

Yes, there are individual Republicans still making sense and offering solid policy alternatives. But the party as a whole is rudderless. In the words of Tod Lindberg writing in the current Policy Review, "The Republican majority that began with Gingrich's revolution in 1994 is by 1999 leaderless and characterized by qualities nearly the opposite of those with which it began. Triumphalism has given way to fatalism and foreboding; populism to an uncertain sense of where people stand and why they hold the views they do; ideology to doubt about where the nation should be going and how to move it at all.

So as the next decade begins, how do we end this dismal retreat from liberty and opportunity? How can the policies of the next decade be better than those of the '90s?

It begins, of course, with leadership.

Let me ask you a question. What's the difference between Abraham Lincoln, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Ronald Reagan on the one hand, and Jimmy Carter, George Bush and Bill Clinton on the other?

Abraham Lincoln was perhaps the strategic president; his presidency was dedicated to the overarching goal of preserving the union.

Can a nation "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal," he asked at Gettysburg, "can anation so conceived and so dedicated ... long endure"? Lincoln knew the answer, and acted accordingly.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, seeing America as "a stricken nation in a stricken world," said in his inaugural address: "this nation asks for action, and action now. Our greatest primary task is to put people to work." He vowed to use the full powers of the federal government to meet the challenges of the Great Depression and forge a new deal for the American people.

Finally, Ronald Reagan ran and governed on an anti-Communist, free-market agenda, proposing to increase the opportunities of individuals by decreasing the intrusion of government. Remember the clarity of the Reagan message? "Your taxes are too high, our defenses are too weak, communism is bad, and I'm going to get the government off your back."

The tactical presidents, on the other hand, offered no such visions or strategies. The Carter presidency was a themeless mix of thoughts, from bemoaning an American malaise to casting the energy challenge as "the moral equivalent of war."

The Clinton presidency has been, in Winston Churchill's phrase, "a pudding without a theme," unless it be muddling choices and avoiding clear decisions. He began with a health-care nationalization strategy, but fell into contradiction and triangulation. From Medicare to Milosevic to Social Security, the pattern is the same: offer no vision, and pursue no strategy, just make the best tactical decisions you can when events force your hand, than live and die by the polls.

In the words of former British MP Winston Churchill — the son of Prime Minister Churchill — "it is the misfortune of the western nations to be led (if one can call it that) by a generation of politicians for whom the four most important words in the English language are 'focus group' and 'opinion poll.' Their idea of statesmanship is to lick their fingers to see which way the political wind is blowing, and then to follow."

So isn't it time for a strategic presidency, one that defines its objectives, sets a course, and uses the power of the president and the persuasive forum of what Teddy Roosevelt called the president's "bully pulpit" to move the country toward those goals?

Vice President Al Gore and Steve Forbes seem to come the

closest to offering a broad vision of where their Presidencies would lead the nation. Gore's environmentalism, as outlined in his book, *Earth In The Balance*, reinforced by his advocacy of the Kyoto global warming treaty, would likely be the basis of his presidency. Add in the protectionism of big labor and the economic liberalism of the Left, and you have the vision of a Gore administration. It's not one I'm crazy about, but it is a vision."

Steve Forbes' vision, though very different, is fully articulated as well: Increase the power and opportunities of the individual, lower taxes, school choice and reform Social Security into a market-based retired system.

Your governor, George W. Bush, is enormously popular within the Republican establishment. He is the clear favorite to be nominated at the Philadelphia convention. He has the luxury of a blank slate on which to write his own vision. He has an enormous opportunity, and if he seizes it, he can change the course of the country.

And there is much to be done. Is there a reason not to cut taxes for everybody, aside from politicians not wanting to give you back your money? A 10% tax cut would produce an average tax reduction of about \$700 for taxpayers in the 15 percent bracket and over \$1,050 for those in the 28 percent bracket.

Just as important, the economy benefits. According to a Heritage Foundation study, gross domestic product would rise an average of \$35.9 billion yearly after inflation between fiscal year 2000 and fiscal year 2009. Total civilian employment would increase an average of 289,000 per year. Personal savings would increase \$39.4 billion. The personal savings rate would go from 4.7 percent to 4.9 percent.

Then there is Social Security. The deal Social Security offers the average wage earner entering the job market today is this: As soon as you get out of high school, you start paying \$750,000 into the government retirement fund in small, easy-to-meet payments. And when you retire, it will give you \$140,000 in return! Is this great or what?

In an NCPA study by Boston University Economist Laurence Kotlikoff: An 18-year old starting work today and going until he's 65 will be robbed of \$560,000 by the U.S. Social Security system.

While a privatized system would let the new worker earn a decent return on his money, current Social Security will pay baby boomers less than two percent on their investment, genexers less than one percent and newborns nothing.

Another policy imperative is school choice. Let me give you just one example that will turn this from a policy wonk to a personal issue.

The winners were announced recently in the Children's Scholarship Fund lottery. There were some impressive numbers: 40,000 low-income students will get \$600 to \$1,600 a year for four years to attend any school they want, as long as their parents put up an average matching contribution of \$1,000 a year.

But here's the key number: Those 40,000 winners were drawn from one-and-a-quarter million applicants from 22,000 communities in 50 states. Parents of nearly one of three qualified students from New York City, Philadelphia and Washington, D.C. applied. That means support for choice is a deep as it is wide.

It is an appealing issue to low income families, to black and Hispanic families which are victimized by indefensible public schools, and as Governor Jeb Bush of Florida has just shown, it can be a winning issue for conservative candidates and conservative governors.

The common theme in all these concepts is of course indi-

vidual liberty — empowering individuals to choose for themselves the course they wish to follow and the policies they wish to adopt for their own families. Individualism is a powerful idea, and a relatively new one in the history of the world.

Facts, as Ronald Reagan once said, are stubborn things. Ideas on the other hand, can be slippery. There are bad ideas, and good ones. A bad idea — communism for example — may grip a nation for decades; while a good one — market-driven economy — may blossom to full flower in a few short years.

Ideas ebb and flow at their own tempo. So when a leadership opportunity arises, we must seize the moment, for opportunities can be fleeting. As Shakespeare wrote: "There is a tide in the affairs of men which taken at the flood leads on to fortune ..." We must take the current when it serves or lose our ventures."

Our venture has not prospered in the past few years, so let us rededicate ourselves to its pursuit, take our current when it serves, and lead onto greater fortunes for the cause of liberty.

## Struggling Till You Make It

### CHOOSING THE FIELD THAT YOU LIKE

Given by JANE BRYANT QUINN, *Consumer Columnist, Newsweek Magazine*  
*Commencement Address to Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana, May 15, 1999*

Whenever I hear my official job history read off, I am struck by how misleading it is. Naturally, I never say anything. I'm perfectly happy to get away with whatever I can. But in addressing you, the new graduates of Saint Mary's, I don't think it's right to let that resume stand.

It sounds as if I ascended life's ladder step by glorious step, accompanied by loud applause. If the same thing doesn't start happening to you right away, you may think something is wrong. So here is the flip side of that resume. The things that are written on the back and between the lines.

About Jane Bryant Quinn.

When she graduated from college, she didn't have a job. She didn't go home, because her parents had given away her room.

She eventually got an office job, delivering mail. She worked for a newsletter that failed, then for a line of special magazines that failed. She applied for a number of jobs she didn't get. She worked nights because her daytime salary wasn't enough to pay her bills.

She was twice fired. She had no firm plan for where she was going. When she started a second career in television, after many years in print, the news director took her aside one day and said that everything was fine, except for a few little problems. The problems were her hair, her clothes, her voice and the way she projected her personality, which were all bad.

The official biography shows that I leaped the chasm. The full, uncensored biography shows that I leaped the chasm in two bounds.

Hindsight is, of course, an exact science. In the next life, I plan to be chair of the Senate Hindsight Committee.

The topic today is foresight, otherwise known as "what is going to become of me after I take off this silly hat?"

Some of you will put that question off for a couple of years by going to graduate school. For those of you who are starting careers, or looking for a career to start, the future seems scary. What will you do in real life, and will anyone pay for your health insurance? But think back four years, when most of you started college. Back then, you were coming to something new and wondering what would happen to you. And now you know.

Four years from now, you'll have answered the questions about yourself you have today. Something will happen. Something will turn up. Chance will play a part — a much bigger part than you realize now.

You are entering the economy at a fabulous time. Your luck is being part of Generation X, or what demographers call the Baby Bust.

The Baby Boom, ahead of you, was a big generation. Yours is a smaller one. In fact, yours is the first generation ever in our history to be smaller than the generation that went before. Every year, there are fewer and fewer 21-year-olds. And yet, every year, the economy grows.

That means you're in demand. The brains industries, in particular, need every ounce of brains it can find. Five years ago, students thought they had to specialize for a career in computers or business administration. Now business is competing so vigorously for able people that they're sending limousines even for philosophy majors.

I know what it is like, being liberal artsy. I majored in American Literature, which trained me to lie on my bed and read novels. Today, business seeks lit majors because they offer language and communications skills — like, hopefully. Awesome.

It is a truism that small generations do better than large ones. You'll start at a higher real wage than the Boomers did. You'll get more raises and you'll advance faster in your work. There are great opportunities today and many rewards for educated women of talent and drive.

You will earn enough money to pay my Social Security benefits, and a good thing, too.

Another thing about being part of the Baby Bust — it's terrific for women and minorities. Entry-level job discrimination is well behind us, but there is some jamming at the middle levels and up. By the time you get to those levels, they'll be wide open. Talent will be in short supply, all the way up the line.

As you all know, God made man ... Then He looked him over and said, I can do better than that. Employers have discovered that, too. Women are welcome everywhere.

Furthermore, your college degree remains a first-class ticket to the future — worth every dime you borrowed to get it. You are wealthy people, possessed of an asset of great value. You all know that stocks have been booming up. That's nothing compared with the return that society gets from its investment in people, and that you get for your investment in your wonderful education.

I've been talking about jobs because, at the start, most of you will want one. But many of you will stay home and raise

2) Trade: the first years of the new millennium are to be marked by extremely ambitious projects in the field of trade: we will be engaged in a new round in the WTO. We will be creating a Free Trade Area of the Americas. The experience of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement and the NAFTA provides a unique perspective from which to plot the course to achieve our shared trade objectives. I would invite the Center to provide its insight in this important area.

3) The North American economy: related to trade, but even more comprehensive, where are our two countries going in terms of an ever more obvious and compelling North American economy? Even as we look offshore, can we deepen and fine-tune our bilateral trade relationship to maximize the prosperity and security of North America? Would a customs union serve this goal? How do we improve labour mobility between our countries? How will our thinking be affected by the European experience with monetary union? Most importantly, if Canada were willing, would the United States, especially Congress, be prepared to consider new treaties and political arrangements that would further codify our future together?

4) The environment: and within the environment, water. Together our two countries co-manage forty per cent of the world's reserves of fresh water. Water may soon have a strategic and economic value beyond our dreams; how should Canada and the U.S. approach the huge responsibilities of this magnificent resource?

5) Finally, international politics: I like to call the U.S. the world's balance wheel: how can the U.S. better balance its huge superpower responsibilities with the imperative to strengthen international organizations like the U.N.? These bodies reflect the democratic and human values that have made the U.S. great. And how does Canada, your "indispensable partner," best go with you down that very challenging road?

I hope my remarks today have given you some food for thought about who we, Canadians, are, and why Canada matters very much to the U.S.

As we step forward together into the new millennium, let us rejoice that geography, history and indeed very good luck, have given us each other as friends, neighbours and partners.

Thank you very much.

## Leaders For The 21st Century

### IT TAKES A COMBINATION OF INGREDIENTS

Address by NORMAN SCHWARZKOPF, *General, U.S. Army Retired*  
 Delivered to the University of Richmond, Richmond, Virginia, May, 1999

I hope you realize how much pressure you put on a speaker when you give him a standing ovation before he's said one word. The natural inclination is to say, "Thank you very much; this concludes my remarks," and just get out of here because it doesn't get any better than that.

I really do appreciate that introduction. I remember what a great man once said having received a similar introduction. He said, "I wish my mother and father were alive today. My dad would be skeptical, but my mother would have believed every single word of that."

I would correct just one thing, and that is you called me a great American hero. I don't consider myself a hero. I have 541,000 magnificent men and women — they were the true heroes of Desert Storm. We should never forget that.

Thank you so much for inviting me to speak to you at your graduation. It is truly, truly a special occasion and a time that you will all remember. I distinctly remember the man that spoke to me at my graduation. He was a Washington politician; he came to West Point, and I don't remember one word he said. I do remember he talked for in excess of 45 minutes: that I do remember, but I promise that I will spare you that today.

Now, first of all for those of you who don't recognize me, I am the General Schwarzkopf. I said that because for some reason people expect me to be wearing camouflage. If I am not wearing camouflage, I'm not General Schwarzkopf. It's amazing the perceptions people have about you.

I work out every other day as you can tell from this magnificent body that stands before you, and at the end of my workout I always go into the steam bath. True story — last summer I walked into the steam bath. I was not wearing camouflage at the

time, and there was a man in there, and he turned and looked at me and said, "Did anybody ever tell you that from a distance you look exactly like General Schwarzkopf?" And I thought I'd play along, and I said, "Yes, I hear that a lot." He said, "Yes, it's only when you get up close you realize you're not General Schwarzkopf." I never told him — he does not know to this day.

Class of 1999 — that has a special ring to it. This is really an exciting milestone. I hope you realize that you are the last class that will graduate from Richmond in this century. By the time another class graduates, it will be a new century; indeed it will be the beginning of the new millennium. What that means is that you will lead all subsequent classes into the 21st century. Up to today you have been preparing for your leadership role, but beginning today you become leaders of our nation and of the world. As surely as I stand here before you, each and every one of you will lead. Of course, many of you will lead in the business world that you choose to step into — that's understandable; but many, many more will lead in your communities, in community government, in community activities like the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, the Rotaries and things like that. Many of you will lead in schools — you will lead by being members of the faculty, but you will also lead because you will have children in the school system; and, therefore, you will participate in organizations like PTA and things of this sort. Many, many, many of you will take up leadership positions in your church, and each and every one of you will be a leader in your home.

I know, about this time somebody says, "Wait a minute, Schwarzkopf, I'm not a born leader. Joe over there or Susie over there, they are born leaders, but I'm not a born leader." We have to set that to rest now right now — I don't believe there is any

such thing as a born leader. I don't think the circumstances of your birth have anything at all to do with your ability to lead. Let me give you a very concrete example of that. The Schwarzkopf family are great dog lovers. We have two dogs, both of them imported from Germany, no less. One of them's name is Orso. Orso is the Italian word for "Bear." Orso is a German shepherd, black and shiny coat; big, bushy tail; long, pointed ears; long teeth hanging out of his mouth — magnificent animal. He is so magnificent, as a matter of fact, that last year on the Purina Dog Chow calendar he was Mr. May. I want you to know that his mommy and daddy are very proud of him. Orso weights 90 pounds.

Our other dog's name is Grizz; Grizz is short for grizzly bear. Grizz is also imported from Germany. Grizz is a wire-haired dachshund. He looks like a cross between a hot dog and a toilet brush. Grizz weighs 18 pounds.

Now, which of those two dogs do you think is the leader in the Schwarzkopf household? Grizz, of course. You see, Grizz has never looked in a mirror. The only thing Grizz has ever seen is Orso, and Grizz thinks he's a 90-pound German shepherd. Of course, Orso sometimes thinks he's an 18-pound wire-haired dachshund. That causes us a lot of problems, but the point here is that it doesn't make any difference whether you are fat or skinny or whether you are tall or short, black, white, purple, blue or grape — the circumstances of your birth are totally irrelevant. What is important is that you think of yourself as a leader; and if you think of yourself as a leader, you truly will be a leader. I call that the Grizz Principle of Leadership.

So what advice can I give you today, you who are going to be leaders of the 21st century? I must start off by telling you that leadership is a whole combination of different ingredients — but by far, by far, the single most important ingredient of leadership is your character. Your character, that's what is important in leadership. Now I've had the cynics scoff at that. They said, "Aw, Schwarzkopf, you make too much of this character thing, you know. It's not really, really important." As a matter of fact, in a debate that was held right here a few years ago we were told that character really wasn't important. I don't believe that. I don't believe that for one second. I tell the cynics to go out and look at the leadership failures that have occurred in this country in the last 100 years. You will find that 99 percent of all the leadership failures in this country in the last 100 years were not failures in competence; they were failures in character. Greed, lying, prejudice, racism, intolerance, sexism, hate, immorality, amorality — none of these things are competence failures. They are all character failures. You see, leadership involves things like ethics; leadership involves a sense of duty; leadership involves a value system. Leadership involves morality; and, indeed, leadership involves integrity. And that is why character is what counts in leadership. It is a linchpin of all of this, the integrity. Integrity.

You know the most important thing to my mind that you will all take away from this University today will be your personal value system that you have developed while you have been here. For some of you it will be extremely broad, allowing a great deal of latitude and tolerance. For many, many others of you it will be very, very, very narrow, allowing for little room to maneuver and very little compromise. And with experience and with age as you go through life, you will modify constantly your system of values; but I tell you today the one thing you should never compromise is your integrity. Everything else in your life can be taken away from you; but only you, only you can give away your integrity. Integrity is truly the window into your soul.

Always remember that leaders don't lead things. Leaders

lead people, human beings, human beings with hopes and dreams, just like you have hopes and dreams. Regrettably, though, most of them aren't as lucky as you and I. They need a hand every now and then. You know the really great thing about this country that we live in — America — is that you can do your own thing; and I encourage you, I encourage you, every single one of you, to get out there and do your own thing. But when you are doing your own thing, I'd like to say, do your own thing plus one. Did you ever stop to think how great this world would be if everyone did their own thing and then just did one other thing to help someone else? I tell you that I have personally learned through life that the greatest happiness you'll ever achieve comes from truly selfless service, truly selfless service. And remember this, you can't help someone get up a hill without getting closer to the top yourself.

Finally, dare to live your dream. As I said to you before, the wonderful thing about our country is that you can do anything that you want to do, as long as you don't interfere with someone else doing what they want to do. So dare to live your dream. You know it's the dreamers of the past and present who have given us the greatest gifts to mankind and so it will always be in the future — a cure for cancer, a cleaner environment, space travel, an end of poverty and famine, better schools, world peace — all of these things and many, many more will be given to us by the dreamers. So take your best shot and dare to live your dream. Of course, you'll stumble along the way; we all do; but always remember that life is sort of like the 400-meter race at a track meet: it's a staggered start. You can never tell who is ahead until the end of the race. So when you stumble, get back up and follow your dreams again. At the finish line of life the winners are not determined by the quantity of the material goods that they have amassed but rather by the quality of what they leave behind. So that's my advice to you. Your character is your most important ingredient of your leadership. Your integrity is the most important ingredient of your character. Leaders lead people. So do your own thing; do your own thing plus one and dare to live your dreams.

Most of you all will live in America. Whether we like it or not, the world has left the United States as the only remaining superpower. That's an awesome responsibility. That's an awesome responsibility that has been handed to us. First of all, these are our responsibilities with the rest of the world and, secondly, our responsibility as to what kind of a nation we will be unto ourselves. And, of course, the doomsday prophets and the naysayers climb out from under their flat rock, and they tell us that America is going to hell in a handbag. They say we can't handle our responsibility; they say that we will fail in our leadership role. They point to the scandals and gridlock in Washington, D.C., riots in Los Angeles, crime in Miami and they say, "This is America." They are wrong — they are so very, very, very wrong. I am very lucky because I get to travel the length and breadth of this great country of ours, and all along the way I meet millions of people with the same values and beliefs that have always made America the great nation it is today. America is not scandal in Washington, D.C. America is not riots in LA. America is not crime in Miami. America is the American people with all of our blemishes and all of our faults. The United States of America is still the greatest nation on the face of this earth bar none, bar none.

And one more thing, beginning today — America is you. America is you, beginning today. You will be the leaders of the 21st century in this great country of ours. So I leave you with

final thought: to losers it may be possible, but it is too difficult. The winner says it may be difficult, but it is possible; and the leader says nothing, nothing is impossible. The loser says, "It's not my job"; the winner says, "Let me help you do it"; and the

leader says, "Follow me, and do as I do."

Congratulations, Richmond graduates! We will follow you, and I wish you the greatest success and happiness as 21st century leaders of character.

# The Sacred Trade Called Journalism

## HAS IT LOST ITS WAY?

Address by JAMES HILL, *Manager, Professional Development and Training Center for Media and Public Policy, The Heritage Foundation*

*Delivered to the Washington Semester Program in Journalism, American University, Washington, D.C., April 19, 1999*

Thank you, Professor Mellen, for bringing these participants of the Washington Semester Program here to The Heritage Foundation today. It is our honor to have you visit us, and we hope you all feel welcome.

Last week, to get just a bit of a feel for the class, I called Mr. Mellen and asked him to fill me in on the makeup of the program — its demographics, if you will.

He said that you come from colleges and universities all over the country, and even the world. So let me start this session by offering these greetings:

Guten tag, bon jour, dobry den, and for the Texas student with Russian roots howdy.

And for all of you, may I offer the salutation that Americans know anywhere: What's Happening?

That's what news is — the answer to the essential question of our existence: What's happening?

It is an attempt to sort through accounts, documents, eyewitness reports — indeed, anything factual — in order to get to the truth, and report it in a timely, accurate, and fair manner, enlightening the reader or viewer or listener in such a way that she or he can make up their own minds about the importance, or lack thereof, of the great and not-so great issues of the day: wars, disasters, weather, politics, crime, corruption, the price of oil, the price of next year's new cars, who was born, who died, what is the city council doing about the potholes, why are the potholes hanging around in the city park, beavers chomping at the cherry trees ... Of course, this list could go on and on.

News is the rhythm of our lives, the chronicle of our times.

As future chroniclers, you will have the opportunity to observe and report on the beginning of the 21st Century — in fact, should trends in aging and work longevity continue on the positive course they have been following throughout the 20th Century, it is conceivable that many of you, should you elect to pursue lifelong careers in journalism, will be reporting into at least the 2040s, if not the 2050s, and maybe even into the 2060s and 70s. So don't burn out too soon.

What will journalism be like as your careers unfold?

My guess is that, while methods of delivery will change as surely as they have changed in my era, the essential ingredients in collecting the news will not be much different than they are today.

Events must take place, facts must be collected, verified, interpreted, written down in an understandable accounting, and then editors must apply the judgment test — is this news? — before presenting it to those who use their product. And re-

member that those people, news consumers, if you will, usually turn to a product because they have come to depend on it and find it credible for that type of information you traditionally supply.

Let me just give you an example. This highly respected newspaper that I am holding, the Financial Times, is known internationally for its solid reporting of all kinds of matters that move markets. It is solid to the point of appearing dull, when in fact it is quite lively, even if deliberately understated.

But look at this headline: "China faces huge welfare burden."

Well, of course it does. It is a Communist country with over 1 billion people.

In this case, presentation failed.

My point is: Don't assume presentation doesn't count. It counts for everything.

So I hope this presentation today will count for at least a lot — I could wish for everything, but you must remain objective — in helping you shape your views about journalism, your responsibilities as a journalist, the role of think tanks such as our Foundation in helping shape the policy debate through the news media, our Center for Media and Public Policy's goals within the Heritage sphere, and why we feel it is so critical to be in a position to influence this arena.

As our mission statement proclaims: "The Heritage Foundation is a research and educational institute — a think tank — whose mission is to formulate and promote conservative public policies based on the principles of free enterprise, limited government, individual freedom, traditional American values, and a strong national defense."

And, to quote our president, Dr. Edwin Feulner: "The Heritage Foundation is committed to rolling back the liberal welfare state and building an America where freedom, opportunity, and civil society flourish."

Now, a good question is: What does Heritage's mission have to do with the news media? And my ready answer is, just like I said about presentation: Everything.

The news media report our activities; the news media call upon our analysts to be sources or to provide comment on issues those analysts specialize in; the news media run commentary articles by Heritage scholars — more than 150 articles placed in many of the nation's major titles last year, and many of these also distributed to more papers throughout the country over wire services. That's roughly one out of every two days when a Heritage position is being advocated in papers such as the Chicago Tribune, the Los Angeles Times, the Washington

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