

...Gortari, and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney on December 17, 1992. With overwhelming Republican support led by Minority Leader Newt Gingrich and over the objections of key Democrats like House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt, the House of Representatives approved NAFTA in November 1993 by a vote of 234–200. Republicans backed the free trade plan 132–43 while Democrats opposed it 156–102.<sup>70</sup>

One of Heritage's most influential NAFTA papers was a state-by-state survey (compiled by analyst Doug Seay) which revealed that forty-two governors, Democratic and Republican, liberal and conservative, strongly favored the agreement because it would create thousands of new jobs and strengthen the economy of their states. The foundation followed up by inviting Governors Tommy Thompson of Wisconsin and Kirk Fordice of Mississippi to Washington to explain to policymakers how global economic development would promote jobs within the states. President Clinton and International Trade Representative Mickey Kantor both cited Heritage in their hard-fought campaign to persuade Congress to approve NAFTA. "President Clinton said the governors' support was key," recalls Kim Holmes.<sup>71</sup>

### *The Moscow Connection*

Throughout the 1980s, Heritage had been frequently and sharply criticized by the Kremlin. One Soviet publication declared that the foundation was the "ideological headquarters" of American "reactionary circles." Another described Heritage as the "brain center" of "U.S. ultra right-wing circles." Hardliners in Politburo meetings regularly cited the foundation's policy recommendations and argued that Moscow should do exactly the opposite.<sup>72</sup> But as communism faded and disappeared, Russian reform-

ers increasingly turned to Heritage for advice and assistance on how to chart a new course for their nation. While liberals in America continued to extol the virtues of Mikhail Gorbachev, Heritage analysts focused on Boris Yeltsin, the ex-communist turned reform populist. The foundation invited Yeltsin's top economic advisers to attend a privatization workshop in June 1991. Yeltsin, who met with President Bush the same week, told Heritage trustee J. William Middendorf II that the Heritage seminar was the most important part of his delegation's visit to Washington, D.C., and remarked gratefully, "The Russian republic is in good hands with Heritage."<sup>73</sup> A leading Moscow analyst told the *Washington Post* the following spring that American liberals had been "reluctant and slow to recognize that power was shifting. The Heritage Foundation was in Moscow 18 months ago trying to work with Boris Yeltsin. Brookings wasn't."<sup>74</sup>

Heritage formalized its efforts to help Russia stay on a democratic course by opening an office in Moscow in November 1992 and putting Jeffrey Gayner, the foundation's veteran counselor for international affairs, in charge. Reform leaders in Russia and the Newly Independent States (NIS) constantly asked the foundation staff for research and advice on how to make the transition to free markets and a democratic government. Heritage's place of honor among Russia's reformers was summed up by former Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaidar during a Washington visit: "We remember that Heritage supported us long before it was fashionable to do so in the West."<sup>75</sup> Evidence of Heritage's influence could be found in the most unexpected areas. During one trip to the region of the Ural Mountains, hundreds of miles from the capital, the Moscow office staff discovered excerpts of Heritage studies in a 50,000-circulation newspaper read by the area's emerging businessmen. Dimitri Karaulov, co-chairman of the Russian Republican Party, put it succinctly: "Heritage's ideas are the guiding light" for Russian reformers.<sup>76</sup>

### *Why Communism Ended*

No less an authority than Margaret Thatcher, three-time prime minister of Great Britain, agreed that the ideas of The Heritage Foundation and other conservative institutions were responsible in a significant way for bringing down the Soviet empire. Delivering the first Clare Boothe Luce

local institutions of civil society. Three chapters suggested strategies for dealing with middle-income entitlements, including Social Security and Medicare, government regulations, and taxes.

Stuart Butler and coauthor John S. Barry argued that Congress must convince Americans, particularly the elderly, that the entitlements crisis "is real and needs decisive action and do it *before* a detailed [reform] proposal is unveiled." The American people must be informed, for example, that Social Security is not "a real account with their own money in it, like savings in a bank," but "a program in which the government spends every penny paid into the system and in which benefits have little to do with contributions made." Because public apprehension about the future of Social Security is so intense, change should not be presented as "Social Security reform," but as part of a comprehensive plan for "improving the retirement options of all Americans."<sup>80</sup>

In the section on foreign policy and defense, *Mandate IV* outlined America's proper objectives: to protect American national interests, promote global security and freedom, and ensure free trade and open markets. Succeeding chapters described how to maintain a strong national defense "in a budget straitjacket," plan an effective national security strategy (striking a sensible balance, as analyst John Hillen put it, between "a wasteful crusade" and "a rejectionist isolationism"), and build a consensus for a "homeland missile defense system."<sup>81</sup> Separate chapters were devoted to foreign aid, which has "wasted" some \$2 trillion in U.S. taxpayers' money since 1945; and to the United Nations, where, in the words of analysts Brett D. Schaefer and Thomas P. Sheehy, "the United States should follow a policy of selective participation."<sup>82</sup>

The national security section was based in large measure on *Restoring American Leadership*, the foundation's newest foreign and defense policy "blueprint," which was edited by Kim Holmes and Thomas Moore and published in the fall of 1996. *Restoring* was described by Lawrence J. Korb of the Brookings Institution as containing "a gold mine of useful information" and by Thomas H. Henrikson of the Hoover Institution as "timely and significant to our current [foreign policy] predicament."<sup>83</sup>

One of the most prickly parts of that predicament is America's relations with its former archenemy, Russia. Ariel Cohen, Heritage's senior analyst in Russian and Eurasian affairs, urged a policy of realism rather

than romanticism, pointing out that "Russia is reasserting itself as a great power." Already, Russia has taken the path to confrontation with the West "over Bosnia, NATO expansion, the supply of nuclear reactors to Iran, and the sale of modern weaponry to China." As Russia goes through a period of "political turbulence," said Cohen, America should support democracy, free markets, and individual rights in Russia and oppose anti-democratic solutions, "no matter who initiates them."<sup>84</sup>

Even before *Mandate IV* was released, congressional conservatives introduced the Defend America Act, calling for deployment of a national missile defense system as quickly as possible. The act was based in large part on the report of an eighteen-member blue-ribbon panel of military and technological experts, assembled by Heritage and led by Visiting Fellow Henry Cooper (former director of the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization) and former Senator Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming, a Heritage Distinguished Fellow. The Cooper panel, known as "Team B," recommended a two-stage plan using available technology—e.g., the Navy's Aegis system—to protect America going into the twenty-first century.<sup>85</sup>

Stuart Butler and Kim Holmes confidently asserted that, if congressional leaders carefully studied *Mandate IV*, they would find the ways and means to return America "to its constitutional roots" and restore its proper role of "defending freedom and democracy at home and abroad."<sup>86</sup>

Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott agreed. According to *Washington Times* political correspondent Donald Lambro, Lott telephoned House Speaker Newt Gingrich to ask him, "Have you read Dave Mason's chapter on moving an agenda through Congress?"<sup>87</sup> The Mason chapter and other parts of *Mandate IV* were also carefully studied at an orientation conference for freshman congressmen held by The Heritage Foundation and Empower America and attended by sixteen Republicans and seven Democrats. Republican senators participating in an agenda-setting strategy session at the Library of Congress were reportedly poring over the Heritage volume—further proof that *Mandate IV* had become "must reading on Capitol Hill."<sup>88</sup>