direction the Republican Party will take over the next four years. Already, candidates have lined up to succeed Ronald Reagan as president and party leader. As our cover points out, leading contenders include George Bush, Jack Kemp, Elizabeth Dole, Robert Dole, and Howard Baker. Most likely, others will also join the flock.

It might be obvious where we think the party should head, but it shouldn't be discounted: away from the Far Right and towards the center. It is time Republican Party officials stand up and say publicly what they think in private: the New Right is not Republican. Its leaders, such as John T. Dolan, Richard Viguerie, and Jerry Falwell, are not committed to the institutional development of the Republican Party. Rather, they are dedicated to the triumph of conservatism over liberalism. This isn't an absolutely outrageous idea. After all, liberals

have given us little in the way of a vision of the future. However, New Right leaders, such as Dolan, who last summer told mainstream Republican Senators John Chafee, Mark Andrews, Lowell Weicker, and Mark Hatfield to leave the GOP, have no business claiming they — and they alone — are the Republican Party. Their tactics and attitudes are contrary to the spirit of Lincoln; they are drenched in malice and detrimental to the preservation of the Union.

There is another reason the Republican Party need not side up to these creatures. The cult of personality surrounding President Reagan will soon fade and the Republican Party will be left with a number of serious problems. These include getting on with arms control and eliminating the deficit. But they also entail rectifying the party's perceived lack of commitment to civil rights. What we need is a theory of governance which combines an emphasis on opportunity with an understanding of rights.

“What we need is a theory of governance which combines an emphasis on opportunity with an understanding of rights.”

Progressive Republicanism comes in here. It is different from conservatism because it emphasizes the extension of basic civil liberties; and it is distinct from liberalism because it preaches fiscal prudence. However, if we progressive Republicans wish to continue providing that view, we must first get our own house in order. Better organization and coordination is needed to reach out to new constituencies. Some of that is being done. MODRN-PAC, a political action committee created by Representative Bill Green, R-N.Y., a member of the Ripon Society Congressional Advisory Board, was formed last year to assist congressional candidates dedicated to progressive Republican principles. The Republican Mainstream Committee, an organization created last summer by Ripon Society chairman Jim Leach, GOP national committeewoman Mary Louise Smith, Representative Claudine Schneider, former Alabama Congressman John Buchanan, and California Teachers Association president Marilyn Biddle, took significant steps during the 1984 Republican National Convention to demonstrate that the progressive wing of the GOP is not dead. But, as Dale Curtis points out in this *Forum*, more legwork and new financial resources are needed. We think it should thus be incumbent upon every moderate or progressive Republican concerned about the party's rightward tilt to read Curtis's article and determine how they can best assist in the development of progressive Republicanism.

A Progressive Republican Agenda

One of the most important tasks in that development is defining a progressive Republican agenda. With his article in this *Forum*, David Sallach begins this process. Other pieces will address this subject in the next year. In addition to presenting a philosophy of rights and opportunity, they will be concerned with articulating more creative approaches to national security and foreign policy. For example, if we say we are for the nuclear freeze, and against huge increases in the defense budget, then what *are we for* when it comes to protecting our borders? The B-1 bomber? The MX missile?

The Trident submarine? A 600-ship navy? A military strategy of flexibility and not attrition? Greater pay and benefits for the All-Volunteer services? Let's be specific.

Similarly, if we acknowledge the globe's increasing interdependence, and believe in the principle of responsible internationalism, then what role should the U.S. play in the world? An equal partner or a primary leader? If the latter, then are we who are dedicated to peaceful diplomacy willing to recognize that a great power cannot have an easy conscience? Are we willing to live with the fact that, at times, other nations may not be persuaded to recognize the rule of international law, and military force may be required? If so, are we willing to tell our fellow freezeniks this, and not be tied to Washington's professional peace establishment?

Frankly, we need a little more of toughness in dealing with our own party, too. Toughness is an oversold commodity these days, but if we think, for example, that Republican Party rules are antiquated and inequitable, let's say so. Lee Auspitz has been doing this for a decade. In addition, if Supreme Court judgeships become available during the second Reagan term, have we our own list of prospective justices? The New Right is gunning for the Court, so why don't we put together a list of names? It is likely openings will appear in the Cabinet, too. Already, the secretary of education and the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency have decided to return to private life. The White House staff and the United Nations will also have vacancies. Are we ready to play a positive role on those fronts?

“It is time Republican Party officials stand up and say publicly what they think in private: the New Right is not Republican.”

While on the subject of constructive criticism, a final note must be added. George Bush is an engaging fellow, a quick-study, and while certainly not a moderate, his brand of conservatism is healthy and reasonable. But evidently the vice-president thinks he has to please all comers. He was exceedingly effusive on behalf of the president during his debate with Ms. Ferraro, and tried to appeal to the right wing throughout the campaign on religion, abortion, and equal rights. Quite honestly, Mr. Vice-President, why try, you're never going to be able to win over these people. You have a very important role to play in the next four years, and time spent courting the Far Right will only be lost, especially if they succeed in driving away moderate voters in 1986. By standing your ground on issues like the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion, you might surprise yourself and win the hearts and minds of a good number of Americans.

So, there you have it, at least the beginnings of our list of concerns. We progressives have a lot of work to do, and we should begin by reminding voters that the primacy of the individual remains at the heart of the GOP. But we must do this by letting Americans know that we don't mean just white, well-to-do, “successful” individuals. We also mean those who are less, not more, secure because of the nuclear arms race; those who cannot afford to pay for a deficit ideologue's wish to ignore; and those who want an administration willing to stand up for social justice. That's a tall order, but if the Republican Party plans to govern America beyond Ronald Reagan, it must be filled. ■

Curtis

Continued from page 7

trenched presence in the governmental and party establishment. Like it or not, New Right activists have set the economic, social, and foreign policy agenda of the '80's. They have already begun to mobilize their enormous resources to defend their position in 1986 and 1988. Strategically speaking, their level of organization, their use of new political techniques and technology, and their commitment to their cause has set a new standard to which we must react.

"In alliance with moderate Republicans and even pragmatic conservative Republicans, progressives offer the GOP a solid chance to claim the allegiance of [students and young professionals] before the Democrats get the chance."

Ironically, the success of the New Right can be cause for progressive inspiration; just ten or fifteen years ago, the right-wing was disorganized and discredited in the wake of the Goldwater debacle and the Wallace experience. If the New Right could cultivate a constituency and develop a formidable power base against the forecasts of most political pundits, then what is our excuse if we do not?

A third problem which progressive Republicans must deal with is the erosion of our traditional geographic and demographic base. Of course, moderate-to-progressive Republicans exist all across the country and in all demographic groups, but for years we have been led by and portrayed as the middle- and upper-middle-class, well-educated (perhaps over-educated to some) northeastern and midwesterners. Former Ripon president D. Barton Doyle recently wrote in these pages that "while the traditional moderate base within the party, made up of New England, the Middle Atlantic States, the Upper Midwest and the Pacific Northwest, will continue to be important, it is no longer sufficient by itself to control the Republican Party or win a national election." The 1984 election confirmed yet again the massive shift of political power away from our strongholds and toward the South and West, an area where we historically have been practically invisible.

There are two more significant obstacles in the path of renewed progressive Republican influence. One is a set of warped Republican delegate selection rules which do not evenly distribute delegates by state population. On top of a base number of delegates, states can receive bonus delegates if they were carried by the Republican candidate for president in the last national election. States can receive even more bonus delegates if they elect Republican governors, senators, and/or more than half their congressional delegation. As a result, the solidly Republican western states and the southern states (most of which have voted Republican for president in almost every election since 1952) are greatly overrepresented in the nomination process, and the populous swing states (i.e. the homes of most moderate-to-progressive Republicans) are underrepresented.

Finally, our last obstacle is the Democratic Party. Walter Mondale's loss, the fourth Democratic defeat in the last five presidential elections, may finally force that party to adopt a new electoral strategy that abandons the pursuit of the dis-

sipated New Deal coalition. No one can predict the outlines of that new coalition, but one indication might be Gary Hart's success in the primaries, which demonstrated an issue-oriented appeal to the same kind of voter to whom we may appeal. Even if the Democrats fail to create a new majority coalition of loyal voter blocs, the simplest pendulum theory of politics could mean that after eight years of Republican government, the country might swing back to a preference for the Democrats.

Favorable Trends

I have outlined five major obstacles that progressive Republicans will face in their efforts to regain offices, influence future party platforms and nominee selection, and achieve policy which reflects the progressive Republican vision. These obstacles would be tremendously disheartening if there were not also a clear set of responses to those obstacles, and a few promising trends which we can begin to harness immediately.

"We can offer the agenda that was really mandated on Election Day 1984."

Our first favorable trend is the much celebrated aging of the baby-boom generation. There has been so much talk about "yuppies" in this campaign, but the superficial talk reflects a deeper, significant trend as the best educated, most affluent, and most politically sophisticated generation of young Americans enters its mature years. Their political orientation — economically pragmatic and conservative, socially more libertarian, and in foreign affairs more likely to question Cold War-style foreign policy — has begun to flavor much of the emerging political dialogue. This is precisely the orientation of progressive Republicanism, and the Republican Party faces a historic opportunity to appeal to a large segment of these voters.

Many writers contend that the political party which best appeals to this group will control the politics of the next few decades. Senator Gary Hart, in his campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination, based his strategy on an appeal to independent-minded voters, baby-boomers prominently included. Both parties are currently competing to capture these voters, but neither has yet offered a candidate or platform which will hold their allegiance. Despite all the talk about Reagan's support among students and young professionals, it is the president's own pollster, Richard Wirthlin, who has pointed out that they are statistically the most liberal on volatile social issues.

What does this mean? It means that opportunity knocks. In alliance with moderate Republicans and even pragmatic conservative Republicans, progressives offer the GOP a solid chance to claim the allegiance of this demographic group before the Democrats get the chance. In so doing, the Republican Party would consolidate and expand upon its recent gains, and perhaps even achieve the long-term governing majority which it has sought for so long.

A second trend which parallels our appeal to the baby-boomers is our strength on the issues. For the first time in years, a moderate-progressive Republican agenda holds the promise of attracting strong, widespread support. The outcome on November 6 showed that voters like Reagan's general aims: reasserting constructive American influence abroad,

reducing the size and role of government, and making traditional values acceptable again. At the same time, voters are worried about aimless military intervention; stunned by mindless weapons acquisitions at the expense of the elderly, the sick, the students, the poor, and the farmer; angered by the Helmses, Hydes, and Falwells who would impose one set of moral standards on a diverse society. In short, voters are determined to preserve the gains of the Reagan administration and reform its excesses, without returning to the defunct policies of the divided Democratic Party.

Many voters also see that we are leaving behind the era of political debate which grew out of the Depression and World War II. Today, we must begin seeking creative, new solutions to the overriding issues of the turn of the century: the wasteful refinement and proliferation of nuclear weapons; severe economic and social tensions caused by global competition, changing technology, and changing lifestyles; exploding population growth; multifaceted Third World instability; and accelerating environmental decay. Workable responses to these issues and those mentioned above, responses which will appeal to the voter of the Eighties and Nineties, lie well within the progressive Republican tradition of concern for economic growth, international dialogue and cooperation, environmental protection, and respect for the individual. *We* can offer the agenda that was really mandated on Election Day 1984.

These are the trends working in our favor. In addition, I suggest we must undertake the following tasks in order to propel ourselves back into the forefront of Republican and American politics:

First, we must increase our involvement and activity within the Republican Party at all levels. This, actually, is one of the more difficult problems for progressive Republicans, since there are often ideological, personal, or practical barriers to participation at the local level. However, a more aggressive effort to find opportunities to be involved in party affairs at the state and local level is a fundamental prerequisite to any efforts to regain national influence. State and local involvement opens doors higher up. More importantly, such involvement will demonstrate our commitment to the GOP (and we must for once and for all lay to rest the charge that we are just misplaced Democrats), build the experience and connections needed for the election seasons to come, and gain for us the visibility we desperately need.

Second, progressives must devote considerable energy to the endless tasks of organizing. One of Richard Viguerie's favorite political dictums is "Trends don't win elections — people do!" and we would do well to learn his lesson. Compared to the efforts of conservative organizers over the past ten or twenty years, progressive efforts have been pathetic. To overcome this weakness, progressives can immediately take upon themselves the responsibility to:

- raise and contribute money to support candidates, the Ripon Society, the Republican Mainstream Committee, MODRN-PAC, and other sympathetic organizations;
- recruit candidates for office for 1986 and '88, organize to elect national convention delegates, and become activists and volunteers in every region;
- organize campaign schools, debates, and conferences, write letters-to-the-editor and to party and elected officials;
- exploit the sophisticated techniques developed by the New Right, and even better, develop *new* techniques that meet the special requirements of reaching out to our own constituencies.

Third, we can generate and aggressively advocate new ideas to deal with the concerns of a new generation of voters. Progressive Republicanism can and must have workable proposals for tax reform, deficit reduction, sustained economic growth, international trade, workable social welfare, environmental management, arms control, Third World cooperation and development, space exploration, structural unemployment and economic transition, and other issues which arise. We will lose a great deal if we let the Democratic Party or the Conservative Opportunity Society beat us to attractive proposals on these issues. (This is one area where the issue of money arises: the perennially underfunded Ripon Society is our only counterpart to the massive think tanks of the Democratic Left and the Republican Right.)

"We seek a mutually beneficial coalition based on shared Republican beliefs, and as a desire to strengthen the GOP through an expansion of its power base."

Fourth, progressive Republicans must concentrate on expanding our geographic and demographic base. D. Barton Doyle suggests looking for support around the increasingly important universities like Duke, Texas, Tulane, Vanderbilt, Stanford, and USC, and in the high-tech and growth areas like the Carolinas, the Southwest, the Silicon Valley, and Colorado. Attention should be given to the "new faces" of the young professionals and entrepreneurs who "value the quality of ideas more than reflexive ideology." (See Bill McKenzie's article, pg. 16.) And of course we should boost our efforts to appeal to upwardly-mobile, middle-class blacks and other minorities who are frustrated by their lack of progress after years of allegiance to the Democratic Party, and who are suspicious of conservative Republicans.

Fifth, progressive Republicans must strengthen and/or rebuild our contacts with pragmatic moderate and conservative Republican leaders. We must emphasize the fact that we do not seek to subvert or threaten the Republican Party leadership. We do not favor tactics that would divide the party and help our opponents. Rather, we seek a mutually beneficial coalition based on shared Republican beliefs, and on a desire to strengthen the GOP through an expansion of its power base.

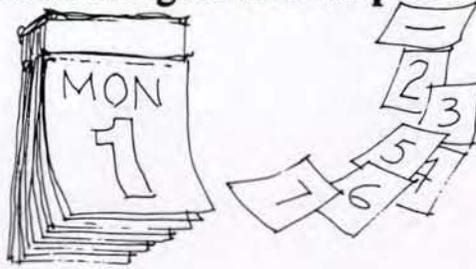
And *sixth*, we must devote efforts to reforming the delegate selection process at the 1988 convention. The current outdated system is unfair in that it gives lopsided benefits for party regularity that favor small states with regular Republican voting habits, rather than giving rewards for good performance in large, swing states.

Beyond the Fringe

Yes, the *Ripon Forum* still exists. So do progressive Republicans, and we have a few ideas about how to prolong and strengthen our party's (and our nation's) new-found confidence and success. But if we wish to move beyond just having ideas to having influence, we have a lot of work to do. Everyone from students on up to top office-holders can make a contribution to the effort I have outlined. If we fail to put forth the hard-nosed enthusiasm that effort will require, we will remain exactly as *Time* portrayed us: on the fringe. ■

Toward A Progressive Republican Agenda

by David L. Sallach



Election years tend to polarize American political discussion, and 1984 is no exception. Conservative Republicans and liberal Democrats used each other as foils, and made it difficult for intermediate or independent positions to be heard. The false dichotomy is particularly troublesome for progressive Republicans who frequently face a choice between Column A or B, though neither alternative really speaks to the needs of the nation, or the party.

The vast bulk of the electorate views the process with skepticism; but therein, perhaps, lies a source of optimism. Progressive Republicans have a unique opportunity to define an agenda which addresses a number of national concerns. Specifically, it can provide an alternative to the stale and vitriolic debate which presently consumes American politics by formulating policies which affirm traditional values of two types: 1) the historic values of limited government and individual freedom, and 2) the equally historic values of expanding opportunity and progressive change.

“It remains for someone to apply the insights of both freedom and progress to the difficult issues of our day, and by so doing, restore a sense of unity to American political life. No philosophy has a stronger base from which to do so than progressive Republicanism.”

Their legacy of these values is ignored by New Deal liberalism which tends to discount the former, and most conservatism, which tends to be unsympathetic to the latter. It remains for someone to apply the insights of both freedom and progress to the difficult issues of our day, and by so doing, restore a sense of unity to American political life. No philosophy has a stronger base from which to do so than progressive Republicanism.

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“... a contraction of our global military presence must be accompanied by a positive policy to replace Pax Americana. For progressive Republicans, that policy should include three central tenets.”

In the aftermath of the voluble battle between populism and conservatism, progressive Republicanism, as articulated by Theodore Roosevelt, Robert LaFollette, Jeanette Rankin, William Borah and George Norris, provided an alternative which emphasized expanding opportunity and progressive change within the framework of limited government. Today, the polarized state of American political life cries for an equally constructive alternative. While a contemporary agenda will need to dispose of some obsolete bathwater, it must also endeavor to keep both the baby and the faith.

Policies Which Unite

National Defense and Foreign Policy. A progressive defense policy must above all reject the idea that a simple debate over *more or less* defense spending is the way to arrive at a meaningful policy. No intelligent defense policy can be formulated apart from the international policy it is designed to support, and this portion of the discussion is usually implicit. Hawks assume a Pax Americana, while doves assume a drastic reduction in international profile. But neither typically makes these critical assumptions (and the implications which flow from them) explicit.

A progressive Republican approach to international issues recognizes that the U.S. has become overextended in the post-World War II period. With six percent of the world population, we have a global military presence and commitments to defending a significant portion of that globe. Our overcommitment creates a policy dilemma. Overseas bases not only absorb tax dollars, they also adversely affect our balance of payments.

Attempting to maintain such a high international profile can have adverse domestic consequences, such as an erosion of the consensus which is a prerequisite for effective governance at home and abroad. On the other hand, reducing our sphere of influence also has potentially dangerous consequences, this time in the international realm. A coalition of totalitarians, including Cuba, Libya and the USSR would be quick to fill any power void created by U.S. efforts to consolidate its position.

Such are the poles of a problem which must be faced squarely. The general direction of international policy must be toward a contraction of U.S. military power; our circumstances permit no long-term alternative even if we would prefer one. The lowering of American military profile, however, must not be accompanied by an expansion of the Soviet empire nor, as discussed below, need it be. In actuality, the more overcommitted our forces are, the less actual freedom of action do we retain. A consolidation of forces provides the flexibility necessary to effective military strategy.

“The formulation of a progressive international policy provides the basis for going beyond the tired more/less debate on defense.”

The reasons for continuing to curb Soviet expansionism, while nonetheless consolidating and focusing our forces, are clear. First, it would be profoundly unfair to nations which have relied upon the U.S. for protection to do otherwise. Second, Soviet expansion would destabilize East-West relations and, thereby, maximize the danger of nuclear war. Finally, any contraction in the sphere of freedom and political democracy, particularly a void filled by totalitarian centralization, threatens the United States, and the values it represents.

For all of the above reasons, a contraction of our global military presence must be accompanied by a positive policy to replace Pax Americana. For progressive Republicans, that policy should include three central tenets. First, we should pursue a policy of support for regional independence. The affairs of Western Europe, Africa, South America, and South Asia, for example, should be determined by the inhabitants of those regions, not by Moscow, Washington or other outside powers. We should provide diplomatic, economic and military assistance toward that end. In many cases, one of the most important contributions we should undertake is to assist a region to overcome deep-seated local antagonisms which have subverted effective regional cooperation.

Second, we should continue our support of freedom and democratic governance throughout the world. Our world influence, as Washington and Lincoln correctly perceived, is based upon our moral example. Our self-interest is vitally linked to the survival and expansion of freedom. Our support for regional independence cannot be indifferent to the political forms that thrive within those regions.

Finally, a defense program must be tailored to support our international strategy. We must maintain and enhance our air and sea power, while reducing the number of land bases abroad. In this way we can provide support to regions and democratic regimes which are threatened from the outside, while turning the primary means of defense over to the indigenous populations. Our support can be essential but, ultimately, we cannot permanently substitute American soldiers and lives for the willingness of a region, or regime, to defend itself.

The formulation of a progressive international policy provides the basis for going beyond the tired *more/less* debate on defense. We should have less defense spending on land-based personnel, but maintain our mobile defense capability. Many of our present land-based expenses should be transferred to the regions that benefit, but in a deliberate, orderly manner.

Progressive Republicans also generally support the objectives of military reform, and a recognition of flexibility as a critical component of military effectiveness.

If the proposed shift from the direct application of American military power on a global scale, to the support for freedom and regional independence, is conducted in such a way as to avoid the vacuum which tempts Soviet expansionism, it will provide the basis for a de facto reduction of East-West tensions and, accordingly, reduce the danger of the arms race.

On this topic, however, it is essential to note the centrality of the strategic defense issue to future political alignments. President Reagan in his March 23, 1983 speech proposed the development of directed-energy missile defenses. Many progressives feel that this “Star Wars” or “High Frontier” proposal necessarily involves an extension of the arms race to space. And, of course, the proposal does involve arming satellites. However, some progressives are examining carefully whether the defensive, protective, and non-nuclear characteristics of the planned program do not outweigh the height of the battle stations.

“An essential task of Republican progressives is to formulate supply-side trickle-up policies for the present.”

The development of directed energy defenses is a policy which may be effectively coupled with an emphasis upon arms control. The Soviet Union has not opposed anti-missile systems in the past. During ABM negotiations, General Nicolai Talensky stated:

It is obvious that the creation of an effective anti-missile system merely serves to build up the security of the peaceable nonaggressive state. The creation of an effective antimissile system enables the state to make its defense dependent chiefly on its own possibilities, and not on mutual deterrence, that is, on the goodwill of the other side.

Historically, the success of arms agreements which appeal primarily to good intentions has not been striking. The experience following World War I, of the Four Power Treaty (which established a battleship limit for Great Britain, the United States and Japan), and the effort to outlaw war (culminating in the Kellogg-Briand pact), illustrate the limits of arms control efforts based upon international agreements and good will alone. The evolution of the U.S. and the Soviet Union toward defensive strategies might help dissipate the climate of fear and mistrust which currently permeates super-power relations.

The Democratic Party, even its neoliberal wing, has evidently precluded developing a constructive strategy which combines: 1) anti-missile conventional and beam defenses, with 2) arms control efforts, as a 3) means of reducing the likelihood of nuclear war. Defense measures which carry no threat to other civilians will always be popular politically. Effective development of spin-off enterprise coupled with the industrial advantages of space will more than offset development costs. Republican progressives should pause before ignoring the virtue of defenses that defend, and the call of space.

Economic Issues. A great historic shortcoming of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party is its failure to recognize the importance of economic productivity in providing the benefits its constituencies value. A great shortcoming of the conservative wing of the Republican Party has been its reluctance to see that economic opportunity for the poor is essential to political stability and, therefore, prosperity.

The debate on economic policy focuses upon two false alternatives. They may be briefly summarized as New Deal policies of demand-side trickle-up versus the conservative policies of supply-side trickle-down. Thus, FDR and his successors initiated a vast range of transfer programs which used taxation to provide revenue to the poor and middle classes, which then stimulated the economy. The unfortunate side-effect of an ever more bloated government (at both the federal and state levels) was (it might be argued) necessary to effect the transfer. An additional side effect was the building of massive constituencies for social programs such that the political process was profoundly altered. The expansion of government, coupled with the creation of transfer payment constituencies, gives credibility to the concern that the very concept of limited government is at risk.

“ . . . any outright grants to small businesses or cooperatives should be based on competition with priorities defined so as to address social needs or technical opportunities which are presently inadequately addressed.”

The Reagan administration has attempted to curtail the growth of transfer payments through an alternative policy of stimulating the economy through supply-side trickle-down (cf., David Stockman's controversial comments in the well-known William Greider *Atlantic Monthly* article). The proposed corrective redresses some of the excesses of the liberal program but, because it is seen as unfair, it is inherently politically unstable. Specifically, it fails to provide the hope and sense of equity that is an absolute prerequisite of a stable governing ideology.

The historic American economic policy has been largely a commitment to economic opportunity through a supply-side trickle-up approach. The homestead mechanisms of land distribution represent the most important of these policies. Another example would be the partially implemented reconstruction policy of “40 acres and a mule”. The commitment to universal and free education represents a comparable policy in the area of human capital. The most visible exceptions of supply-side trickle-up policy (e.g., the large grants of lands to the railroads — which is clearly supply-side trickle-down) were highly controversial and helped to stimulate vigorous opposition movements.

An essential task of Republican progressives is to formulate supply-side trickle-up policies for the present. Fortunately, examples are at hand which require only fine tuning and increased levels of funding. The Small Business Innovation Research (SBIR) grant program represents an attempt to meet federal research and development needs through small businesses, on a competitive basis, rather than to meet such needs exclusively through contracts with multinational corporations as before.

Another supply-side trickle-up program involved the funding of the National Cooperative Bank. The seed money provided served to stimulate cooperative enterprise, and was ultimately to be repaid. As such, the program represents a classic example of a limited government economic intervention which is both supply-side and trickle-up in nature. The Reagan administration vigorously attempted to kill the program, and it was saved only through the efforts of moderate and progressive Republican senators like Robert Dole, Mark Hatfield and John Heinz. It is unclear whether the administration's opposition was based upon the fact that the form of economic organization which would benefit was cooperative, or because of the trickle-up nature of the assistance.

These and similar programs suggest ways that supply-side, trickle-up programs could be implemented without subverting the principle of limited government. In general, any outright grants to small businesses or cooperatives should be based on competition with priorities defined so as to address social needs or technical opportunities which are presently inadequately addressed. A federal program should encourage state and county-level matching funds (and corresponding competitions) so that program funds will gain leverage.

“Forging a vision cannot happen overnight, but it can happen.”

Quality projects which do not receive grants might be eligible for low interest loans. The level of funding of all such programs should be inversely proportional to the rate of unemployment, and areas with particularly high unemployment might be targeted.

Supply-side trickle-up programs would not bloat government, or reduce anyone's incentive to work. They would provide increased national productivity, growth in taxable revenue, a sense of governmental fairness and hope for economic improvement. The principles are well established. It is just that, in recent times, they have not been vigorously applied.

The Potential for Progress

Forging a vision cannot happen overnight, but it can happen. Despite our recent national history, rising causes need not become narrow, uncivil and destructive. A movement which affirms and enriches the most fundamental values of America, a cause which renews the promise and spirit of America, will be irresistible. It is our challenge and our opportunity to establish a new progressive agenda within the party, and within the nation.

Concrete steps toward formulating such an agenda take many possible forms. They include writing and speaking on both specific issue alternatives and the need for a new progressive vision. Another step is to interject these themes into election campaigns and platforms. We can, at the same time, challenge this Republican president, who has so clearly articulated his admiration of Franklin Roosevelt, to emulate the *first* Roosevelt, and present a balanced, progressive political vision which can inspire, motivate and unite the American people. ■

Progressive Republicans:



Head South and Go West

by William P. McKenzie

The problem progressive Republicans face, and have for some time, is the stigma that they are primarily button-down, Eastern Establishment, well-heeled folks whose political philosophy is predicated upon the concept of noblesse oblige. This charge has stuck because, during the initial development of this century, the Republican Party's strength, like the nation's locus of power, lay in the Northeast and Midwest. The GOP was dominated by names like Roosevelt, Dewey, Willkie, Landon, and Taft. After that, came figures like Rockefeller, Lindsay, and Javits. Each hailed from the Northeast and Midwest, and, if not well-heeled themselves, certainly they were backed by such people. They also had, until its collapse in the 1960s, the support of the influential *New York Herald-Tribune* and its publisher John Hay Whitney.

Today, however, conditions have changed, and the Republican Party finds its center of power, like the power bases in the nation itself, shifting. The new strongholds are in the South and West, the so-called Sunbelt. The states of Texas, California, and Florida now contain one-fifth of the nation's population. They are home to over 47 million people, seven million more than New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. While New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio have 84 Electoral College votes, Texas, California, and Florida have 97 electoral votes, or 35 percent of the Electoral College. In terms of Republican delegates, the latter three states have 367, while the former three have only 323. Combined with the tremendous wave of economic growth that has hit the Sunbelt, creating the entrepreneurs of the future, these statistics should make it clear that if progressive Republicans wish to be a dominant political force, and elect one of their own president, they must begin to understand the dynamics of these states. In particular, they must understand the conditions of the political parties there. This is an essential first step in effective grass-roots organizing.

“ . . . conditions have changed, and the Republican Party finds its center of power, like the power bases in the nation itself, shifting. The new strongholds are in the South and West, the so-called Sunbelt. ”

Texas GOP

Consider the internal chemistry of the Texas Republican Party. Despite the fact that I am a Texan, this state party is important because it is one of the fastest growing in the

country. To give you an idea of that growth, look at these facts. In 1976 the Texas GOP held its first major presidential primary, and many counties held their first Republican primaries ever. Yet in 1984 the Texas GOP not only held a presidential primary, it held primaries for state and local races in 230 of the state's 254 counties. Before the 1984 general election, only 74 county officials were Republicans.

“ . . . if progressive Republicans wish to be a dominant political force, and elect one of their own president, they must begin to understand the dynamics of these states. ”

After the election, 158 were. Tarrant County (Fort Worth) had never before elected a Republican to county office. But in 1984 Republicans defeated Democrats in races for tax assessor-collector, sheriff, and two county commissioners's seats. In Dallas County, which local officials claim to be the largest Republican area in the country, Republicans swept 12 judge-ships in November, unseating eight incumbent Democrats. In addition, the Texas Legislature, which averaged only 10 Republican members during the 1960s, now has 51 Republicans. This is the first time in a century that Republicans have had one-third of the state house, enough to stymie legislation and force concessions.

Linda Hill, press secretary to Senator John Tower, the man who used to be the Texas Republican Party but who now is retiring after four terms, claims that one reason this growth has taken place is the grip the Democratic Party once had on Texas voters is now being broken. Texas, after all, is the state which had not elected a Republican governor for 104 years until it put crusty Bill Clements into office in 1978. But party switching seems to have become the thing to do. Fred Meyer, chairman of the Dallas County GOP, believes the turning point came in 1979. A Democratic state senator, Bill Meier, switched, then several precinct chairmen followed suit, and soon a number of local Democratic Party chairmen joined in. Several Democratic judges and state representatives also changed registration. The most notable recent convert is Phil Gramm, the former Democratic congressman, who, after becoming a Republican, won John Tower's Senate seat in November.

Yet this isn't all good news for progressive Republicans. As State Senator Buster Brown, a delegate to the 1984 Republican National Convention, said during an interview in Dallas, “Moderates tend to be Democrats; the Texas GOP has not had a progressive tradition.” William Murchison, an editorial writer for *The Dallas Morning News* and a syndicated

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

columnist, echoes these sentiments. "When you are talking about the Texas Republican Party," Murchison says, "you are talking almost uniformly about conservatives."

Hispanics in Texas

The fastest growing conservative voting bloc in the Texas party is Hispanics. Given the national perception that the GOP is callous towards minorities, this may sound surprising. But it shouldn't; many Mexican-Americans are conservative and are therefore sympathetic to today's GOP. Martha Wiesend, co-chair of the Texas Reagan-Bush '84 campaign, alluded to this before the 1984 general election: "We feel the Hispanic vote is our vote, because the Republican platform speaks to the Hispanic philosophy. They are strong family, they believe in a strong defense, they believe in jobs, and the opportunity to earn." (Some estimates claim the Reagan-Bush ticket got as much as 44 percent of the Texas Hispanic vote in 1984. Texas Democratic senatorial candidate Lloyd Doggett, however, received nearly 80 percent of the state's Hispanic vote in his race against Phil Gramm.)

"If non-conservative Hispanics are not brought into the party with the help of the GOP's progressives, then recruitment among Hispanics will level off or diminish."

In 1980 only two Hispanics were part of the Texas delegation to the national convention. But in 1984 18 Texas Hispanics served as either delegates or alternates to the GOP National Convention. Sylvia Hernandez Mattox, president of the Texas Republican Hispanic Assembly, claims, "To win in Texas, you have to win large Hispanic support." Mattox also confirms Hill's point, that the Democrats have lost their stranglehold on the state. "We are having to overcome," Mattox says, "years of Democratic tradition. But we no longer are being dictated to by our so-called Democratic friends. We're able to make our own decisions now."

One Texas Hispanic Republican who has attracted considerable attention is Esther Gonzalez-Arroyo Buckley, 36, a Reagan appointee to the United States Civil Rights Commission. Buckley typified Texas Hispanic Republicans when she recently told *The Dallas Times-Herald*, "I have not really felt discrimination, maybe because I knew what should be there. If I don't like what's going on, I do something about it." This "pardon-me-friends, but I'll pull myself up by the bootstraps" approach to political issues has led Buckley to oppose the use of quotas in employment selection and college admission. She also has opposed busing as a tool to end school segregation, which is indicative of her belief that a robust economy, not government intervention, is the best tool to alleviate discrimination in public and financial programs.

But what Buckley ignores is a point which progressive Republicans should seize and reach out with to other Texas Hispanics, especially those who believe that Republicans are the party of opportunity, but not rights. The point is this: rights do matter and the federal government has a crucial role in protecting *and* extending them. Progressive Republicans should take this up first with conservatives — Hispanic or otherwise. The simple truth is that had the federal government not promoted voting rights, ensured open housing, and combated school desegregation, through the civil rights legislation of the 1960s, many opportunities for minorities would not be

available today. Moreover, the key work in securing passage of this legislation by Republican leaders like Everett Dirksen and John Anderson is of note and related to the historic Republican principle of protecting and promoting basic civil liberties. Democratic-leaning Hispanics in Texas need to hear this since Democrats have registered thousands of Hispanics in the Rio Grande Valley and established a network to get Hispanic voters to the polls. In addition, they have made Republicans out to be heartless people. Cipriano Guerra, a San Antonio delegate to the 1984 GOP convention, says, "From some of the stories you hear down there [in the Valley], you'd have to wonder if we have blood in our veins." If this image continues, and non-conservative Hispanics are not brought into the party with the help of the GOP's progressives, then recruitment among Hispanics will level off or diminish. This is no small matter since Hispanics now represent 21 percent of the state's population and 14.8 percent of the population over 18 years of age.

Young, Independent Professionals

Another way in which progressive Republicans can assist the development of the Texas GOP is through attracting young, independent professionals who have migrated to cities like Dallas, Houston, and Austin from urban areas in the Northeast and Midwest. What has brought these people to Texas, one of the nation's last frontiers, is the state's abundance of jobs and pioneer spirit. *The Dallas Morning News* reported recently that more than 8,000 people are now moving each month into the Dallas-Fort Worth area. During Houston's boom period, such estimates were not uncommon either. Nearly 1,000 people moved each week into that city during its torrid growth of the 1970s. Although energy development attracted many easterners and midwesterners then, the service sector of the Texas economy is now rapidly expanding.

"Another way in which progressive Republicans can assist the development of the Texas GOP is through attracting young, independent professionals who have migrated to cities like Dallas, Houston, and Austin from urban areas in the Northeast and Midwest."

The Dallas-Fort Worth economy, for example, is nearly 20 percent service-related. This has brought many new people into the area and expanded its professional class.

It is too early, however, to tell what effect these new faces will have on Texas politics. With time they could have an enormous impact, particularly for progressive Republicans. While insufficient in number to elect a progressive candidate statewide, they come equipped with an understanding of the progressive Republican tradition of social liberalism and fiscal conservatism. This should be of benefit to moderates or progressives running in Texas.

Consider Rob Mosbacher's 1984 campaign for John Tower's Senate seat. A former administrative assistant to Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, Mosbacher campaigned regularly among these new voters. He claims that what makes them Republicans is economics. Opportunity lured them to Texas, and they support candidates like President Reagan who are committed to economic growth. They

also are in search of new ways to solve old problems. "The question," Mosbacher wrote recently, "is how much impact can the private sector have on local problems if it carefully identifies them, places them in some order of priority, and then marshalls the full human and financial resources of the community to deal with them. I believe the answer is 'substantial.'" An example of this is the jobs search program Mosbacher and others created in Houston. Labor and management were brought together to teach unemployed people the basics of finding employment. In one case, they were able to help over 375 of the more than 900 people laid off at an Armco plant in Houston find jobs.

"Progressives have as much future in Texas and the Southwest as conservatives do."

Of course, it should be emphasized that these new voters are dead set against the conservative social agenda of prayer in the schools, restriction of abortions, and opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment. On this score, they part company with President Reagan, although Mosbacher urged his supporters to back the 1984 Republican platform because "the most significant parts are the economic and foreign policy planks."

The problem with young, independent professionals, however, is their voting habits are quite poor. Mosbacher tells stories of calling such supporters after the May GOP primary and finding out that they forgot to vote because, well, they went sailing or played tennis. This more than anything else

shows that if non-conservative Republicans plan to lead the GOP, they must learn commitment and become adept at carrying out the machinations of political organizing.

The Future

What is the sum of all this? Progressives have as much future in Texas and the Southwest as conservatives do. For the moment, however, they remain on the outside. But as the idea of winning becomes accepted, which Linda Hill claims it is, then there will be no choice but to adopt a greater sense of pragmatism. In fact, through a number of interviews with Texas delegates during the GOP convention, I was surprised to hear regularly words like "pragmatism" and "flexibility." "Social issues require working with people," Anne Ashby, a delegate from Victoria and a staunch Reaganite, said. Like others, she expressed apprehension over becoming "locked into" a set political prescription. As events change, she said, new solutions are needed.

Does this mean Texas is ready made for progressives? No, not yet. Tom DeLay, a Texas Republican recently elected to Congress, and a self-described "ultra-conservative," put this best, "Everyone should be in the party, but we [conservatives] would like to control it." But as the Texas GOP and other Sunbelt Republican parties develop, a wider range of candidates and supporters will be necessary. Progressives, if they have identified new constituencies and developed organizations to reach those supporters, will be in the enviable position of providing the new faces. Then, as a more vigorous debate is heard within the Republican Party, winning will become a greater likelihood. ■



PROFILES

Political

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The Painful Climb to Women's Political Equality — Circa 1984

by Tanya Melich

The climb toward political equality for women in the United States continues painfully and slowly, but inexorably forward. It travels along two paths: the effort of women to win elective office and the effort to galvanize women to help those who seek to advance women's political power.

Women are hindered in their attempts to win elections by a nominating structure which favors incumbents, who are generally male, and candidates wealthy enough to start running at least a year before election day. Even with these hardships, the number of women in the political system is greater now than it has ever been.

A total of 1,067 women will serve in the nation's state legislatures starting in January 1985 compared to 991 in January 1983. Women will make up 14.3 percent of state legislative seats as compared to 13.3 percent in 1983 and eight percent in 1974.

This year Madeline Kunin was elected governor of Vermont, former nun Arlene Violet became the nation's first elected woman attorney general and Harriet Woods, D-Mo., and Ruth Meiers, D-N.D., brought to five the nation's women lieutenant governors. Two Republican women were elected to the U.S. House — Jan Meyers won an open seat in Kansas and Helen Bentley defeated Maryland's Rep. Clarence Long in her third try for his seat.

To some, these victories seem inconsequential against the defeat of Geraldine Ferraro and the nine women who challenged sitting U.S. senators. The fact remains that the Ferraro nomination broke a major barrier. A woman was seriously considered by the voters for vice-president, and thus the presidency.

Ferraro's nomination was a high-risk effort by the Mondale campaign to spark its sagging appeal, and until her husband's finances became an issue, her candidacy did ignite enthusiasm and energy from women who had had no previous interest in Mondale. Ferraro's candidacy turned out to be a modest plus electorally in the Northeast and a minus in the South. Her candidacy also activated a generous outpouring of money and time from women across the nation.

The reports of possible Mafia connections to her husband's business — although still not yet substantiated — so damaged Ferraro's image that despite her intelligent and admirable campaigning, her potential positive attraction as a pioneer for women did not translate into significant votes from them.

Ferraro's cause was also damaged by a highly sophisticated Reagan-Bush campaign plan to win women's votes. After the 1982 election, the Reagan team recognized that the president was weak among women. It set out, in a systematic manner, to identify women who were possible Reagan voters. It created

committees, visits to the White House, mailings, advertisements, all targeted to their parochial concerns. The campaign found that the economy and peace were their *major* issues — not ERA, not abortion. It tailored specific arguments for them, emphasizing that Reagan had improved their economic lives and would talk with the Russians. The approach worked. While 61 percent of men voted for Reagan, the campaign succeeded in winning 57 percent of the women's vote — compared to 47 percent in 1980.

In another example of those contradictions that are so much a part of the fabric of U.S. political history, it was the Republicans — not the Democrats — who expended the greatest effort in modern history to win women's votes. Over a two-year period, potential Reagan women voters were courted while the Democrats with large numbers of women active in their party seemed unable to fashion a campaign of equivalent strength and purpose. (The relative effort of the two parties had little to do with their commitment to "women's issues" but rather to an awareness on, at least the Republicans's part, that they wanted the votes of women.) Mondale's selection of Ferraro was a courageous and commendable act, but the campaign's failure to identify and woo in a concerted manner the constituency she might have appealed to lessened the advantage of that choice.

Changing the political status quo is never easy. A superficial assessment of 1984 may try to claim that women are not a political force because Ferraro lost. Such a judgment is wrong. The supposition that one pioneering woman's vice-presidential candidacy could overcome the unpopularity of her male running mate and her husband's questionable business relationships is based upon a fairy tale understanding of just how deep are the roots of male dominance in politics. It is a tribute to Walter Mondale's faith in the American system of opportunity that he hoped hundreds of years of sexism could be wiped out by one appointment.

But while the attention of the national press focused on Geraldine Ferraro, women were running for state and local office, consistently winning open seats, although rarely beating incumbents. A Republican Texas woman, Cynthia Krier, now sits in the previously all male State Senate, and Democrat Vera Katz is the new speaker of the Oregon House.

Fifty-three percent of Americans are women and fifty-three percent of the total presidential vote was cast by women. More than half now work outside the home. They are making the link between their economic well-being and political power and between peace and political power.

The status quo reigned supreme this year. At the presidential level, the Republicans convinced many women that their arguments were best. At the state and local level, party affiliation made little difference. Where seats were open, women showed a preference for those who also made the best case for helping them. Women have become politically activated. Nothing in 1984 points to a slowing down of this desire for equity. Those who seek to accommodate it will find themselves rewarded. ■

Tanya Melich is the immediate past president of the National Women's Education Fund and worked for three women Republican candidates in the 1984 elections. Statistics for this article were provided by the National Women's Education Fund Election Central Service.

Reader Profile

Dear Reader:

So that we may better market the *Forum*, please take the time to fill out this reader profile. After completing it, tear along the dotted edge, fold, place a stamp on it, and return to us. Your cooperation is appreciated.

Thanks,
The Editors

Basics:

- Male
 Female
 Age

Education:

- Some college
 College graduate
 Graduate degree
 Doctorate

Political Activity:

In the last year, I have:

- Written to a political official
 Worked for a political candidate or political cause
 Contributed money to a political candidate or political cause
 Spoke publicly on behalf of a political candidate or political cause
 Wrote an article or a book on a political topic

Occupation:

- Professional
 Managerial
 Manufacturing
 Government
 Communications
 Services
 Arts
 Education
 Student
 Other

Annual Income:

- Under \$10,000
 \$10,000 - \$14,999
 \$15,000 - \$24,999
 \$25,000 - \$49,999
 \$50,000 - \$74,999
 Over \$75,000

Travel/Leisure:

- Traveled in the last year
 Traveled outside the United States in the last two years
 Watch commercial television regularly
 Watch public television regularly
 Watch cable television regularly

Reading:

- One book or more per month
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The Chairman's Corner: The Legacy of Dietrich Bonhoeffer

by Jim Leach

The following remarks were offered by Congressman Jim Leach at a symposium on the life and thought of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, a German theologian and Lutheran pastor executed by the Nazis shortly before the end of World War II.

As a Republican, I would like to concentrate my comments this evening on the tension in my party between those who consider themselves individual rights conservatives and those who advocate a socialized values approach to the issues of the day. The former, like myself, identify with Lincoln, and more recently Taft and Goldwater, and believe in maintaining the constitutionally sanctioned wall between church and state. The latter identify with Reverend Falwell and the 1984 Republican platform and believe in constructing a wall around society, but the destruction of fences within.

"Is not the Falwellian wing of the Republican Party Orwellian in outlook when it suggests that government should assume direct responsibility for the moral upbringing of citizens?"

This religious-political tension is perhaps best reflected in the classic American poem of Robert Frost, *Mending Wall*, which begins with the observation that "Something there is that doesn't love a wall," but concludes with the assertion that "Good fences make good neighbors."

Mending Wall

For individual rights conservatives, the Constitution represents the strongest political fence to good neighborliness ever created. To followers of Falwell, it cries out for repair, so that the abortion option can be precluded and vocal prayer in school institutionalized.

Jim Leach is a member of Congress from Iowa and chairman of the Ripon Society.

Both perspectives demand respect, particularly the premise of fundamentalists that values in American society are breaking down. In this sense it is difficult not to be offended by the alleged parallels drawn between Ronald Reagan and Adolph Hitler by the previous speaker, Dr. Paul Lehmann of Union Theological Seminary. It may be true that a democracy like our own is vulnerable to irrational impulses of the right, but is it not McCarthyism in reverse to portray Ronald Reagan's America as Germany in the mid-1930s? If we are to understand the current church-state debate, it is imperative that differences of opinion be recorded in a fair and credible manner. Hitler is not the issue in 1984. George Orwell is.

"... the crafters of the Bill of Rights understood that their task was to wall out intolerance to the greatest extent possible, and wall in respect for pluralism of view."

Is not the Falwellian wing of the Republican Party Orwellian in outlook when it suggests that government should assume direct responsibility for the moral upbringing of citizens? To nationalize a woman's body and mandate state-led prayer in public schools is yet another ramification of the tendency in 20th century America to transfer to the state responsibilities that historically have been the province of the church and family. It symbolizes the ultimate in welfare statism.

Two centuries ago James Madison pointed out that "The use of religion as an engine of Civil policy is an unhallowed perversion of the means of salvation."

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

Just as Robert Frost suggested that before he'd build a wall "I'd ask to know what I was walling in or walling out," our founding fathers asked fundamental questions about human nature and the need for civil society. Drawing from Locke and Montesquieu, Madison was particularly poignant on this subject. Writing in the fifty-fifth Federalist Paper he noted: "As

there is a degree of depravity in mankind which requires a certain degree of circumspection and distrust, so there are other qualities in human nature which justify a certain portion of esteem and confidence."

In this century, Reinhold Niebuhr put it more succinctly: "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible; but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary."

In erecting a church-state constitutional barrier, the crafters of the Bill of Rights understood that their task was to wall out intolerance to the greatest extent possible, and wall in respect for pluralism of view. Historians as well as moral philosophers, they turned a wary eye both to the European and American colonial experience. They fully understood that it was religious authoritarianism in Europe that drew many of the early settlers to our shores, but that upon arriving in the New World, some like the Puritans invoked a rather exclusionary discipline of their own, with witchcraft trials and stocks and pillories used to coerce alleged nonbelievers.

"Just as the Supreme Court cannot keep God out of our schools, Congress cannot put Him back in. God is not an object like a bicycle or candy bar."

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

A De-sectarianized System

Our founding fathers, therefore, brought into being not a secular system, but a de-sectarianized one premised on the dual conviction that no political leader or institution speaks for God, and at the same time, that under God, truth and right are not matters ultimately decided by majority vote. The divine right of kings was replaced by the kinship, if not kingship, of all citizens, with the obligation of the majority to respect the rights of the minority.

Government in America was to be "under God," without institutionalizing church and state. Citizens were expected to derive their values from religion, but to practice their faith by example rather than coercion; to be moral without moralizing.

There is a hymn sung in many churches in Iowa that goes "They'll know we are Christians by our love." Faith as described in this hymn is an action, not an exhortation. It is to be practiced, not imposed; preached, more properly from the pulpit than the podium.

But some in politics have argued in recent months that God's will is not being done and that God himself has been excluded from our public schools. Accordingly, they suggest, we must amend the Constitution to put God back into our schools. But, for a Christian, is it not blasphemy to suggest God lacks the power to penetrate a classroom? Just as the Supreme Court cannot keep God out of our schools, Congress cannot put Him back in. God is not an object like a bicycle or candy bar. He is the Creator of Heaven and Earth, and anyone — adult or child — may speak to Him from the heart whenever and wherever they are moved to do so. As long as human tribulations exist — whether caused by a math test or unreturned glance — prayer will not be locked out of schools.

If formal recognition of prayer time is deemed desirable by society in public schools, far better it would be to set aside a moment for silent prayer than mandate a school board or principal to craft a written text likely to be offensive to some and diluted of meaning for others.

Likewise, with abortion, isn't it sound and indeed, for a pluralistic society, moral public policy to define the state as neutral on this perplexing, value-laden issue? Can't we put to rest the abortion debate by taking it out of the hands of office seekers and simply establish a policy of precluding funding for abortions, except under severely limited circumstances, and at the same time cease toying with single issue politics by ending active consideration of constitutional amendments designed to impose the views of some individuals and churches on society at large?

"Dietrich Bonhoeffer stood tall for religious tolerance at a time when his country was engulfed in the goose step of a totalitarian, quasi-mystical state religion."

I am not a Bonhoeffer scholar, but it is apparent that few criticized more roundly than he those who would use religion as a crutch. Rejecting traditional religiosity, he called for an activist Christian involvement in the world. "It is not abstract argument, but concrete example," Bonhoeffer argued in *Prisoner of God*, which gives the church's word "emphasis and power."

Bonhoeffer's Christ was that which modern theologians have identified with the Social Gospel. He was the Prince of Peace, inspiring a living message. This is the Christ we of so many Christian faiths have come to identify with today. Religion is not to be worn on a sleeve, but practiced in life.

My own view is that the politician who pontificates the most about religion is the one who should be watched the closest by the body politic. What matters most is not what one exhorts others to do but how one lives one's own life.

Instead of interpreting scripture for fellow citizens, politicians should more properly busy themselves with following it themselves. A good place to begin would be for everyone in Washington to re-read the prophet Isaiah's exhortation to beat swords into plowshares. Otherwise a cynical public might conclude that the debate about abortion and school prayer is a diversion from the real issue of our times.

Bonhoeffer's Example

By historical contrast the courage if not judgment of modern politicians pale when spotlighted against the man we honor this evening.

No more profound martyr to a faith exists than that of this gentle German pastor who was hung from the scaffold of the Flossenberg concentration camp in April, 1945.

In his leadership of the surprisingly small church opposition to Hitler, in his personal role in providing safe haven for German Jews, in his clandestine efforts to end the war his country so ignobly started, and most of all in the catalytic body of Christology he left for generations to come, Dietrich Bonhoeffer stood tall for religious tolerance at a time when his country was engulfed in the goose step of a totalitarian, quasi-mystical state religion. Can we be honest to our faiths, our country, and its traditions and do less today? ■

6 Library Court

Ed. Note: As you might have noticed, the name of this column has changed. So has the address of the Ripon Society. We are now located at 6 Library Court, S.E., Washington, DC 20003. Please note this for future correspondence.

Ripon News

The Ripon Society held its annual holiday reception on December 3 at the homes of Ripon Congressional Advisory Board member Tim Petri and his wife, Anne Neal Petri, and Robert Leach, brother of Ripon chairman Jim Leach. A "progressive" holiday reception, the gathering at the two Georgetown homes brought out over 125 people. Included in this year's crowd were Representatives Jim Leach, Sherwood Boehlert, Nancy Johnson, Doug Bereuter, Newt Gingrich, Vin Weber, and Paul Henry . . . *Whoa, there!* Newt Gingrich and Vin Weber?? You gotta be kidding? Nope, the Conservative Opportunity Society just extending the olive branch. . . .

The Ripon Society hosted an issues conference in Iowa City on December 8. 125 people participated in discussions on organizational politics and the meaning of the 1984 elections. This was the second issues conference the Society has held this year, and thanks go to members of the Iowa chapter for organizing this event. . . .

Although the 1984 Republican National Convention was some time ago, it is worth noting that the Ripon Society and members of the Republican Mainstream Committee received considerable attention during the convention. The party's platform was more conservative than many had wished, but Ripon moderates demonstrated a sizable presence and were written up by *Time* (which called the *Ripon Forum* a "must read" for progressive Republicans), *The Los Angeles Times*, *The National Journal*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Dallas Times Herald*, and *The Dallas Morning News*. In addition, Ripon National Executive Committee member Ken Ruberg was the subject of a *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* profile, and Ripon chairman Jim Leach was featured on NBC's "Today Show," "The CBS Morning News" and CNN's "Crossfire" . . .

Election News

The 1984 general election provided many important contests. From our perspective here are a few key House races:

Arizona — 5th District. Jim Kolbe (R) defeated Jim McNulty (D, one term) in a rematch of their close 1982 race. Kolbe moved to the right from his moderate campaign stances of 1982 and won 51 percent to 49 percent.

Arkansas — 2nd District. Rep. Ed Bethune ran for the Senate, and his seat was sought by Republican Judy Petty and Democrat Tom Robinson. Robinson won 47 percent to 41 percent; a conservative independent took 11 percent. Petty could try again in 1986.

Colorado — 3rd District. A noted Republican moderate, Mike Strang, moved to the right to capture the seat of retiring Rep. Ray Kogovsek (D). Strang won 57 percent while W. Mitchell, the Democrat, received 43 percent.

Connecticut — 5th District. Joe Rowland (R) defeated William Ratchford (D, three terms). Rowland is pro-life and favorable to labor. While inexperienced, he shows signs of talent.

Georgia — 4th District. Pat Swindall (R) defeated Elliot Levitas (D) in a race in the Atlanta suburbs. Could the suburbs of the South's most "progressive" city be ready for a Republican moderate?

Illinois — 14th District. Rep. Tom Corcoran retired to challenge Senator Charles Percy in the primary. Republican John Grotberg staved off the right in his primary and won easily in the general election against Democrat Dan McGrath. Grotberg had a moderate-to-liberal voting record as a state legislator. In the 13th District, Rep. John Erhlenborn (R) retired and left his organization to moderate Republican Harris Fawell, who handily defeated Democrat Michael Donohue 67 percent to 33 percent. But since Illinois is the land of Henry Hyde and Phyllis Schafly, challenges from the right might be expected in both districts in 1986.

Iowa — 5th District. James Ross Lightfoot (R) defeated Jerome Fitzgerald (D) 51 percent to 49 percent in their contest for Rep. Tom Harkin's seat (Harkin upset incumbent Republican Senator Roger Jepsen). In the 1st District, Ripon Society chairman Jim Leach easily won reelection, defeating Democrat Kevin Ready 67 percent to 33 percent.

Missouri — 2nd District. For the second election in a row, Rep. Robert Young (D) faced a credible challenge in a district becoming more Republican. This year, Ripon member and State Rep. Jack Buechner held Young to a margin of four percent. In the 9th District, Carrie Francke (R), a moderate, waged a good race against Harold Volkmer (D), but lost 53 percent to 47 percent. A 1986 rematch of both races might occur.

New York — 15th District. In a race where estimates show the incumbent was outspent by two-to-one, Rep. Bill Green retained his seat with a handy victory — 56 percent to 44 percent — over liberal Democrat Andy Stein. This was one of Green's best efforts, and his reelection was very important to moderates.

Pennsylvania — 23rd District. Moderate Rep. William Clinger (R) defeated Bill Wachob (D) in a close race, 52 percent to 48 percent. If a recession occurs, this seat is likely to attract Democratic attention in 1986. Wachob was a very credible challenger and could be a serious threat in a rematch.

Washington — 1st District. While Joel Pritchard will be missed, John Miller (R), Pritchard's successor, is a promising moderate. Miller defeated Democrat Brock Evans 56 percent to 44 percent. Since Evans is a shrewd campaigner, he might try again. ■

Washington Notes & Quotes

An unexpected sense of optimism characterizes the mood of Capitol Hill moderates as they look toward the 99th Congress.

Moderates Dominate Senate Leadership

Following the late November selection of Senate leaders for 1985-86, Republican moderates control four of six key positions. **Bob Dole**, a progressive voice on fiscal and civil rights concerns and Ripon Republican of the Year in 1983, was chosen after four ballots to succeed Howard Baker as majority leader. Dole was the top vote earner on each ballot; New Right favorite James McClure was the first of five candidates to lose. **John Chafee**, a Ripon Congressional Advisory Board (CAB) member, overcame conservative opposition by Jake Garn to win the third ranking leadership office — chairman of the Senate Republican Conference. Since twenty-two incumbent Republicans prepare to stand for reelection in historically bad off-year elections, it was equally important that **John Heinz**, also a Ripon CAB member, won the right to lead the National Republican Senatorial Committee. The committee controls tens of millions of dollars in resources. **Alan Simpson**, a pragmatic legislator, defeated arch-conservative Bob Kasten to win the post of majority whip, even though another moderate was in the race . . .

In a Congress certain to be dominated by debate of tax and spending issues, moderates will also control the major economic assignments: **Mark Hatfield** at Appropriations; **Bob Packwood** at Finance; **Pete Domenici** at Budget; and **John Danforth** at Commerce.

Richard Lugar, not Jesse Helms, will head the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, prompting Conservative Caucus chairman Howard Phillips to attack those Senate Republicans who had pledged publicly or privately to oppose Helms's elevation to the chairmanship of that committee. Moderate **David Durenberger**, who has recently signalled his skepticism of CIA covert actions in Central America, will assume control of the Senate Intelligence Committee . . .

The bottom line: anything characterized by New Right strategist Richard Viguerie as "disastrous for the Republican Party" has got to be good. Conventional wisdom among Congress watchers is that this Senate will exert greater independence in relations with a White House uncertain of its intentions. The progressive Republican "gang of six" will grow in consequence.

The House of Representatives

Following marginal Republican gains last November, House politics are more predictable.

Two strong Ripon supporters, **Silvio Conte** and **Hamilton Fish Jr.**, will again head the Republican line-up on the Appro-

priations and Judiciary Committees. Ripon CAB member **Jim Jeffords** of Vermont will become senior Republican on the Education and Labor Committee. The tax-writing Ways and Means Committee, which is losing the service of retiring **Barber Conable**, will increasingly look to Minnesota moderate **Bill Frenzel**.

Among newly-elected freshman legislators, two bring particularly impressive credentials to Congress: former John Anderson aide and Michigan State Senator **Paul Henry** and former Kansas State Senator **Jan Meyers** . . .

In early 1985, look for increasing friction between House conservatives and Senate moderates. Senate Republicans, citing the responsibility to govern, will focus on the need to reduce the deficit. House conservatives, led by 1988 presidential aspirant Jack Kemp and New Right favorite Newt Gingrich, will continue to stress the political advantages of tax simplification.

Hoping to gain influence in this and other matters, House moderates met on December 6 to establish an agenda and strategy capable of producing Republican Party gains in 1986 and afterwards . . .

Legislative Priorities

As predicted here in the May 1984 *Forum*, a proposed one-year **federal spending freeze** continues to gain attention as the most equitable and politically achievable way to begin bringing deficits under control. Foremost among questions to be asked: what kind of freeze? Senators **Grassley** and **Kassebaum** have proposed an across-the-board freeze on appropriations for all federal programs, including defense. The White House hints of support for a federal spending cap, allowing increases in social security and defense, with deep cuts in or elimination of domestic social programs. Others seek a freeze on everything but social security and Medicare . . .

On other fronts, **MX missile funding** appears dead; early test votes will tell. Attention may shift toward debate of the controversial "**Star Wars**" program, with votes challenging funding for the controversial anti-satellite program a certainty. Given the difficulty of securing Senate passage of a **nuclear weapons freeze** resolution, national freeze campaign leaders will consider new political strategies at a December forum in St. Louis . . .

Other major legislative battles include passage of a **1985 farm bill**. A disastrous farm economy, with the debt of Iowa farmers alone exceeding \$17 billion, is seen as a major factor in the November defeats of Senators Percy and Jepsen. Debate of new civil rights legislation made necessary by the **Grove City College** ruling is certain; expect more of the same with regard to abortion rights and the ERA. ■