

Conservatism at the Crossroads: Winning the Future or Losing the Present

Newt Gingrich

June 28, 2005

The conservative movement is at a true crossroads.

We have grown for a generation from the low point of December 1974 when only 19% of the country identified with the Republican Party.

Today Republicans are at parity with Democrats and for the first time since 1912 a majority of state legislatures are Republican. Republicans actually have a two seat advantage in total number of state legislators nationally.

In Washington, Republicans today control the White House, the House, and the Senate.

Yet in many ways conservatism today is at a crossroads. We now preside over enough government that people expect us to deliver. Yet the governments we preside over are still overwhelmingly the laws, regulations, and bureaucracies created by the left from 1932 through 1968. Furthermore, the culture and the personnel of those bureaucracies are overwhelmingly still on the left.

The attached papers outline a way of thinking about the steps necessary to win the future and what we must do to avoid losing the present.

1. **Profound Change is Needed in Our Major Bureaucracies: The Example of National Security.** The United States is in greater danger than any time since 1980 when Jimmy Carter was President.
2. **The Entitlement Challenge.** The left offers a free lunch; the old, minority right offered no lunch; a governing majority has to offer a lunch worth working for.
3. **Conservatism at the Crossroads.** (*New York Sun*, April 22, 2005)
4. **What is At Stake in 2004: The Gap Between the Kerry-Edwards Ticket and the Values of the American People.** Originally written during the 2004 election year, this paper outlines that a clear dominance in values has not yet been translated into a partisan dominance.
5. **From Bureaucratic Public Administration to Entrepreneurial Public Management: Getting Government to Move at the Speed and Effectiveness of the Information Age.**
6. **Our Creator in the Capital: A Walking Tour of God in Washington, D.C.** (from *Winning the Future*). This tour is a rebuke to the Supreme Court's continuing attack on American tradition, the American Constitution, and the American recognition that our liberties come from our Creator.

PROFOUND CHANGE IS NEEDED IN OUR MAJOR BUREAUCRACIES :

THE EXAMPLE OF NATIONAL SECURITY

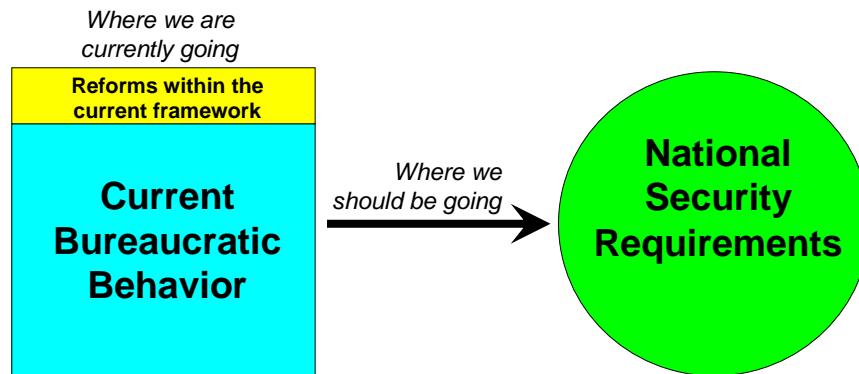
Newt Gingrich
June 26, 2005

*The United States is in greater danger
than any time since 1980 when Jimmy Carter was President.*

The dangers today may be even greater because in 1980 the natural students of national security were in the opposition and could all be very clear about what was not working.

Today, the people who know the most about national security are actually presiding over the institutions. This makes it much harder to have this vital discussion: as a result of a combination of sheer exhaustion, of trying to make the institutions work every day, the overwhelming tyranny of the present and the natural psychological tendency to defend institutions that we preside over—even if they are resisting, blocking and delaying the needed changes.

Ineffectiveness vs. Effectiveness: Ensuring National Survival



To avoid change, most bureaucracies prefer the comfortable routine of explaining failure.

Draft 6/26/2005
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The following objective facts are unavoidable:

1. Weapons of Mass Murder (biological), Mass Disruption (electromagnetic pulse – EMP) and Mass Destruction (nuclear) are all becoming more available, more dangerous, and less expensive.
2. Elements who either hate us (such as the irreconcilable wing of Islam), or resent us (such as the Chinese and Russian leadership), or fear us (such as the Iranians, Iraqis and Syrians) potentially can coordinate in ways that we could not today defend against.
3. The growth of new institutions, both legal (such as the United Nations and the European Union) and illegal (such as drug cartels and people trafficking) are occurring at a complexity, scale and speed that do not fit how our bureaucracies operate.
4. Our intelligence system is fundamentally broken. It is so broken that only the comparison of the U.S. Navy in the middle of 1943 still rejecting the concept of airpower, or the U.S. Army in 1942 still rejecting the tank in favor of the horse, can give adequate understanding of the depth of the underlying failure of intelligence in the United States.
5. The United States has to profoundly re-organize to move from an interagency process to an integrated process so that it can develop strategies, doctrines, institutions and cultures which enable the U.S. to be effective in a very complex real-time world.
6. A strategy of using all aspects of national power has to start with the understanding that 82% of American society is outside the Federal government.
7. We are engaged in a long war with the Irreconcilable Wing of Islam. It is possible this war will last 30 to 70 years or longer. We have no strategy designed for a war of this length. We have no budgeting or structure designed to sustain a war of this kind.
8. Winning the Long War with the Irreconcilable Wing of Islam requires convincing the American people that the threat is real and that our very survival requires the successful waging of a long campaign including some difficult specific operations. Trying to explain Iraq and Afghanistan without placing them in the context of the Long War would have been like Truman focusing on the Berlin Airlift and the Greek Civil War in the late 1940s without first explaining the Soviet threat and the need for a containment strategy. Taken in isolation neither activity would have been sustained by the American people. Once the American people came to accept the reality of the Soviet threat they were prepared to sustain NATO, the CIA and other activities for 44 years until the Soviet Union collapsed.
9. We must have a dramatically more effective communications campaign both at home and abroad. If people do not understand what is happening they will not support it.

Draft 6/26/2005

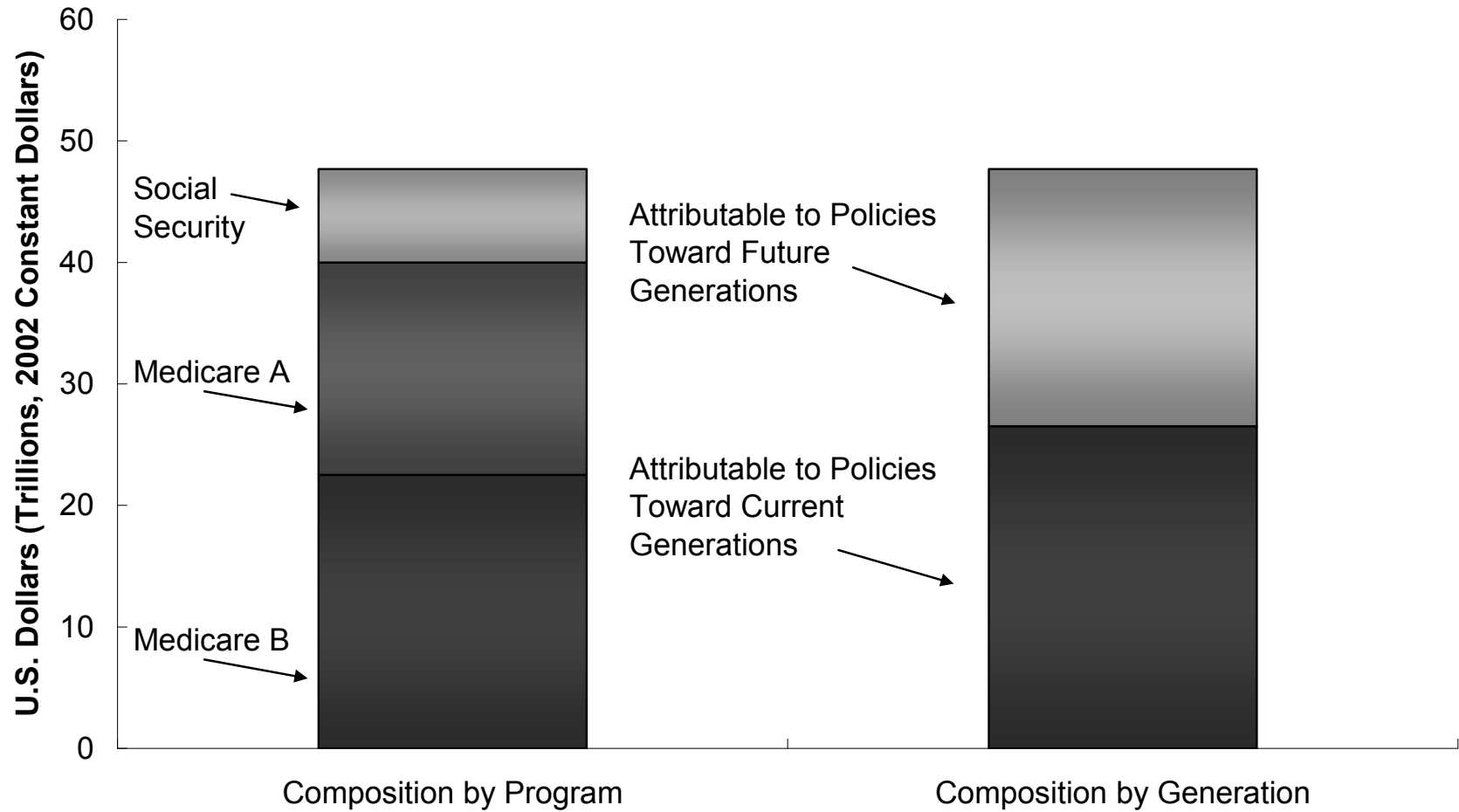
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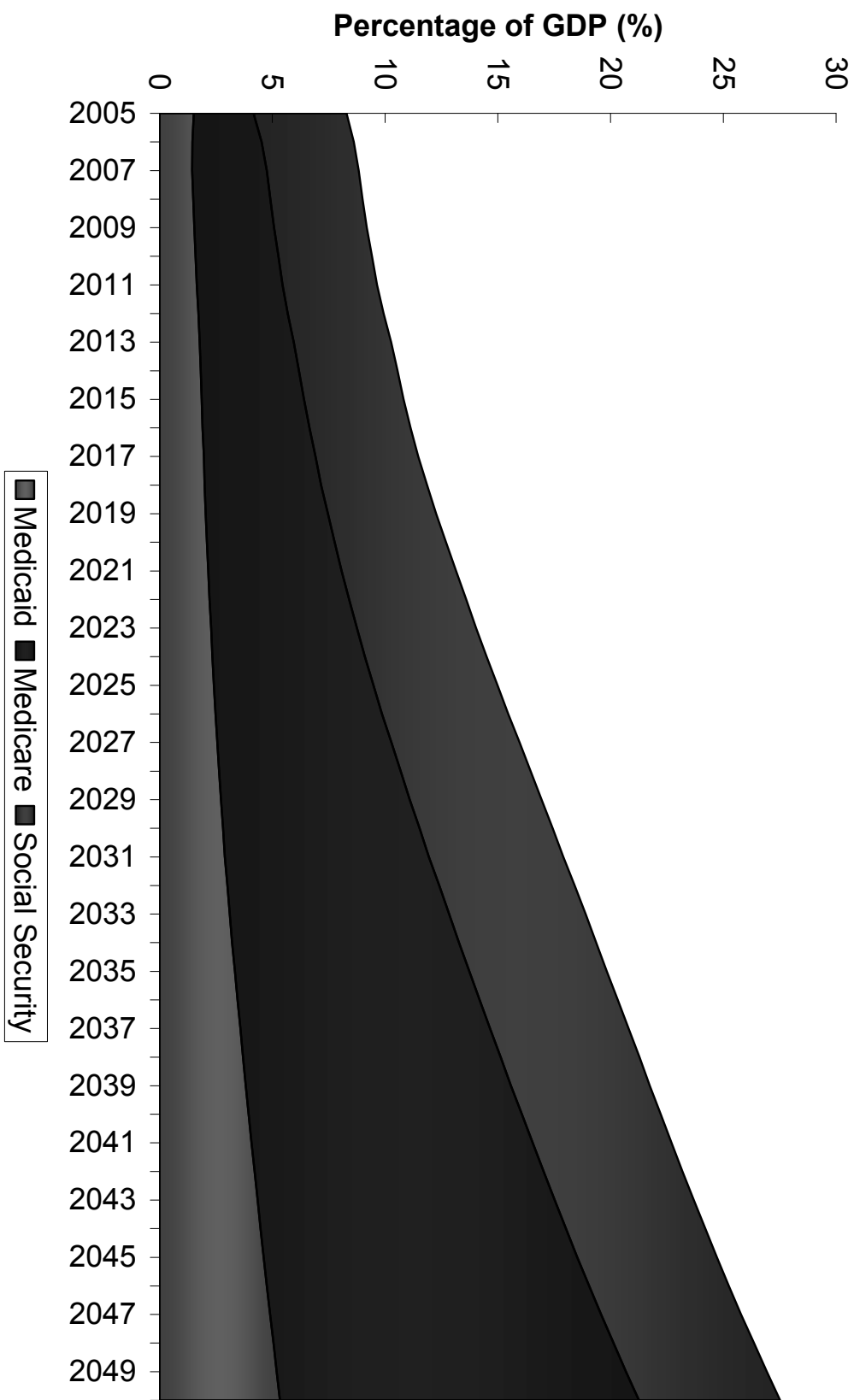
The Entitlement Challenge

The Entitlement Shortfall

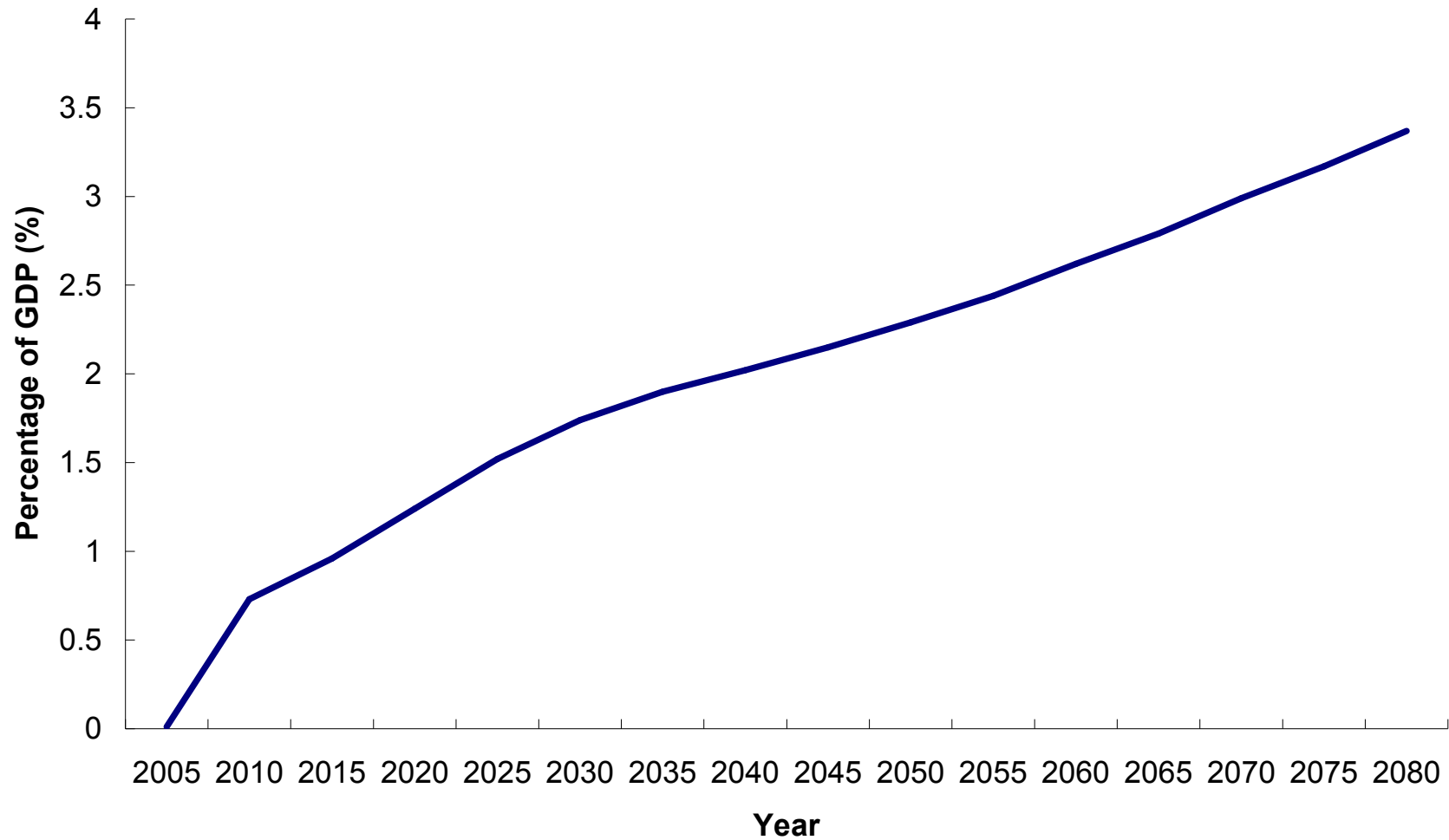
Present Value in 2005



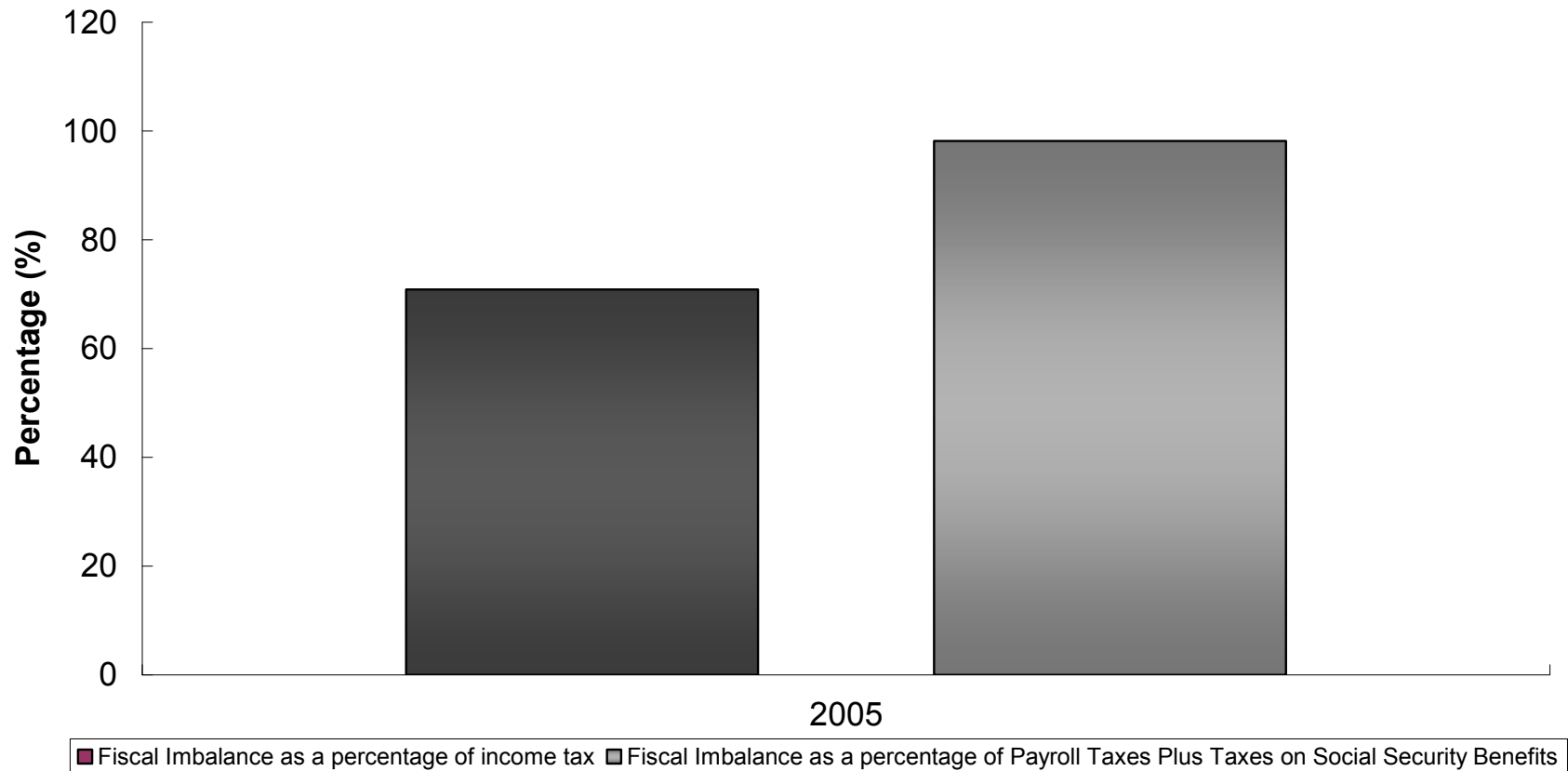
The Cost of Entitlements



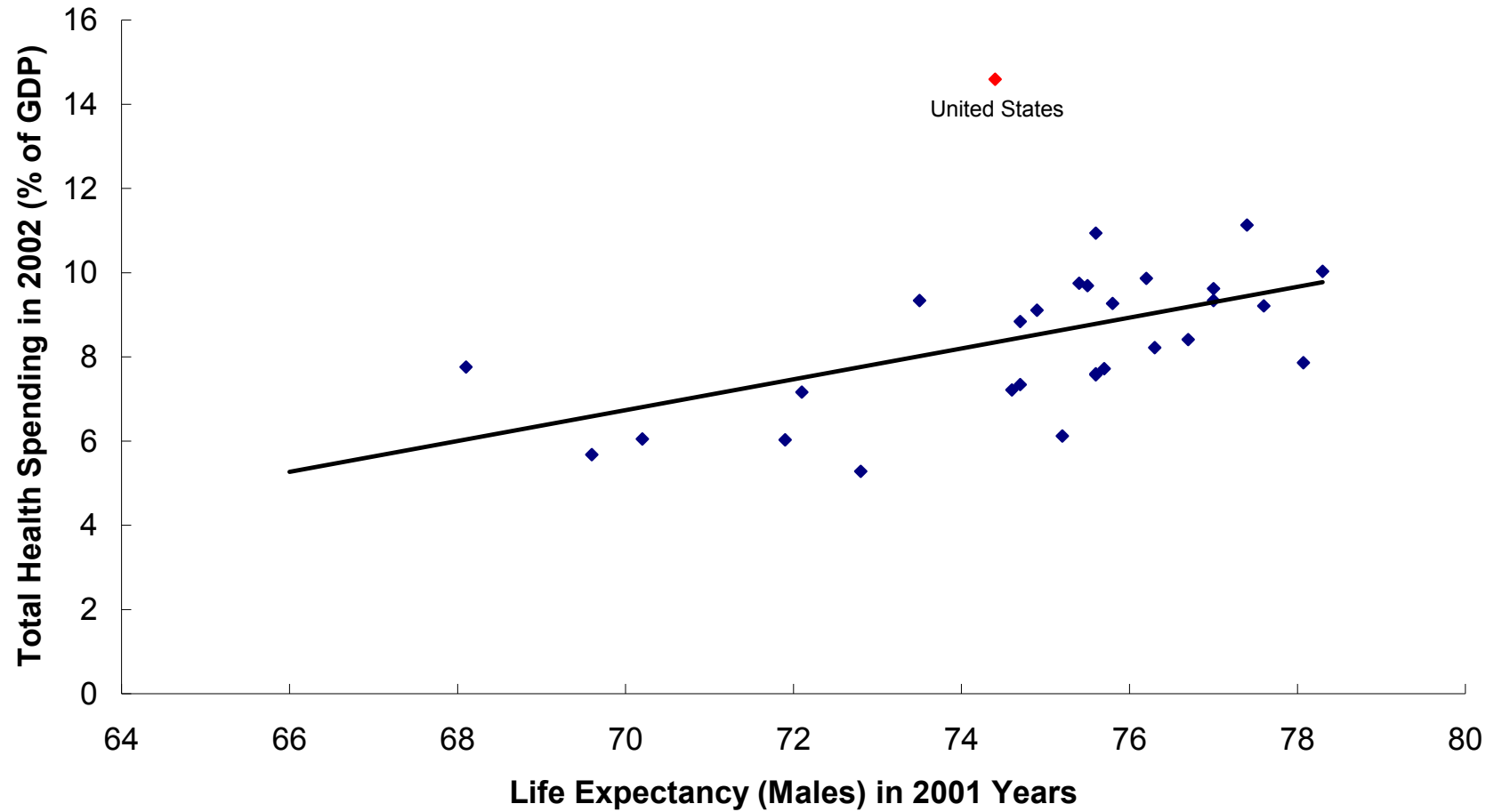
Medicare Prescription Drug Benefit Expenditures



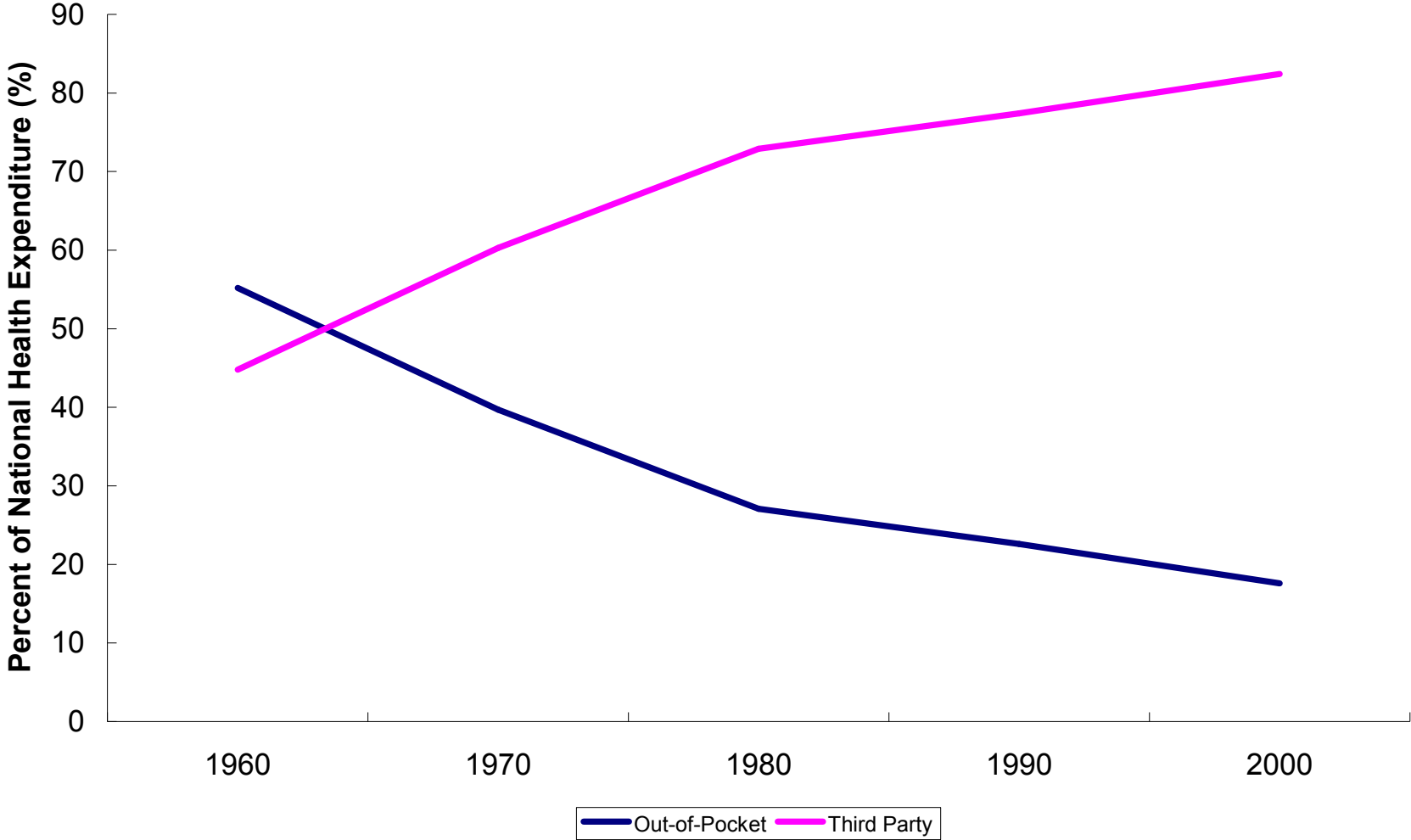
Paying for Current Entitlements Would Require Immediate Doubling of the Payroll Taxes or Two-Thirds Increase in Income Taxes



Health Care Spending and Life Expectancy (OECD Countries)



Growth in Third- Party Payments (1960-2000)



Conservatism at the Crossroads

by Newt Gingrich

For 50 years, the conservative movement has slowly but successfully changed the terms of debate within American politics by articulating a clear and compelling vision for America's government and civic culture. Nevertheless, in the wake of another in a string of electoral victories where conservatives gained even greater representation within Washington and the state capitals, the conservative movement finds itself at a crossroads.

If government spending on entitlements continues at its current pace, then conservatives will have lost and the liberal Democrats will have won, even if Republicans manage to stay in charge. Douglas Holtz-Eakin, the director of the Congressional Budget Office testified earlier this year that if health care costs stay on their current trajectory, "the federal government's spending for Medicare and [the] Medicaid program would together exceed 21 percent of GDP by 2050 (compared with 4.1 percent in 2004), and total [Federal] spending would be about 33 percent of GDP." The three principal drivers of those costs are all entitlement programs - Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security. Federal spending at that level is unsustainable, not only for the conservative movement but for the country. Yet, that is likely to be the result if we do not continue the job of transforming our government and our entitlement programs.

Unfortunately, the longer conservative elected leaders stay in office, the more they will find themselves torn between the revolutionary ideas and values that got them elected and the need to explain and defend the institutions they inherited. Over time, their original goals of transforming government may be replaced by being resigned to merely presiding over a government that is growing to one-third of the output of the American economy.

The continued success of the conservative movement cannot accept this and should reject only modest, marginal improvement of the liberal bureaucracies and laws we campaigned to transform. Change is hard, but the values and goals of the conservative movement require that we not be satisfied with merely presiding. We must reaffirm our commitment to the values and ideas that brought conservatives to power and aggressively work to transform the ineffective bureaucracies of the 20th century into a model able to cope with the speed and efficiency of the 21st century.

Conservatism began this large-scale transformation with President Reagan who was able to reinvigorate the American economy by cutting taxes and regulation, strengthen American civic culture by making us proud to be American again, and to win the Cold War by shifting from accepting detente to defeating communism (the Soviet Union disappeared 10 years after Reagan was sworn in).

We continued in 1994, using the Contract with America as our management document to reform the U.S. House by term-limiting committee chairmen, implement transparency in accounting, and allow every citizen access to the legislative process with the Thomas online information system. In addition, we balanced the federal budget four years in a row leading to the big-

Originally published on April 22, 2005 in the *New York Sun*.

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gest surpluses in American history and record-setting economic growth. At the same time, we cut taxes while increasing defense and intelligence spending. We passed welfare reform which resulted in nearly 60% of the people trapped on welfare going to work or to school - the largest social policy transformation in a generation.

I believe that we can meet our current challenges as we have in the past, but it will require adhering to four essential principles.

First, truly transformative movements start first in the country and then gradually impose their values and their expectations on Washington. No bold, large-scale, decisive change has ever originated in Washington or state capitals. Washington and the state capitals are citadels of timidity and caution. Held hostage by the tyranny of the present, they are bastions of the status quo and the old order that confuse meeting the daily tasks of governance with meeting the historic demands of governing. Only the past has lobbyists who protect what they already have; the future is unrepresented unless citizens engage.

Second, to rally the country to change Washington, we must follow Prime Minister Thatcher's rule that "first you win the argument; then you win the vote."

There are no easy, quick solutions to meet the scale of the challenge. Reagan proposed welfare reform at the National Governor's Conference in 1970. No one supported him. By 1996, polls showed that 92% of the country favored welfare reform, including 88% of the people on welfare. By then, it was virtually impossible for the Congress to avoid passing it or President Clinton to avoid signing it, which he did after vetoing it twice. We must again define the debate about winning the future and not let the elite media or our opponents derail us into an argument about defending the past.

Third, winning the future requires developing a pattern of clarity, simplicity, and repetition. Since defending the past is much easier than explaining the future, the burden is on the conservative movement to be much clearer and much more compelling than the left.

Finally, applying these principles requires the courage and commitment Reagan showed while advocating conservatism from his first national speech in 1964 to winning the presidency in 1980. For those 16 years, his views were ridiculed, distorted, and derided by his opponents and the elite media. The same was true for those of us in 1994 who believed Republicans could actually become a governing majority.

The conservative movement cannot let itself be lulled into complacency. The challenges facing America in the next generation cannot possibly be met by timid reforms of archaic government institutions and marginal modifications of obsolete policies. Transformation is imperative not only for America to compete globally, but also for our very survival. It is time for the country to lead the capital once again.

Originally published on April 22, 2005 in the *New York Sun*.
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**WHAT IS AT STAKE IN 2004:
THE GAP BETWEEN THE KERRY-EDWARDS TICKET AND THE VALUES OF THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE**

**Newt Gingrich
July 22, 2004**

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This paper is available electronically along with an audio companion of two speeches at www.newt.org

WHAT IS AT STAKE IN 2004: THE GAP BETWEEN THE KERRY-EDWARDS TICKET AND THE VALUES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Newt Gingrich
July 22, 2004

OVERVIEW

The 2004 campaign is actually very simple:

1. Define the Kerry-Edwards ticket as the left and prove that its values and its history make it unacceptable to the vast majority of Americans;
2. Communicate what President Bush and the Republicans have accomplished for the American people despite the bitter opposition of the left;
3. Explain the nature of the terrorist threat against America and the historic and moral importance of President Bush's strategy to defend America, including the decision to liberate Iraq;
4. Communicate what President Bush and the Republicans will accomplish in 2005 for the American people if they are given the opportunity;
5. Use September and October in Congress to demonstrate vividly the difference on core values between the Senate based Kerry-Edwards left and the Republicans and therefore the difference in the future they would create;
6. Focus on this clear choice so the Presidential and Vice Presidential debates will be acts of repeating the clear differences and the historic record;
7. Slow the campaign down to emphasize the big difference, focus on the facts and allow the American people to realize how big their choice is.

This paper outlines the gap between most Americans and the Kerry-Edwards ticket. Other papers will cover the rest of the campaign.

SUMMARY

The facts are very clear:

1. A work requirement for welfare: 87% of Americans say yes, 5% No. John Kerry and the Senate Democrats have blocked the bill for 3 years.

2. Government should help faith-based initiatives help the poor: 72% of Americans agree, 26% disagree; Kerry is with the 26%.
3. U.S. interests are more important than international organizations: 73-24; Kerry's positions favor the 24%.
4. Violent attackers of pregnant women who kill the baby should be prosecuted for killing the baby: 84% of Americans say yes, 9% No. Kerry voted no.
5. Children should be allowed to pray at school: 78% of Americans agree; Kerry is against it.

On these five large questions the American people average 79% to 16% and Kerry is on the side of the 16%.

There is a temporary narrow partisan division among Americans but there is no narrow values division. On a wide number of issues Americans average about four to one in favor of Center-Right values. In one set of 34 issues the American people averaged 77% on one side and 17% on the other side.

Only the continued overwhelming bias of the news media (amounting to a culture of the left which simply cannot imagine any other value set being legitimate) and the deliberate deception and denial of the Democratic ticket combined with a Republican failure to focus the campaign on the big choices has allowed the myth of a narrowly divided country to survive.

If Republicans focus on asserting "there is a big difference" and slowing the campaign down to emphasize "the facts", this could be a surprisingly one-sided race by late October.

The Democrats have already cast their lot on the far left.

Since the Democrats know they cannot win a clear choice election, they and their allies (including much of the news media) will do everything possible to clutter the campaign with trivia.

The question is whether the Republicans will accept the challenge and insist on a campaign that focuses on the remarkably wide differences in ideology, in the values of the two coalitions, in the historic record of the two parties, and in actual votes.

If Republicans slow the campaign down and emphasize the facts, the Democrats are almost certain to lose badly.

THE LEFT VERSUS THE REST OF AMERICA

The Kerry-Edwards ticket is the most leftwing ticket since George McGovern ran in 1972. This is not rhetoric. The leftwing nature of the Kerry Edwards ticket is a statistical fact.

Senator Kerry was rated by *National Journal* as the most liberal Senator in 2003. Senator Edwards came in fourth. If you are to the left of Ted Kennedy and Hillary Clinton, you are not merely a liberal, you are on the left.

The 'most leftwing' rating is not merely a one year fluke.

John Kerry has a lifetime ADA voting record rated more liberal than Walter Mondale (92 to 90). John Edwards has a lifetime ADA voting record rated more liberal than Geraldine Ferraro (81 to 79). Therefore, literally, the Kerry-Edwards ticket is the most leftwing since George McGovern in 1972.

The leftwing nature of the Kerry-Edwards ticket can be seen in specific votes, in the ideology of their allies, and in their own policy statements.

This leftwing nature of the Kerry-Edwards ticket puts them far to the left of the vast majority of Americans.

Consider one specific vote -- the issue of protecting a pregnant mother and her unborn child from a violent attacker. The American people by 79 to 10 believe prosecutors should be able to charge the attacker with murder for killing the fetus. By an even larger margin, 84 to 9 the American people believe the prosecutors should be able to bring separate murder charges against someone who kills a viable baby (some 56% think the killing of any baby, no matter how young, by a violent attack should be murder while another 28% think it should be murder only if the child was viable which was the Laci Peterson case). Only 9 per cent of the country is opposed.

On this issue, which has been driven home by the Laci Peterson murder case, the nation is 8 to 1 against the violent criminal.

John Kerry and John Edwards BOTH voted with the 9%, in favor of protecting the violent criminal and against protecting the baby from a violent attacker (vote on S 1019, March 25, 2004).

This is a position so indefensible and so alien from most Americans it should be a standard part of every explanation of the campaign and every stump speech.

“If an expectant mother is violently attacked Republicans will fight to protect her baby. John Kerry and John Edwards will vote to protect the criminal attacker.” It can't get much clearer than that.

LEFTWORLD;
THE COALITION WHICH BACKS KERRY-EDWARDS

The nature of the left's coalition is even more decisively alien to most Americans.

The Democrats hope to use the resources, intensity, and energy of their allies without having to be responsible for them.

It is the Republicans' job to make sure the American people understand how radically left the Kerry-Edwards coalition really is and how much parallel there is between the left and its candidates despite the evasiveness of their rhetoric.

Begin with the biggest funder of pro-Kerry-Edwards causes.

George Soros is a leftwing billionaire who supports legalizing heroin (*Washington Post* 2/2/97) and was described by Lyndon Johnson's Secretary of Health and Human Services as "The Daddy Warbucks of drug legalization" (*Washington Post* 12/4/96). He has given more than \$15 million to at least 19 drug legalization initiatives (*Washington Times* 1/12/03).

Soros pledged a similar amount (\$15.5 million) to beat President George W. Bush (*Washington Post* "Soros's Deep Pockets Vs Bush" 11/11/03).

Soros is a major funder of 527 special interest activities on behalf of Kerry and the Democrats. Soros is a strong advocate of felons voting and his organizations reflect that goal. In one of their projects, "America Coming Together" (ACT) to which Soros has given at least \$10 million, they have been hiring convicted criminals to go door to door and register voters. In one state they have hired a convicted murderer and a convicted rapist to go door to door for Kerry. In another state they have been hiring convicted burglars who can in effect get paid for doing political work on the left while casing potential burglary sites.

It is a sign of how out of touch the hard left is with most Americans that they apparently think it is reasonable to pay convicted murderers, rapists, drug dealers, and burglars door to door to help the Kerry-Edwards ticket. In some cases the criminals are still serving time and on Federal Election Committee Reports listing paid employees they have actually listed the jail as their residence. In a perfect example of the left-liberal establishment closing ranks the *New York Times* editorialized "Recently, Republicans and election officials in Missouri and South Dakota have raised questions about voter registration groups' employment of ex-felons, although they have every right to be involved in political activity." (*New York Times* editorial 7/11/04)

These values are not unrelated to the candidates the left supports.

In 1987 Kerry opposed mandatory drug testing for "safety related personnel in transportation." Kerry asserted "regardless of whether or not they have displayed any

record of impaired performance, judgment, or other work or personality disorders which may indicate a substance abuse problem,” he was opposed to mandatory testing. (S 15427 *Congressional Record*, 10/29/87)

Kerry’s concern for the convicted over their victims is clear. In 1994 he asserted there are “people in jail today...who are barely culpable.” (*Congressional Record* S12453).

The left’s drive to have felons vote even while serving time in prison is gaining ground within the federal courts. In a 2003 Washington State case the Ninth Circuit AGAIN found a method for pushing the country in directions the American people oppose. As a dissenting judge noted (2/24/04) “the panel’s interpretation of the VRA [Voting Rights Amendment] will require states to erect voting booths in prisons. This result is inevitable, as there is no stopping point to the panel’s rationale. If states can’t exclude felons formerly incarcerated from the franchise, then they surely can’t exclude felons currently behind bars. Once felons have a right to vote, someone will bring suit to require the states to bring the polls to them, since they can’t go to the polls themselves. Yet every state in our circuit—indeed, every state in the country save Maine and Vermont—does not allow imprisoned felons to vote.

Clearly a bill should be introduced to affirm that nothing in the Voting Rights Act requires states to allow felons to vote while still serving time in prison. If Congress does not act we should not be surprised to wake up one morning and find the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals has created a new class of criminal voters who could easily swing close elections. Even in Massachusetts a referendum on allowing convicted felons to vote in prison rejected the concept by 65 to 35 in November 2000.

The notion of the left once again using the federal courts to achieve what they cannot achieve with elected legislatures and elected governors was openly advocated in the *New York Times* editorial: “The best hope of reform may lie in the courts. The Atlanta-based United States Court of Appeals for the 11th Circuit and the San Francisco-based Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit have ruled recently that disenfranchising felons may violate equal protection or the Voting Rights Act.” (7/11/04)

In 1985 Kerry introduced three amendments to provide tax paid subsidies for alcoholics and drug abusers (9/8/95).

In 1992 (9/17) Kerry favored a federally funded needle exchange program for drug users.

In 1998 (6/9) Kerry voted against cutting off federal dollars for needle exchanges.

Along exactly the same lines George Soros gave \$1 million to privately finance needle exchange programs for drug users.

Soros is not just committed to leftwing domestic policies on drugs, crime and other issues. He is also committed to a very leftwing vision of how the world should work. He wrote that to preserve “our global open society,” the world needs “some global system of

political decision-making” so that “the sovereignty of states must be subordinated to international law and international institutions.” (quoted in Matthew Rees “Saving Capitalism from Soros,” *The Ottawa Citizen*, 12/9/98).

This view of subordinating America to an international organization is rejected by the American people 73 to 24 (Gallup March 2004) in favor of America being able to pursue its own policies. Yet, as noted below under the question of our survival John Kerry has consistently talked about subordinating the United States to the United Nations and to the World Court in a manner very consistent with George Soros.

Michael Moore is another member of the Leftworld anti-Bush elite. Moore’s comments in Europe have been so viciously and consistently anti-American that it is amazing Senator Tom Daschle would go to the premier of Moore’s anti-Bush propaganda film. The relationship between Moore’s movie and the anti-Bush movement is clear. *Time Magazine* compared the fervor of the left for Fahrenheit 9/11 with the intensity of fundamentalist Christians going to see Mel Gibson’s *The Passion of the Christ*. That may say something about the degree to which for some on the secular left politics is the equivalent of a religious experience.

Democrats certainly expect Moore to help them defeat President Bush. As Cliff May reported, “Terry McAuliffe, the affable chairman of the Democratic National Committee, pronounced the film, ‘very powerful, much more powerful than I thought it would be... there are a lot of interesting facts that he [Moore] brought out today that none of us knew about.’ That most of those ‘facts’ have proven to be lies and distortions ought to be taken into consideration. Mr. McAuliffe added: ‘I think anyone who goes to this movie will come out en masse and vote for John Kerry.’”

Cliff May went on to assert in a July 8, 2004 Scripps Howard article that "Fahrenheit 9/11" is making mega-bucks in American theaters and -- with some help from terrorists ... -- it could prove a blockbuster in the Middle East too...”

“In terms of marketing,” *Screendaily.com* announces, Mr. Moore “is getting a boost from organizations related to Hezbollah.”

Yes, that Hezbollah: the Syrian and Iranian-backed terrorist group that pioneered suicide bombings against Americans more than 20 years ago ... the terrorist group second only to al Qaeda in number of Americans murdered, the terrorist group that now operates against the US in Iraq.

“We can't go against these organizations,” explains Gianluca Chacra, the managing director of Front Row Entertainment, the UAE-based firm releasing Moore's flick in the Middle East. ... “Having the support of such an entity in Lebanon is quite significant ... and not at all controversial. I think it's quite natural.”

Yes, of course. And it's not as if Mr. Moore's views of America differ dramatically from those of Hezbollah.” (end of May’s article)

Clearly this represents an enormous gap between the views of the left and the rest of America.

THE NATURAL AMERICAN MAJORITY

There is an amazing majority among most Americans but it is a distinct minority among the news media, the academic elites and the Hollywood crowd. Consider the key questions which will define America's future and how the natural majority would answer them.

The key question can be summarized as: Who can best protect our safety and secure our future?

That question can be broken into five key tests:

1. Will we survive as a nation?
2. What kind of Country will we be?
3. Will our children and new Americans learn the values and history of being American?
4. How will we be able to create prosperity and jobs in the 21st century?
5. How will we make sure that the baby boomers and their children have good retirements and good health?

In answering these five key tests, it is possible to appeal to a vast majority of Americans who do not share the assumptions and the values of the left.

TEST ONE: WILL WE SURVIVE AS A NATION?

By almost 3 to 1 (74% to 25%), Americans want America to play a leading or major role in world affairs. (Gallup Poll February 2004)

Americans know the world is dangerous. Better than eight out of every ten Americans (82%) believe international terrorism is a critical threat. Three out of four Americans (75%) believe the spread of weapons of mass destruction to unfriendly nations is a major threat. (Gallup Poll February 2004)

By contrast, John Kerry ran as an anti-defense liberal in 1984 and proposed cutting \$45 to \$54 billion from the Reagan defense budget in one year and cutting \$200 billion in defense over four years.

Kerry opposed President Reagan's strategy of building up American strength to defeat the Soviet Union.

While serving under Governor Michael Dukakis as Lieutenant Governor, Kerry wrote and spoke for Executive Order 242 (June 28, 1984) in which the state of Massachusetts refused to think about or plan for any effort to survive a nuclear attack. In effect, this

repudiated the very concept of Homeland Security. Under Kerry's leadership, they deliberately left Massachusetts defenseless against a weapon of mass destruction.

Kerry's first Senate speech as a Freshman was against defense spending.

Kerry proposed killing 27 weapons systems (including B-1, Apache helicopter, F-14, F-15 Patriot missile, etc) and reducing 18 others.

Kerry would have killed or cut virtually every weapons system used in the two Iraq wars.

Kerry was for a one sided nuclear freeze in which the United States would do nothing while the Soviets could continue to build up their arms. He opposed putting Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe to match the Soviet Union's SS-20 missiles.

Kerry opposed Reagan's strategy of defeating communism in Central America: "I stood up and fought against Ronald Reagan's illegal war in Central America." (CNN 1/21/04)

Kerry consistently voted against sanctions on Fidel Castro's communist dictatorship.

It is reasonable to assert that had we followed Kerry's policies instead of Reagan's there would still be a Soviet Union and we would still be in a cold war.

For over thirty years Kerry has been committed to putting America within the shackles of international organizations and limiting America's ability to act in its own defense.

In 1970, as a congressional candidate Kerry said "the United Nations should have control over most of our foreign military operations. I'm an internationalist. I'd like to see our troops dispersed through the world only at the direction of the United Nations." (*Harvard Crimson* 1/18/70)

As a Senator in 1985, Kerry was for the United States accepting compulsory jurisdiction under the World Court (which at that time had both the Soviet Union and one Soviet captive nation on the Court, as well as China and several other dictatorships).

Kerry went on to say in 1986 that he thought Reagan was too unilateral in asserting freedom of the seas by crossing what Qaddafi had called 'the line of death' in the Gulf of Sidra, where the Libyans attacked US naval aircraft and we shot down two Libyan planes. Kerry wrote, "there would have been more prudent means to test Qaddafi's claim in the World Court...one has to question the reasoning which was behind such a unilateral action."

In 1986 Kerry indicated he was against Reagan's bombing of Libya after the Libyan bombing of a Berlin disco had killed two American servicemen. "Our response was not proportional...the fact that the bombing resulted in the deaths of at least 17 civilians certainly undermined the administration's own justification for the raid...The fact that we are not going to solve the problem of terrorism with this kind of retaliation." He called

for diplomatic and economic steps. The French apparently had the same position as Kerry and blocked the United States from flying over French air space thus forcing our pilots to fly several additional hours and hundreds of extra miles.

While the left has a fixation with multilateral consultation, international approval and limiting American action to those others approve is actually a distinct minority viewpoint. By better than three to one (70% to 20%) Americans believe a pro-American point of view is good (Pew Research Center 2003).

COMBATTING TERRORISM

Kerry's position on international terrorism has historically been to treat it as a crime problem and a problem of hunting down individuals rather than an issue of war and one requiring defeating a worldwide insurgency.

Kerry has always opposed the death penalty for domestic crime and in 1988 he extended that opposition to the death penalty to protecting cop killers and drug dealers (October 1988).

When Leon Klinghoffer was killed in his wheelchair during the Achille Lauro hijacking by Abu Nidal (who then went to Baghdad and survived for over a decade as a guest of Saddam Hussein), Kerry opposed efforts to apply the death penalty to terrorists (October 26, 1989).

Kerry again opposed the death penalty for terrorists on February 20, 1991.

Kerry again voted against the death penalty for terrorists on July 28, 1993.

Even after 9/11 Kerry has emphasized the law enforcement over the war aspects of the Al Qaeda insurgency: "Kerry characterized the war on terror as predominantly an intelligence gathering and law enforcement operation. "It's basically a manhunt." (*Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, 2/12/04).

Even though Kerry asserts terrorism is an intelligence and law enforcement problem, his record has been one of being anti-intelligence and anti-law enforcement as well as anti-defense.

He has voted to cut the FBI (9/29/95).

He proposed a five year cut in the intelligence budget (9/29/95) after the World Trade Center bombing.

Kerry proposed Intelligence spending cuts totaling \$7.5 billion. Even Democrats opposed him.

Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ) said Kerry's 1994 amendment to cut intelligence would "close our eyes and ears" to gathering threats. "We have to stay ready. It makes no sense

for us to close our eyes and ears to developments around the world which could ultimately save U.S. lives and resources." (Sen. Dennis DeConcini [D-AZ], *Congressional Record*, 2/10/94, p. S1360)

Sen. Daniel Inouye (D-HI) said Kerry's proposed cut "would severely hamper" intelligence efforts. "Madam President, the intelligence budget has already been cut by almost 18 percent over the past 2 years. An additional reduction of \$1 billion would severely hamper the intelligence community's ability to provide decision makers and policymakers with information on matters of vital concern to this country." (Sen. Daniel Inouye [D-HI], *Congressional Record*, 2/10/94, pp. S1330-S1332)

Inouye also said Kerry's amendment would leave our troops vulnerable to attack. "Madam President, if we expect the 1 percent of our nation to risk their lives and stand in harm's way, the least we can do is to provide them with all of the resources necessary so that they can carry out their mission and get home to their loved ones. We cannot do any less. This amendment would take away their protection, and I am not prepared to do that." (Sen. Daniel Inouye [D-HI], *Congressional Record*, 2/10/94, pp. S1330-S1332)

Kerry has been for weakness and American timidity whether you define terrorism as a military problem, an intelligence problem, or a law enforcement problem.

GOOD JUDGEMENT AND CLEAR THINKING; KERRY ON ARAFAT AND ISRAEL

One of the best examples of Kerry's leftwing view of the world is his description of Arafat in his 1997 book, *The New War*. He described Arafat's "transformation from outlaw to statesman" as a model for other terrorist leaders to follow.

After six more years of Arafat's support of terrorism and 1,000 dead Israelis from terrorist attacks (the equivalent of over 40,000 dead Americans in comparative population terms), the Israelis decided to build a fence separating themselves from the terrorists.

Kerry has had two precisely opposite reactions to the Israeli fence.

In October 2003 Kerry said the fence "is a barrier to peace."

In February 2004 Kerry said the fence is "a legitimate act of self defense."

This is typical of the unreliable and uncertain policies of weakness and submission to international organizations which have characterized three decades of Kerry's statements about international relations.

TEST TWO: WHAT KIND OF COUNTRY WILL WE BE?

This topic breaks into several components. The first is the centrality of our Creator to defining rights in America (to use the language of the Declaration of Independence's "we

are endowed by our Creator with certain inalienable rights among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness”).

THE CENTRALITY OF OUR CREATOR FOR MOST AMERICANS THE CASE OF THE PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

More than nine out of every ten Americans (91%) want to keep “under God” in the Pledge of Allegiance. Less than one in ten (8%) do not want to say “under God” (Gallup Poll April 2004).

If America is a free country then there should be (and are) constitutional mechanisms for stopping appointed lawyers from outlawing the Pledge of Allegiance in what would be an act of Judicial tyranny. In fact, as Larry Kramer’s *The People Themselves: Popular Constitutionalism and Judicial Review* states, there is clear historic precedent for the Legislative and Executive branches to impose on the Judicial branch the people’s views of the Constitution. Kramer is the Dean at Stanford Law School and his book is a thorough refutation of the theory of Judicial Supremacy. Kramer asserts the Warren Court beginning in 1958 was trying to “manufacture” judicial supremacy when clearly *Marbury v. Madison* asserted no such power.

Kramer notes that the Federalists tried to dominate the Courts after the Jeffersonians won the election of 1800. The new President would not be sworn in until March in that era and so the Federalists more than doubled the number of Federal Circuit Court judges (from 17 to 35), appointed and got Senate approval of their 18 new Judges between the election and the inauguration of Thomas Jefferson.

The Jeffersonians were totally unimpressed with this effort to thwart the popular will by hiding power in the Judicial branch. Jefferson warned that judicial supremacy would be rule by an oligarchy. The Jeffersonians promptly abolished the new judgeships and 18 Federalist federal judges found themselves without a job.

Thomas Jefferson was quite clear about the unacceptability of the judges claiming to be the final, supreme interpreters of the Constitution: "You seem...to consider the judges as the ultimate arbiters of all constitutional questions; a very dangerous doctrine indeed, and one which would place us under the despotism of an oligarchy... The Constitution has erected no such single tribunal."

It is the duty of those who would represent the American people to find mechanisms for our generation which block appointed lawyers from stripping from the American people freedoms and values they believe in. In no area have the Courts gone further astray than in attacking the right of the American people to have their Creator in the public arena.

GOD, VALUES, HISTORY, AND THE PUBLIC ARENA:
HOW LEFTWING JUDGES ARE TRYING TO CREATE
A SECULAR AMERICA WITH THE ELITE MEDIA'S SUPPORT

To understand how big the gap is between the overwhelming majority of Americans and the leftwing elites (a point overwhelmingly made by Samuel Huntington in his new book, *Who Are We?*) consider the following examples:

Belief in God: 92% yes, 8% no (Gallup poll, February 2003).

A belief in God is very important or extremely important issue for a true American: 68% believe so (Huntington).

By nearly three to one (74%), Americans oppose removing all references to God from oaths of public office (Huntington).

Nearly three out of four (73%) approve of school prayer before athletic games (Huntington).

More than three out of four (78%) favor allowing children to pray on school grounds (Huntington). Kerry opposed a voluntary school prayer amendment (9/10/85) saying it was "a first step" to "establish an official religion in this country." And he went on to say that it would "tear down the wall of separation and attack the principles which Jefferson espoused" (*Congressional Record* S11148, 9/10/85).

In direct contrast to Kerry's stated views, by 71 to 24 Americans believe that the Constitution promises freedom OF religion, not freedom FROM religion (Pew July 2003).

By 85 to 15 Americans say religion is very or fairly important in their lives. Only 15% say it is unimportant (Gallup June, 2004).

Clearly the leftwing elites in the news media, in the Judiciary, and in academe, have been advocating an America which is far more secular and far more hostile to religion than the beliefs of most Americans.

This 50 year process of lawyer-imposed change further explains why a handful of lawyers changing the definition of marriage is so resented by a majority of Americans. While there is some doubt about the right solution, it is a fact that by a large margin Americans favor preserving traditional marriage between a man and a woman even if some would accept a legal union for partnerships outside traditional marriage. The hostility is deepened by the sense that once again a handful of lawyers (in this case four in Massachusetts) have overruled the American people. They have bypassed the Constitutional process of elections, legislatures, and Presidents or Governors having to resolve issues of the popular will in favor of a handful of leftwing elitists imposing change against the values of the American people.

As Larry Kramer outlines in *The People Themselves*, this new leftwing elitist judicial supremacy is entirely a product of the last 50 years and is an aberration from the American historic tradition. Americans are overwhelmingly opposed to the most anti-religious decisions of the Courts but up until now neither political party has been willing to represent the popular majority against the elitist left on the bench.

The bills to block any judicial review of the Pledge of Allegiance that Senator John Kyl and Congressman Todd Akin have introduced in the Senate and House may be the first big step toward breaking the Judicial Supremacy theory and returning to a more popular constitutionalism.

THE LEFT'S HYSTERIA ABOUT CONSERVATIVE FEDERAL JUDGES

Precisely because the left knows it cannot win an honest, open debate about values among the American people, it has withdrawn more and more into two anti-democratic institutions. It has relied on filing lawsuits and getting leftwing judgments to move the system in directions it knows the American people would never approve in an election. It has also used the 60 vote requirement of the Senate to block the President and the majority from appointing the kind of conservative judges who would reject the left's elitist claims to redefine America against the values of the American people.

The American people have to insist on their right to have judges who reflect their values and to have the Congress and the President take whatever steps are necessary to protect them from leftwing judges who would abuse their position to impose antidemocratic ideas and anti-American values.

If the Left is determined to block judges who reflect the values of most Americans then this has to become a defining crisis both of the Senate and of the election process.

The current position of the Kerry-Edwards team and their leftwing allies is that no Catholic, Orthodox Jewish, or fundamentalist Protestant nominee for judge who would follow their religious beliefs should be confirmed to serve on the Federal Appeals Court or Supreme Court.

This is a position of such stunning anti-religious bias that if the American people understood it they would virtually eliminate the Senate Democrats as a party as the Jeffersonians decisively defeated the Federalists.

TEST THREE: WILL OUR CHILDREN AND NEW AMERICANS LEARN THE VALUES AND HISTORY OF BEING AMERICAN?

This is actually a key test in the survival of America as a free society.

America's DNA is not geographic nor racial. America is defined by a cultural-historical pattern that has allowed more people or more ethnic and linguistic backgrounds to work together and govern themselves than any other society in history.

The American system of self government, creativity, and productivity is actually very complex and takes a while to learn.

For the last three generations there has been a growing bias in the academic community, the news media and the Hollywood elite against teaching America as a civilization and ensuring that new Americans—whether children or immigrants—have an opportunity to learn to be effective.

This left bias against America is a very important and deeply under-noticed weakness of the left. The majorities who disagree with this anti-American, politically correct, multicultural approach are massive. However, the viciousness of the left's leadership and the intensity of academic and news media pressure to intimidate those who would speak up for American history, American values, and American traditions has left the American people with very few leaders willing to fight what should be an overwhelmingly popular fight.

Consider the following examples.

First, most Americans are very proud of their country. By 45 to 1 Americans are either extremely or very proud to be an American (91%) while 2% are not proud (ABC/Washington Post poll, September 2002). Obviously Michael Moore and many of his 'contempt for America' friends fit into the 2%. Moore asserted that the U.S. "is known for bringing sadness and misery to places around the globe. ... It's all part of the same ball of wax, right? The oil companies, Israel, Halliburton." They get a lot of press from admiring elite media but they do not get much agreement from the country.

Second, the public believes "schools should make a special effort to teach new immigrants about American values" (88% agree) (Public Agenda September 21, 1998).

Third, parents agree that schools should focus on teaching students how to be American. When asked "what should be a bigger priority: teaching students to be proud of being part of this country and learning the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, or focusing on instilling pride in their ethnic group's identity and heritage?" (Public Agenda September 21, 1998):

79% of all parents chose pride and learning in America. 18% chose their group.

80% of Hispanic parents chose focusing on America. 17% chose their group.

73% of all foreign born parents chose learning about America. 23% chose their group.

66% of African American parents chose learning about America. 29% chose their group.

Thus even in the weakest group the support for emphasizing America was better than two to one.

Americans are so concerned about teaching America's language and culture that by 65 to 26 they believe schools should help new immigrants absorb America's language and culture even if their native language and culture are neglected (Public Agenda September 21, 1998).

English is still seen as essential and 81% of all Americans believe immigrants should learn English (Huntington).

EDUCATION REFORM

Americans not only favor their schools teaching American history, culture and language, they also favor the schools being much tougher. By 66 to 13 Americans favor increasing by 50% the number of hours children spend in school on education basics such as math, science, history and English (Public Opinion Strategies 1998/1999).

Americans are also prepared to insist that teachers be adequately prepared and be held accountable. By 82 to 14 Americans would require teachers to pass a standard test before they could be allowed to teach. By 81 to 9 Americans would require teachers to be retested and certified every five years. By 71 to 16 Americans would give principals power to fire bad teachers without a long wait. By 85 to 8 Americans favor an education reform package that includes tougher teacher standards and more local control over schools and expands the use of computers and new technology in the classroom. By 80 to 12 Americans favor tougher teacher standards and more local control over schools (same as the previous but without the computers and new technology). (All of these are Public Opinion Strategies 1998/1999).

Americans really want education focused in the classroom. By 80% to 10% Americans favor requiring 90% of all state education spending to go into the classroom (Public Opinion Strategies 1998/99). This strategy, even if only partially implemented, would increase teachers' salaries at no cost to the taxpayer.

Many Americans would go even further in expanding educational opportunity. By 64% to 33% Americans would expand charter schools and school choice programs to give parents and their children more options to attend a high quality school that best meets their need (Public Opinion Strategies February, 2004). This would clearly be deeply opposed by most of the left-liberal establishment.

Americans are also willing to pay more for a better education system. By 79% to 20% they would increase state funding for elementary and secondary education to continue to

improve student performance and give schools the resources they need (Public Opinion Strategies February 2004).

Republicans have done some very popular things in education reform but do not talk about them. For example, 82% of all Americans favor a savings account similar to an IRA that would allow parents to save tax-free for their children's college education ((% oppose) (public Opinion Strategies 1998/99). Republicans already passed this and it is now law but no one gives President Bush and the congressional Republicans credit and they do not remind people of their achievement.

THE COMING CLASH BETWEEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE LEFT-LIBERAL EDUCATION ESTABLISHMENT

It is clear that in virtually all of these areas of American history, American culture, English as a language, and the need for dramatic reforms in the education system, the left-liberal establishment will bitterly oppose these changes.

What is needed is a willingness to arouse, focus and organize the 2 to 1 and up to 9 to 1 majorities that exist for Patriotic Education and effective education.

THE WORK ETHIC AS PART OF AMERICAN CULTURE

To a degree, the left-liberal establishment has never understood that the vast majority of Americans believe in work and understand we are endowed with the right to 'pursue' happiness -- but that there are no guarantees we will find it.

By more than 17 to 1 (87% to 5%) Americans believe we should limit the benefits for able-bodied welfare recipients to two years and require them to do community work, attend school, and participate in a job training program (Public Opinion Strategies 1998/1999).

By 4 to 1 (69% to 19%) Americans believe able bodied people on welfare should be required to work in community and would allow cities to pay them slightly less than minimum wage because they continue to receive other benefits (Public Opinion Strategies 1998/1999).

Americans also believe faith based efforts might be effective in helping the poor. By 72% to 26% Americans support expanding state financial support of faith based charitable organizations to help provide critical services to children, seniors, battered women, the disabled, the homeless and other at risk groups (Public Opinion Strategies February 2004).

John Kerry is opposed to the vast majority of Americans on work requirements. Kerry opposed work requirements for welfare in June 1988, June 1993, September 1995 and July 1996. Americans who favor a work requirement outnumber leftists like Kerry who oppose work requirements by 17 to 1.

For the last three years the left-liberal establishment in the Senate has bottled up welfare reform.

When 87% of the American people are with you and only 5% are opposed it is worth a week or more of the Senate's time to make the Democrats prove they oppose work requirements. This should be a major priority for September and would put Tom Daschle in an extraordinarily difficult position.

PATRIOTIC EDUCATION: PROTECTING THE AMERICAN FLAG

Americans generally are proud of their flag. By 69% to 29% Americans display a flag.

A majority of Americans are deeply offended by actions which disgrace, demean and destroy the flag. 79% think it should be illegal to burn it (ABC/Washington Post July 12, 1998).

That majority of Americans strongly supports an amendment to protect the flag (63% in 1999 according to Gallup) and would support a motion to simply strip the Court of the ability to protect flag burners.

John Kerry has not only voted three times against an amendment to protect the American flag but he has gone a step even further to the left and viciously attacked those who would protect the flag.

In what one reporter described as "perhaps the strongest speech against the amendment" Kerry compared those protecting the flag to "Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, China, Cuba, Syria, and Sudan." Kerry went on to assert that with a flag burning amendment "we could join this list of dictatorial, authoritarian, and discredited regimes."

The gap between traditional Americans and a presidential candidate of the left could hardly be wider.

TEST FOUR: HOW WILL WE BE ABLE TO CREATE PROSPERITY AND JOBS IN THE 21ST CENTURY?

Americans know that it is very important to continue developing better jobs and to insource better jobs for America. Keeping American jobs is very or fairly important to 85% of all Americans. Only 14% say keeping American jobs is not too important.

Burdened by their personal injury lawyer allies, their labor union work rules focused allies, their high tax ideology, their support for bureaucrats over entrepreneurs, the left focuses on hiding from the competition in the world market through economic isolationism and stopping outsourcing rather than on economic growth and maximizing insourcing and the creation of new jobs.

Historically, the left's strategy of economic isolationism has been a disaster for Europe. The level of structural unemployment has been high in countries like Germany. The growth rate in productivity, jobs and income have all lagged the United States.

There is a strategy of lower taxes, more entrepreneurial creativity, favoring small businesses, and focusing on creating new jobs which could have a very broad base of popular support. John Kerry and John Edwards are wrong on many of the key elements of this strategy.

People have a deep sense that Union leaders have unfair power and 69% of the American people favor stopping unions from automatically deducting money for political contributions and forcing unions to use only voluntary donations while only 12% disagree (Public Opinion Strategies 1998/99).

TAXES

Americans instinctively believe that lower taxes can help increase economic growth. In 2004 by better than two to one (67% to 26%) Americans favored reducing their state income taxes so they could keep more of what they earned and have more money to boost the state economy (Public Opinion Strategies February 2004).

By better than two to one (65% to 27%), Americans favor the complete elimination of the estate tax (National Annenberg Election Survey 2004).

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, JOBS AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Overwhelmingly (83% to 16%), Americans believe there is an opportunity to use science and technology to invest in clean energy technologies both to protect the environment and to create new jobs through the development of these new technologies. Much of this strategy is being implemented in President Bush's hydrogen program and in the Energy bill which is stalled by the left in the Senate. Republicans have understated and underemphasized how much of this they are committed to and how big an opportunity this is in the environment, in jobs, and in national security.

The American people's commitment to the environment is deep and powerful. It is the major areas in which Republicans have failed to communicate the programs and ideas which are responsive to the American people.

By better than 4 to 1 (81% to 18%), the American people favor toughening environmental regulations and protections to protect against polluters and preserve the water we drink and the air we breathe (Public Opinion Strategies February 2004).

By better than 7 to 1 (88% to 12%), Americans want to develop clean, renewable energy resources to protect the environment (Public Opinion Strategies February 2004).

The Bush Administration and Congressional Republicans actually have a number of programs and ideas which are responsive to this demand but Republicans have simply not been in the habit of talking about the environment. They clearly should address it at every opportunity.

Americans really believe science and technology are keys to a better future. By 72% to 27%, Americans favor providing tax benefits to research and biotechnology companies to entice these companies to their state to create more high paying jobs (Public Opinion Strategies February 2004).

THE COST OF PERSONAL INJURY LAWYERS

There is a substantial consensus that personal injury lawyers sue too much and make too much.

By nearly 7 to 1 (75% to 11%), Americans would limit the amount of money personal injury lawyers can claim to no more than 15% of money awarded (Public Opinion Strategies 1998/99).

Americans also see a relationship between too many personal injury lawsuits and doctors being driven out of the practice of medicine. By almost 3 to 1 (71% to 26%), Americans would limit monetary damages in medical malpractice cases to keep doctors from leaving the state (Public Opinion Strategies February 2004).

HEALTH FOR THOSE STILL WORKING

Americans want the uninsured to have access to insurance but they prefer a private sector tax credit approach.

By almost 7 to 1 (85% to 13%), Americans would cut taxes on employers who offer health care benefits to their employees to reduce the problem for the uninsured (Public Opinion Strategies February 2004).

If you add in the issue of helping small businesses stay competitive by giving them tax breaks for insuring their employees, the support improves slightly to 87% to 12% (Public Opinion Strategies February 2004).

TEST FIVE:

HOW WILL WE MAKE SURE THAT THE BABY BOOMERS AND THEIR CHILDREN HAVE GOOD RETIREMENTS AND GOOD HEALTH?

This is a topic where the country is far ahead of the politicians. Americans know the baby boomers are heading toward retirement. Americans instinctively understand the challenges of Social Security and Medicare. They are ready for much more change than the politicians are prepared to discuss.

Despite the end of the 'dot com' bubble and several years of weak stock markets, the American people favor allowing workers to invest in some Social Security contributions in the stock market by 57% to 36%. Considering the scale of change involved and the historic sense that the topic could not even be discussed, this is an extraordinary number. All the evidence is that the supporters will increase every year and the opponents will decline.

These numbers in the face of the stock market of the last four years is a real vindication of President Bush's decision in 1999 to campaign on personal Social Security accounts. This is not a topic Republicans should hide from. This is a significant part of their future.

On Medicare the country is overwhelmingly committed to helping seniors. By 9 to 1 (81% to 7%) Americans want to provide funds for poorer seniors to help pay for prescription drug costs (Public Opinion Strategies 1998/1999).

Ironically the Republicans actually delivered on this goal in 2003 but they are so unused to taking credit for improving a social program that the liberals have done a better job lying about the Medicare drug bill than the Republicans have done telling the truth.

If Republicans communicate accurately what they have done for seniors they stand to gain significant support and to further isolate the left.

**FROM BUREAUCRATIC PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION TO
ENTREPRENEURIAL PUBLIC MANAGEMENT:
GETTING GOVERNMENT TO MOVE AT THE SPEED AND EFFECTIVENESS
OF THE INFORMATION AGE**

By Newt Gingrich

It is an objective fact that government today is incapable of moving at the speed of the information age.

It is an objective fact that government today is incapable of running a lean, agile operation like the logistics supply chain system that has made Wal-Mart so successful or the recent IBM logistics supply chain innovations which IBM estimates now saves it over \$3 billion a years while improving productivity and profits.

There is a practical reason government cannot function at the speed of the information age.

Modern government as we know it is an intellectual product of the civil service reform movement of the 1880s.

Think of the implications of that reality.

A movement that matured over 120 years ago was a movement developed in a period when male clerks used quill pens and dipped them into ink bottles.

The processes, checklists, and speed appropriate to a pre-telephone, pre-typewriter era of government bureaucracy are clearly hopelessly obsolete.

Simply imagine walking into a government office today and seeing a gas light, a quill pen, a bottle of ink for dipping the pen, a tall clerk's desk, and stool. The very image of the office would communicate how obsolete the office was. If you saw someone actually trying to run a government program in that office you would know instantly it was a hopeless task.

Yet the unseen mental assumptions of modern bureaucracy are fully as out of date and obsolete, fully as hopeless at keeping up with the modern world as that office would be.

Today we have a combination of information age and industrial age equipment in a government office being slowed to the pace of an agricultural age mentality of processes, checklists, limitations, and assumptions.

This obsolete, process-oriented system of bureaucracy is made even slower and more risk averse by the attitudes of the Inspector Generals, the Congress, and the news media. These three groups are actually mutually reinforcing in limiting energy, entrepreneurship, and creativity.

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This document is an expansion on a theme introduced in "Winning the Future," by Newt Gingrich, published by Regnery Publishing, January, 2005.

The Inspector Generals are products of a scandal and misdeed oriented mindset which would bankrupt any corporation. The Inspector Generals communicate what government employees cannot do and what they cannot avoid. The emphasis is overwhelmingly on a petty dotting the i's and crossing the t's mentality which leads to good bookkeeping and slow, unimaginative, and expensive implementation.

There are no Inspector Generals seeking to reward imagination, daring risks, aggressive leadership, over achievement.

Similarly, the members of Congress and their staffs are quick to hold hearings and issues press releases about mistakes in public administration but there are remarkably few efforts to identify what works and what should be streamlined and modernized.

Every hearing about a scandal reminds the civil service to keep its head down. Similarly, the news media will uncover, exaggerate and put the spotlight on any potential scandal but it will do remarkably little to highlight, to praise, and to recognize outstanding breakthroughs in getting more done more quickly with fewer resources.

Finally, the very nature of the personnel system further leads to timidity and mediocrity. No amount of extra effort can be rewarded and no amount of incompetent but honest inaction seems punishable. The failure of the system to reinforce success and punish failure leads to a steady drift toward mediocrity and risk avoidance.

The result is an unimaginative, red tape ridden, process-dominated system which moves slower than the industrial era and has no hope of matching the speed, accuracy and agility of the information age.

The Wal-Mart model is that "everyday low prices are a function of everyday low cost." The Wal-Mart people know that they cannot charge over time less than it costs them. Therefore if they can have the lowest cost structure in retail they can sustain the lowest price structure.

This same principle applies to government. The better you use your resources the more things you can do. The faster you can respond to reality and develop an effective implementation of the right policy the more you can achieve.

An information age government that operated with the speed and efficiency of modern supply chain logistics could do a better job of providing public goods and services for less money.

Moving government into the information age is a key component of America being able to operate in the real time 24/7 worldwide information system of the modern world.

Moving government into the information age is absolutely vital if the military and intelligence communities are to be capable of buying and using new technologies as rapidly as the information age is going to produce them.

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Moving government into the information age is unavoidable if police and drug enforcement are to be able to move at the speed of their unencumbered private sector opponents in organized crime, slave trading and drug dealing.

Moving government into the information age is a key component of America being able to meet its educational goals and save those who have been left out of the successful parts of our society.

Moving government into the information age is a key component of America being able to develop new energy sources and create a cleaner environment with greater biodiversity.

Moving government into the information age is a key component of America being able to transform the health system into a 21st Century Intelligent Health System.

This process of developing an information age government system is going to be one of the greatest challenges of the next decade.

It is not enough to think that you can simply move the new developments in the private sector into the government.

As Peter Drucker warned thirty years ago in *The Age of Discontinuities*, the government is different. There are much higher standards of honesty and fairness in government than in the private sector. There are legitimately higher standards for using the public's money wisely. There are legitimate demands for greater transparency and accountability. The public really does have a right to know about actions which in a totally private company would be legitimately shielded from outside scrutiny. There will inevitably be Congressional and news media oversight of public activities in a way that would not happen in the purely privately held venture.

All of these factors require us to develop a new model of effective government and not merely copy whatever the private sector is doing well. That new model can be thought of as Entrepreneurial Public Management.

ENTREPRENEURIAL PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

The term Entrepreneurial Public Management was chosen to deliberately distinguish it from Bureaucratic Public Administration. We need two terms to distinguish between the new information age system of entrepreneurial management and the inherited agricultural age system of bureaucratic administration.

The one constant is the term public. It is important to recognize that there are legitimate requirements of public activity and public responsibility which will be just as true in this new model as they were in the older model. Simply throwing the doors open to market oriented, entrepreneurial incentives with information age systems will not get the job done. The system we are devel-

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oping has to meet the higher standards of accountability, prudence, and honesty which are inherent in a public activity.

We have to start with a distinguishing set of terms because we are describing a fundamental shift in thinking, in goals, in measurements, and in organization. Changes this profound always begins with language. People learn new ideas by first learning a language and then learning a glossary of how to use that new language. That is the heart of developing new models of thought and behavior.

Shifting the way we conceptualize, organize and run public institutions will require new models for education and recruitment as well as for the day to day behavior.

We must shift from professional public bureaucrats to professional public entrepreneurs. We must shift from administrators to managers. The metrics will be profoundly different. The rules will be profoundly different. The expectations will be profoundly different.

A first step would be for Schools of Public Administration to change their titles to Schools of Entrepreneurial Public Management. This is more than a shallow gimmicky word trick. Changing the name of the institutions that attract and educate those who would engage in public service will require those schools to ask themselves what the difference in curriculum and in the faculty should be.

The President, Governors, Mayors, and County Commissioners should appoint advisory committees from the business community and from schools of business to help think through and develop principles of entrepreneurial public management.

PRINCIPLES OF ENTREPRENEURIAL PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

This is a topic which is just beginning to evolve. Over the next few years it will lead to books, courses, and even entire programs. Obviously it can only be dealt with briefly in this paper. For more information and for developments since this paper, go to www.newt.org and click on "white-papers" and then entrepreneurial public management. Updates will be at the top of the document.

The following are simply an introductory set of principles:

1. Every system should define itself by its vision of success. Unless you know what a department or agency is trying to accomplish (and has been assigned to accomplish by the President and the Congress), you cannot measure how well it is doing, how to structure the agency, how to train the employees so they can be an effective team. Definition of success precedes everything else.
2. Planning has to always be in a deep-mid-near model. For government deep is probably ten years, mid is about three years and near is next year. Unless the agency plans back from the

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desired future it is impossible to distinguish between activity and progress. In Washington and most state capitals far too much time is spent on today's headline and today's press conference and not nearly enough time is spent preparing for tomorrow's achievement.

3. Every agency and every project has to be planned with a clear process of:
 - defining the vision of success
 - defining the strategies which will achieve that vision
 - defining the projects (definable, delegatable achievements see below) necessary to implement the strategies
 - defining the tasks which must be completed to achieve the projects;
 - turning to the customers, the experts, and the decision makers and following a process of listen-learn-help-lead to find out whether your definition of success and definition of implementation fits their understanding. This process properly used turns every person into a consultant helping improve your planning and your execution.

4. The process of defining and managing projects will require profound changes in the laws governing personnel, procurement, etc. Projects are the key building block of entrepreneurial public management. They permit the senior leader to delegate measures of accomplishment rather than measures of activity. A simple distinction is between asking bureaucracies to engage in cooking and asking someone to prepare dinner for 12 people at 8 o'clock tomorrow night for \$11 a piece and making it Mexican food. The bureaucratic public administration request for cooking allows the bureaucracy to report on activities (we are cooking every day, we are studying cooking, we are having a cooking seminar) without any metric of achievement. The process of defining achievements and delegating them is virtually impossible under today's personnel, procurement and spending laws.

A clear example of the difference can be found by studying the division commanders' use of commander's emergency money in Iraq with the Coalition Provision Authority process. One division commander told me they could use the emergency money to order cars from a local Iraqi and that Iraqi could procure the cars in Turkey and drive them to the local town faster than they could process the paperwork in Baghdad to begin the process of purchasing through the CPA. The Congress and the President agreed to spend \$18 billion rebuilding Iraq and ten months later \$16 billion was still tied up in paperwork. Only the commander's emergency money was being spent in a timely, effective way. The same experience happened in Afghanistan where the United States Agency for International Development could not process the paperwork fast enough to meet the requirements of rebuilding Afghan civil society. One commander said that in rebuilding a society after a war "dollars are to rebuilding what ammunition is to a firefight." If the ammunition for the war were as constrained and slow as the dollars in reconstruction we would lose every war.

Getting the system to move at the speed of wartime requirements and at the speed of information age processes requires a totally new model of delegating massively to project managers who are measured by their achievements not by the details of process reporting. This

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will be the most profound change in shifting from bureaucratic public administration to entrepreneurial public management and it will require substantial change in law, in culture, and in congressional and executive leadership expectation. To be sustained it will also have to be understood by reporters and analysts so the news media is focused on the same metrics as the leadership.

5. At every level leaders have to sift out the vital from the nice. In the information age there is always more to do than can possibly get done. One of the keys to effective leadership and to successful projects is to distinguish the vital from the useful.

A useful way to think of this is that lions cannot afford to hunt chipmunks because even if they catch them they will starve to death. Lions are hyper-carnivores who have to hunt antelopes and zebras to survive. Every leader has to learn to distinguish every morning between antelopes and chipmunks by focusing on success as defined in a deep-mid-near time horizon then allowing that definition of success to define the antelope that really have to be achieved in order for the project to work.

6. An effective information age system has to focus on the outside world and “move to the sound of the guns.” In the bureaucratic public administration model which was developed at the cusp of the shift from an agrarian to an industrial society the key to focused achievement was to define your silo of responsibility and stick within that silo. As long as you were doing your job within that system of accountability you were succeeding even if the larger system were collapsing or failing.

In the information age this internally oriented approach is doomed to fail. There are too many things happening too rapidly for people to be effective staying focused only on their own system. As Peter Drucker pointed out, in his classic, *The Effective Executive*, effective leaders realize that all the important impacts occur outside the organization and the organization exists for the purpose of achievements measured only by outside occurrences. Since the world is so much larger and so much faster moving than our particular activity we have to constantly be paying attention to the outside world.

The military expression of this is the term OODA-loop. In the modern military the winning side Observes a fact, Orients itself to the meaning of that fact, Decides what to do, Acts and then loops back to Observe the new situation faster than its competitor. The winning team is always more AGILE and AGILITY is a vital characteristic for winning systems in the information age. This process is characterized by Dr. Andy von Eschenbach of the National Cancer Institute as the ability to discover-develop-deliver as rapidly as possible. However you describe these capabilities, they are clearly not the natural pattern of administrative public bureaucracy. They have to become the natural rhythm of entrepreneurial public management if government is to meet the requirements of the information age.

7. When dealing with this scale of complexity and change people have to be educated into a model of doctrine so they understand what is expected and how to meet the expectations.

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We greatly underestimate how complex modern systems are and how much work it takes to understand what is expected, what habits and patterns work, how to relate to other members of the team. The more complex the information age becomes and the faster it evolves, the more vital it is to have very strong team building capabilities so people can come together and work on projects with a common language, common system, and common sense of accountability. Developing this kind of common understanding is what the military calls doctrine. Every system has to have a doctrinal base and the team members will be dramatically more effective if they have a shared understanding of the doctrine of their team.

8. The better educated into doctrine, the simpler the orders have to be. The less educated someone is into the common doctrine, the more complete and detailed the orders have to be. With a very mature team that has thoroughly mastered the doctrine and applied it in several situations, remarkably few instructions are required. In a brand new team the orders may have to be very detailed. The entrepreneurial public management system has to have the flexibility to deal with the entire spectrum of knowledge and capability this implies.
9. The information age requires a constant focus on team building, team development, and team leadership. It is the wagon train and not the mountain man that best characterizes the information age. People have to work together to get complex projects completed in this modern era. It takes a while to build teams. There should be a lot more thought given to changing personnel laws so leaders can arrive in a new assignment with a core team of people they are used to working with. Admiral Ed Giambastiani of the joint Forces Command (which has responsibility for pioneering information age transformation in the military) has captured the distinction in modern sophisticated team requirements. He has a single chart that shows the growth in maturity towards truly interdependent teams. These teams are integrated, collaborative, inherently joint, capabilities based and network-centric. Entrepreneurial public management will require similar standards of sophisticated organization and teamwork for it to work at its optimum.
10. Information technology combined with the explosion in communications (including wireless communications) create the underlying capabilities that should be at the heart of transforming government systems from bureaucratic public administration to entrepreneurial public management. The power of computing and communications to capture, analyze and convey information with stunning accuracy and speed and at ever declining costs creates enormous opportunities for rethinking how to deliver goods and services. These new capabilities have been engines of change in the private sector. They are the heart of Wal-Mart's ability to turn "everyday low price is a function of everyday low cost" into a realistic implementation strategy. They are at the heart of the revolution in logistics supply chain management. They are this generation's most powerful reason for being sure we can expect more choices of higher quality at lower cost.

We have only scratched the surface of the potential. The Library of Congress now has a digital library with millions of documents available 24 hours a day 7 days a week for free to anyone in the world who wants to access them through the internet. It is possible for every

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school in the country to have the largest library in the world by simply having one laptop accessing the internet. This is a totally different kind of system for learning. NASA is now connecting to schools to allow students to actually direct telescopes and search for stars from their classroom. This is an extraordinary extension of research opportunities to young scientists and young explorers. The potential to use the computer, the internet, and communications (again including wireless) has only begun to be tapped. The more rapidly government leaders study and learn the lessons of these new potentials the more rapidly we will invent a 21st century information age governing system which uses entrepreneurial public management to produce more choices of higher quality at lower cost.

11. Creating a citizen centered government using the power of the computer and the internet. The agrarian-industrial model of government saw the citizen as a client of limited capabilities and the government employee as the center of knowledge, decision and power. It was a bureaucrat-centered model of governance (much as the agrarian-industrial model of health was a doctor-centered model and the agrarian-industrial school was a teacher-centered model). The information age makes it possible to develop citizen centered models of access and information.

The Weather Channel and Weather.com are a good example of this new approach. The Weather Channel gathers and analyzes the data but it is available to you when you want it and in the form you need. You do not have to access all the weather in the world to discover the weather for your neighborhood tomorrow. You do not have to get anyone's permission to access the system 24 hours a day 7 days a week. Google is another system of customer centric organization that is a model for government. You access Google when you want to and you ask it the question that interests you. Google may give you an answer that has over a million possibilities but you only have to use the one or two options that satiate your interest.

Similarly Amazon.com and E-Bay are models of systems geared to your interests on your terms when you want to access them. Compare these systems with the current school room, the courthouse which is open from 8 to 5, the appointment at the doctor's office on the doctor's terms, the college class only available when the professor deigns to show up. Government is still mired in the pre-computer, pre-communications age. A key component of entrepreneurial public management is to ask every morning what can be done to use computers, the internet, CDs, DVDs, teleconferencing, and other modern innovations to recenter the government on the citizen.

12. A customer centered, citizen centered model of governance would start with the concept that as a general rule being on line is better than being in line. It would both put traditional bureaucratic functions on the internet as is happening in many states (paying taxes, ordering license tags, etc.) but it would also begin to rethink major functions of government in terms of the new internet based system.

The information age makes possible a lot more citizen self help as defined by the citizen's needs. If learning is individually centered and adapted to the needs of each person, and available when they need it and on the topics of skills they need, then how would that learning system operate? If prisoners out on parole were monitored by wireless information age technology to ensure they were going to work, taking their classes, staying out of off limits areas, etc., then how would the new model parole system operate? If migrant children could be connected to an on-line, videoconferencing and teleconferencing learning system so they had a continuity of learning experience how would that process operate? These are just some examples of how a citizen centered new model would be different from doing using information systems to improve the existing agrarian and industrial era delivery systems.

13. One of the key side effects of information technology and ubiquitous communications is the development of much flatter hierarchies and much greater connectedness across the entire system. In private business, the military, and in customer relationships, there is a much flatter system of information flow. The power of knowledge is to some extent driving out the power of the hierarchy. A networked system seems to operate very differently than the pyramid of power which has been dominant since the rise of agriculture with a few at the top giving orders to the many at the bottom. Increasingly, who knows is defining who is in charge.

Entrepreneurial public management will have a much more fluid system for shifting authority based on expertise and on identifying what knowledge needs to be applied so the right informed person can be brought in to make the decision as accurate and effective as possible. Bureaucratic public administration defined who was in the room by a system of defined authority without regard to knowledge. Entrepreneurial public management will define participation in the decisions by a hierarchy of knowledge and experience rather than a hierarchy of status and defined authority.

14. There will be a radical shift toward on line learning and on line information. In the information age people need to know so much in so many different areas and the knowledge itself keeps changing in a rapidly evolving world that it is impossible for the traditional classroom based continuing education system to keep up with modern reality. The combination of videoconferencing, on-line learning, mentoring and apprenticeships will presently create a totally different system of professional development and continuing education. Governments will shift from flying people to conferences and workshops towards having videoconferences. They will also shift from courses built around the teacher's convenience and occurring inconveniently in time and place toward on going learning opportunities that can be accessed 24/7 so people can learn when they need, what they need, and at their own convenience. This will increase the learning while decreasing the cost in both time and money.
15. Personnel mobility will be a major factor in the information age and will require profound changes in how we conceptualize a civil service. The information age creates career paths in which the most competent people move from challenging and interesting job to challenging and interesting job. A government civil service that required a lifetime commitment was

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both guaranteeing that it would not attract the most competent people and guaranteeing that it would not have the flexibility to bring in the specialists when they are needed. A new system of allowing people to move in and out of government service, to move from department to department as they are needed, to accumulate and take with them health savings accounts and pension plans, to build up seniority with each passing assignment, and to be able to rise without continuous service as long as their experience and knowledge has risen, these are the kind of changes which will be necessary for an entrepreneurial public management system to attract the kind of talent it will need in the information age. It may also make sense for different governments to agree to count the experience in other governments in assigning status and pension eligibility so people could move between governments as well as within them.

16. Outsourcing is inevitably going to be a big part of the information age. Virtually every successful private sector company uses outsourcing extensively. The ability to create competitive pressures and shift to the best provider is inherent in the outsourcing model. Applying these principles to the public sector will both save the taxpayer money and improve substantially the quality and convenience of services provided to the citizens. It is also simply a fact that in many of the most complex developments of the information age the public sector bureaucracy simply cannot attract the expertise and build the capability to manage the new systems effectively. In these cases outsourcing is the only way to bring new developments into the government.
17. Privatization is a zone that needs to be readdressed in Washington and in the states. At one time the United States was a leader in privatization but now we have fallen far behind many foreign countries. There are a number of opportunities for privatization which would help balance the budget, increase the tax rolls of future contributors to government revenue, and increase the efficiency of the services delivered to the citizen. The Thatcher model of selling some of the stock to the beneficiaries of the services dramatically reduced resistance to privatization in Britain. A similar strategy of developing an economic incentive for those most likely to object to conclude that privatization was a good thing for them personally would lower the resistance and increase the opportunity to move naturally market oriented entities off the government payroll and into the market where it belongs.
18. For activities where privatization would be wrong there is a pattern of public-private partnerships which should be examined. The Atlanta Zoo was on the verge of being discredited because the city of Atlanta bureaucracy simply could not run it effectively. Mayor Andrew Young courageously concluded that the answer was to create a public-private partnership with the Friends of the Zoo. The city would continue to own the zoo and would provide some limited funding but the Friends of the Zoo would find additional resources and would provide entrepreneurial leadership. The Friends of the Zoo then recruited Dr. Terry Maples, a brilliant professor from Georgia Tech and a natural entrepreneur and salesman. With Terry's leadership and the Friends of the Zoo's enthusiastic backing, he rapidly turned ZooAtlanta into a world class research institution and a wonderful attraction both for the families of the Atlanta area and to visitors from around the world. ZooAtlanta went from

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being an almost discredited embarrassment to an extraordinary example of a public-private partnership.

Other zoos around America have had similar experiences with new entrepreneurial leadership bringing new ideas, new excitement, and new resources to what had formerly been a government run institution. The government retains ownership of the zoo but the daily operations are under the control of the entrepreneurial association that raises the money and provides strategic guidance. The result is far more energy and creativity and a great deal more flexibility of implementation than could ever be achieved with a purely public bureaucracy. This is the model that should be applied to creating a truly national zoo in Washington where the National Zoo has suffered from the problems of a neglectful bureaucracy.

This is also a model of the kind of activities which could be used in many other areas. When something can't be privatized or outsourced the next question should be whether or not there is a useful public private partnership that might be used to accomplish the same goals with fewer taxpayer resources and more creativity, energy and flexibility.

19. As a general principle, proposals that (i) dramatically improve applying logistics supply chain management, go paperless, adapt a quality-metrics system and/or (ii) outsource or privatize, should be viewed by 3rd party independent experts with no financial interests as well as by the agency to be changed. As a general rule government agencies or department leaders faced with improvements that will shrink their work force or shrink their budget will be reluctant to say yes. There are no incentives and rewards in government for downsizing and modernizing. The senior leader and the legislative branch need third party opinions as well as the in-house review and the vendor's proposal to ensure that the maximum improvements are being implemented.
20. Create pressure for modernizing government at all levels by requiring federal and state governments to benchmark best practices every year and agree to pay no more than 10% above the least expensive, most effective programs. This approach would create a continuous pressure to have government programs in each state constantly adapting toward better outcomes at lower cost. This approach also might entail providing a bonus to the state which has the best program in the country. It would also create an annual rhythm of benchmarking and data gathering which would revolutionize how we think about government. Benchmarking would also make very visible the cost of recalcitrant government unions and the cost of bureaucratic resistance to modernization.

These 20 principles are examples of the kind of thinking which will be required to move from a system of bureaucratic public administration to a system of entrepreneurial public management. It is one of the most important transformations of our lifetime and without it government will literally not be able to keep up with the speed and complexity of the information age.

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THE LEGISLATIVE ROLE IN DEVELOPING ENTREPRENEURIAL PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

The Congress and state legislatures should begin holding hearings on the difference between a government run according to the information age principles of entrepreneurial public management and a government run according to the principles of administrative public bureaucracy. For the legislative branch the changes will include:

- Replacing the current civil service personnel laws with a new model of hiring and leading people including part time employees, temporary employees, the ability to shift to other jobs across the government, the ability to do training and educating on an individualized 24/7 internet based system;
- Radically simplifying the disclosure requirements which have become a major hindrance to successful people coming to work for the federal government;
- The Senate adopting rules to minimize individual Senators holding up Presidential appointments for months. The current process of clearing and confirming Presidential personnel should be a national scandal because it disrupts the functioning of the Executive Branch to a shocking degree. There should be some time limitation (say 90 days) for every appointment to reach an up or down vote on the Senate floor (this is separate from judicial nominations, that is a different kind of problem). The current Senate indulgence of individual Senators is a constant wound weakening the Executive Branch ability to manage;
- Creating a single system of security clearances so once people are cleared at a particular level (e.g., Secret, top secret, code word) they are cleared throughout the federal government and do not have to go through multiple clearances;
- Writing new management laws that enable entrepreneurial public leaders to set metrics for performance and reward and punish according to the achievement level of the employees;
- Within appropriate safeguards creating the opportunity for leaders to suspend and when necessary fire people who fail to do their jobs and fail to meet the standards and the metrics;
- Working with the major departments to reshape their education and training programs and their systems of assessment so they can begin retraining their existing work force into this new framework;
- Developing a new set of goals and definitions for the Inspector General's job and refocusing those professionals into being pro-active partners in implementing the new entrepreneurial public management approach including in their own offices;
- Designing a new salary structure that reflects the remarkable diversity of capabilities, hours worked, level of knowledge, independent contracting, part time engagement, etc., that is evident in the information age private sector;

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- Passing a new system of procurement laws that encourage the supply chain thinking that is sweeping the private sector;
- Developing a new model of Congressional and state legislative staffing to ensure that enough experts and practitioners are advising legislators at the federal and state level so they can understand the complex new systems that are evolving and that are transforming capabilities in the private sector;
- Transforming the Congressional Management Institute so it is playing a leading role in developing the new legislative version of entrepreneurial public management (some states have similar institutions);
- Transforming the General Accounting Office, the Congressional Research Service and the Congressional Budget Office into institutions that understand and are implementing the principles of entrepreneurial public management;
- Developing a system for educating new members of Congress and new congressional staff members into these new principles;
- Creating an expectation that within two years every current congressional staff member will have taken a course in the new method of managing the government in an entrepreneurial way;
- Rethinking the kind of hearings that ought to be held, the focus of those hearings, and the kind of questions that government officials ought to be answering;
- Designing a much more flexible budget and appropriations process that provides for the kind of latitude entrepreneurial leaders need if they are to be effective;
- Establishing for confirmation hearings the kind of questioning that elicits from potential office holders how they would work in an entrepreneurial management style and apply these questions with special intensity to people who come from a long background of experience in the traditional bureaucracy.

With this set of changes the legislative branches will have prepared for a cooperative leadership role in helping the executive branch transform itself from a system dedicated to administrative public bureaucracy into one working every day to invent and implement entrepreneurial public management.

APPENDIX B

OUR CREATOR IN THE CAPITAL: A WALKING
TOUR OF GOD IN WASHINGTON, D.C.



EVERY AMERICAN WHO VISITS the national capital should take some time to witness the power and centrality of God in American history.

One or two days spent visiting the key historic and monumental exhibits will end any questions you might have about America's indebtedness to and reliance on the Creator from whom all our rights come.

The next time your friends contend that we are not guaranteed religious liberties in public and do not need to be taught about God in history and government classes, simply ask them to take this guided tour. Advise your friends to spend one or two days visiting the great men, the great events, the great documents, and the great institutions that are at the heart of our freedom as Americans and identity as a people.

The tour begins with the National Archives where you will find the original Declaration of Independence. It is in this document that you will find the immortal phrase declaring that we "are endowed by our Creator with certain unalienable rights among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." That was the beginning of our independence as a people.

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

What to look for:

- Image of the Ten Commandments
- The Declaration of Independence

In the National Archives—the repository for our nation’s most important documents—displayed across the floor you will find an image of the Ten Commandments. The Judeo-Christian beliefs brought by the Pilgrims and others to the New World formed the foundation for our laws.

The Declaration of Independence was heavily influenced by the Magna Carta, a contract of rights between the English king and his barons and generally regarded as the first great step toward guaranteed liberties in Britain. The Declaration of Independence, however, had a clear difference from the English concept of rights—the Founding Fathers believed our rights come from God, not the king (or the state). Here you can see the original Declaration with its assertions:

- When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary to . . . assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God entitle them . . .
- We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.

This is both the beginning and the heart of American independence. Our rights come from our Creator.

THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT

What to Look for

- Monument cornerstone
- Free Press Methodist Episcopal Church Memorial plaque
- Prayer and psalm inscriptions
- Laus Deo

It is no accident that George Washington's monument has so many references to God. Washington was a profoundly religious man. When Washington took the oath of office on April 30, 1789, he asked that the Bible be opened to Deuteronomy, chapter 28. Immediately following the oath, he delivered the first inaugural address:

No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the Invisible Hand which conducts the affairs of men more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency.

Eight months later, Washington proclaimed the first national day of Thanksgiving in the United States (there were earlier thanksgivings but that was before we became a single country):

... that we then may all unite unto him our sincere and humble thanks for His kind care and protection of the people of this country... for the signal and manifold mercies and the favorable interpositions of His providence in the course and conclusion of the late war; for the great degree of tranquility, union, and plenty which we have since enjoyed; for the peaceable and rational manner in which we have been enabled

to establish constitutions of government . . . for the civil and religious liberty with which we are blessed . . .

Washington's personal journal provides more evidence of his deep faith:

It is impossible to rightly govern the world without God and the Bible. It is impossible to account for the creation of the universe, without the agency of a Supreme Being. It is impossible to govern the universe without the aid of a Supreme Being.

From bottom to top, the Washington Monument is filled with references to God: some visible, some not.

- The monument's cornerstone contains within it a Holy Bible.
- There is a memorial plaque from the Free Press Methodist Episcopal Church.
- Climb the stairs and you will see on the twelfth landing a prayer offered by the City of Baltimore; on the twentieth a memorial presented by Chinese Christians; and on the twenty-fourth, a presentation made by Sunday school children from New York and Philadelphia quoting Proverbs 10:7, Luke 18:16, and Proverbs 22:6.
- Finally, there are two words on the aluminum cap atop the east side of the Washington Monument: *Laus Deo*—Latin for "Praise be to God."

THE JEFFERSON MEMORIAL

What to Look for

- Quotes and references to God

While Jefferson often stressed the importance of questioning all things, including the existence of God, his writings and governing history make clear that he himself believed:

My views . . . are the result of a life of inquiry and reflection, and very different from the anti-Christian system imputed to me by those who know nothing of my opinions.

—APRIL 21, 1802, LETTER TO DR. BENJAMIN RUSH

Upon entering the Jefferson Memorial, you'll find above the chamber, around the interior dome:

I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man.

Of the four panels inside the dome, three contain references to God. The first to the right is an excerpt from a 1777 bill for establishing religious freedom (passed by the Virginia Assembly in 1786) and a 1789 letter to James Madison:

Almighty God hath created the mind free. . . . All attempts to influence it by temporal punishments, or burthens . . . are a departure from the plan of the Holy Author of our religion . . .

The second to the right is a famous excerpt from the Declaration of Independence:

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness . . .

And the first on the left is taken from his 1785 Notes on the State of Virginia:

God who gave us life gave us liberty. Can the liberties of a nation be secure when we have removed a conviction that these liberties are the gift of God? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, that his justice cannot sleep forever. Commerce between master and slave is despotism. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free.

If you get a chance, visit the Jefferson exhibit below the rotunda. Notice the lack of quotes, notes, or references to God downstairs and contrast it with what you have just seen above. It is the same Thomas Jefferson, just a different time. The downstairs exhibit was finished four years ago and reflects the increasing secularization of public life at the expense of historic accuracy.

THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL

What to Look for

- The Gettysburg address
- Lincoln's second inaugural address
- "I have a dream" inscription

Abraham Lincoln was a devout Christian who believed in the power of divine providence to guide the nation through the Civil War. In October 16, 1862 he said to Eliza Gurney:

If I had my way, this war would never have been commenced. If I had been allowed my way, this war would have ended before this. But we find it still continues; and we must believe that He permits it for some wise purpose of His own, mysterious and unknown to us; and though with our limited understanding we may not be able to comprehend it, yet we cannot but believe, that He who made the world still governs it.

At a White House dinner during the war, the clergyman who gave the benediction closed with a thought: "the Lord is on the Union's side." Lincoln responded with this sharp rebuke:

I am not at all concerned about that, for I know that the Lord is always on the side of the right. But it is my constant anxiety and prayer that I and this nation should be on the Lord's side.

Lincoln's faith is prominently on display in his memorial. The Gettysburg Address—inscribed into the wall to the left of the statue—is

only 267 words long, but still concludes with Lincoln's message of the importance of God's role in America:

We here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom . . .

Lincoln's second inaugural address—inscribed into the wall to the right of the statue—is a mere 700 words, but it mentions God fourteen times, including in this passage:

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.

The Lincoln Memorial was also the site of the Reverend Martin Luther King's famous "I have a dream" speech. On August 22, 2003 the Martin Luther King, Jr. Inscription Dedication unveiled an inscription in the granite approach to the Memorial—in the center after the first set of steps—marking the location where Dr. King spoke:

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, and every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain and the crooked places will be made straight and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together.

THE CAPITOL BUILDING

What to Look for

- Capitol Rotunda paintings
- Replica of the Magna Carta in the Rotunda
- House and Senate Chamber inscriptions
- Opening Pledge of Allegiance in House and Senate sessions

As you walk up the steps of the Capitol building, recall that on September 12, 2001, two hundred members of Congress gathered on these steps to sing “God Bless America.” In a similar scene in June 2002, members of the House of Representatives gathered here to recite the Pledge of Allegiance after the Ninth Circuit Court ruled that it was unconstitutional to include in it the phrase “under God.”

Upon entering the Capitol Rotunda, you will be immediately struck by the religious imagery. In particular:

- THE EMBARKATION OF THE PILGRIMS depicts the deck of the ship *Speedwell* as it departs for the New World from Delft Haven, Holland, on July 22, 1620. William Brewster holds the Bible and pastor John Robinson leads the group in prayer. The rainbow at the left side of the painting symbolizes hope and divine protection.
- THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI shows Spanish explorer Hernando DeSoto’s (the first European to set foot in what is now Mississippi) encounter with the Native Americans. On the right a monk prays as a crucifix is planted into the ground.
- THE APOTHEOSIS OF WASHINGTON shows our first president’s ascent into heaven. The thirteen maidens symbolize the original states.

- The painting *Religion* honors the role of God in the nation's founding.

In addition, you will see a gold replica of the Magna Carta, a gift from the British government in 1976. Many of the first travelers to what would become the colonies came with a copy of this document in hand. It was later used to justify the colonialists' protests against the Stamp Act and other violations of their rights. In fact, the seal adopted by Massachusetts on the eve of the Revolution featured a militiaman with sword in one hand and Magna Carta in the other.

In the Cox Corridor in the House wing of the Capitol the following words are carved into the wall "America! God shed his grace on Thee, and crown thy good with brotherhood from sea to shining sea!" Also in the House chamber is the inscription "In God we trust."

At the East entrance of the Senate Chamber is "*Annuit coeptis*" (Latin for God has favored our undertakings); "In God We Trust" is written over the South entrance. Look also for the relief portrait of Moses.

Today, the House and Senate both open their daily sessions with the Pledge of Allegiance. Representative Sonny Montgomery (Democrat from Mississippi) recited the first Pledge of Allegiance on the House floor on September 13, 1988. Former Speaker of the House Jim Wright decided to make the Pledge a daily ritual, and in 1995 the House rules were amended to make it permanent. The Senate has never officially made the Pledge a permanent feature but has recited it before each session since June 24, 1999.

THE SUPREME COURT

What to Look for

- Multiple images of the Ten Commandments
- Statue of Mohammed
- Opening session traditions

The most striking religious imagery at the Supreme Court building is that of Moses with the Ten Commandments, affirming the Judeo-Christian roots of our legal system:

- At the center of the sculpture over the East portico of the Supreme Court Building;
- Inside the actual courtroom there is another picture of Moses holding the Ten Commandments;
- The Ten Commandments are also engraved over the chair of the chief justice and on the bronze doors of the Supreme Court.

There is also a statue of Mohammed on the walls along with a statue of Charlemagne holding a cross. If you have the chance to sit in on a hearing, notice that all sessions begin with a marshal saying, “God save the United States and this honorable court.”

Throughout most of our history, the Supreme Court has ruled that we are a religious nation. For example, in *Zorach v. Clauson* (1952), the Court upheld a statute that allowed pupils to be released from school to attend religious classes:

“We are a religious people and our institutions presuppose a Supreme Being . . . When the state encourages religious instruction or cooperates

with religious authorities by adjusting the schedule of public events to sectarian needs, it follows the best of our traditions. We cannot read into the Bill of Rights a philosophy of hostility to religion.”

—JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

What to Look for

- Statue of Moses holding the Ten Commandments
- Lord Tennyson phrase
- Gutenberg Bible

In 1998, the Library of Congress held an exhibit called “Religion and the Founding of the American Republic.” While no longer on display, the Library web site has an overview: <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/religion/>.

Along the top floor of the Great Hall there are a series of unattributed phrases running along the ceiling. On the right side (from the staircase) is the phrase: “Nature is the art of God.” In back of the stairs: “Ignorance is the curse of God, Knowledge the wing where with we fly to heaven.”

In the viewing area there is a statue of Moses holding the Ten Commandments. Across the room, northeast of the statue, is a plaque with the phrase from Alfred, Lord Tennyson: “One God, one law, one element, and one far off divine event to which the whole creation moves.”

In the Great Hall of the Thomas Jefferson Building is a mint-condition copy of the Gutenberg Bible, the first ever mass-produced printed document. Gutenberg is widely credited with inventing a system of moveable type that eventually allowed books to be produced quickly and inexpensively, increasing literacy across the world.

THE RONALD REAGAN BUILDING

What to Look for

- “Liberty of Worship” statue

Ronald Reagan spoke eloquently and often about his faith in God and how He inspired him and the nation. In 1984, he wrote *In God I Trust*, a memoir of his life and faith. On March 8, 1983, he said in an address to an evangelical convention:

I tell you there are a great many God-fearing, dedicated, noble men and women in public life, present company included. And yes, we need your help to keep us ever mindful of the ideas and the principles that brought us into the public arena in the first place. The basis of those ideals and principles is a commitment to freedom and personal liberty that, itself, is grounded in the much deeper realization that freedom prospers only where the blessings of God are avidly sought and humbly accepted.

The American experiment in democracy rests on this insight.

Outside the main entrance to the building (14th Street between E Street and Constitution Avenue) is a statue called “Liberty of Worship.” The figure is leaning against the Ten Commandments, another allusion to the close tie between religion and liberty. It says, “Our liberty of worship is not a concession nor a privilege but an inherent right.”

THE WHITE HOUSE

What to Look for

- Seasonal decorations
- President Adam's prayer mantle

Since 1878, American presidents and their families have celebrated Easter Monday by hosting an “egg roll” party on the White House lawn, one of the oldest events in White House history.

The tradition of placing a decorated Christmas tree in the White House began in 1889. While it started as a gathering for President Benjamin Harrison's family and friends, the lighting of the White House Christmas tree has become a national tradition. In 1929, First Lady Lou Henry Hoover started the as yet unbroken custom of first ladies trimming the White House Christmas tree.

If you get the chance to go on the White House tour, be sure to visit the State Dining Room. The fireplace mantle contains a prayer by President John Adams:

“I pray to heaven to bestow the best of blessings on this house and all that hereafter inhabit it. May none but honest and wise men ever rule under this roof.”

In 1953, President Dwight David Eisenhower hosted the National Prayer Breakfast out of a desire to meet with the House and Senate prayer groups and unite the nation's leaders under the common bond of faith. Over the years, the annual tradition has grown to include guests from all the fifty states and more than one hundred countries.

Backed by congressional resolution, President Ronald Reagan declared 1983 the Year of the Bible “in recognition of both the formative influence the Bible has been for our Nation, and our national need to study and apply the teachings of the Holy Scriptures.”

The Bible and its teachings helped form the basis for the Founding Fathers’ abiding belief in the inalienable rights of the individual, rights which they found implicit in the Bible’s teachings of the inherent worth and dignity of each individual. This same sense of man patterned the convictions of those who framed the English system of law inherited by our own Nation, as well as the ideals set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

WORLD WAR II MEMORIAL

Opening officially on the sixty-year anniversary of D-Day, the World War II Memorial is the newest monument in Washington, D.C., and, not surprisingly, is the most secular. However, a passage containing religious imagery from General Dwight D. Eisenhower's D-Day address to the soldiers who were about to storm the beaches of Normandy can be found on the Atlantic side of the monument:

... You are about to embark upon the Great Crusade, toward which we have striven these many months. The eyes of the world are upon you. The hopes and prayers of liberty-loving people everywhere march with you . . .

Eisenhower and other American leaders talked often of this war as a crusade against evil. The government issued seventeen million Bibles to the soldiers with a message in them from Generals Eisenhower and George Marshall. In addition, many of the government-printed World War II posters contained religious imagery. "This is the Enemy" won a graphics award in 1943 and shows an arm with a Nazi insignia plunging a dagger through the Holy Bible. Another shows a German plane and Nazi soldiers attacking a crucifix. Eisenhower's address to the troops concluded . . .

Good Luck! And let us all beseech the blessing of Almighty God upon this great and noble undertaking.

THE FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL

After the allies successfully took Normandy beach, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt gave a nationwide radio address and *led the American people in prayer*:

Almighty God: Our sons, pride of our Nation, this day have set upon a mighty endeavor, a struggle to preserve our Republic, our religion, and our civilization, and to set free a suffering humanity.

Notice that Roosevelt linked our nation and civilization with our religion. He also used the occasion to commit the American people to a rededication of their faith:

Many people have urged that I call the Nation into a single day of special prayer. But because the road is long and the desire is great, I ask that our people devote themselves in a continuance of prayer. As we rise to each new day, and again when each day is spent, let words of prayer be on our lips, invoking Thy help to our efforts.

In the radio address, we see that Roosevelt also knew how our faith bound us together as a country:

And, O Lord, give us Faith. Give us Faith in Thee; Faith in our sons; Faith in each other; Faith in our united crusade. Let not the keenness of our spirit ever be dulled. Let not the impacts of temporary events, of temporal matters of but fleeting moment let not these deter us in our unconquerable purpose.

Thy will be done, Almighty God. Amen.

This recently constructed memorial is noticeably devoid of references to our Creator, despite Roosevelt's obvious belief in the importance of the nation's belief in God during the War. *Faith* is mentioned in two areas, however:

To the right of the first waterfall, you can see this inscription:

In these days of difficulty, we Americans everywhere must and shall choose the path of social justice . . . the path of faith, the path of hope, and the path of love toward our fellow men.

As you leave the memorial, the last quotation on the wall reads "Freedom of speech; Freedom of worship; Freedom from want; Freedom from fear." It's from his 1941 State of the Union address and shows the value he places on our nation's religious liberty.

ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY

Arlington National Cemetery offers a breathtaking view of nature, architecture, and our country's strong Judeo-Christian belief system. There are hundreds upon hundreds of memorials and graves decorated with religious imagery.

One of the most famous is the eternal flame of President John F. Kennedy's memorial and tomb. Inscribed upon it is his famous 1961 inaugural address, during which he declared we should "ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country." The address concludes:

With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His Blessing and his help but knowing that here on earth, God's work must truly be our own.

As you absorb the breathtaking and awe-inspiring scenery, reflect on the bravery of those who sacrificed their lives to defend the proud traditions and deeply held beliefs of this country. In the future, what will they be fighting for?

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea, With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me: As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free, While God is marching on.

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