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# “RECENT U.S. CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ROK-U.S. RELATIONS”

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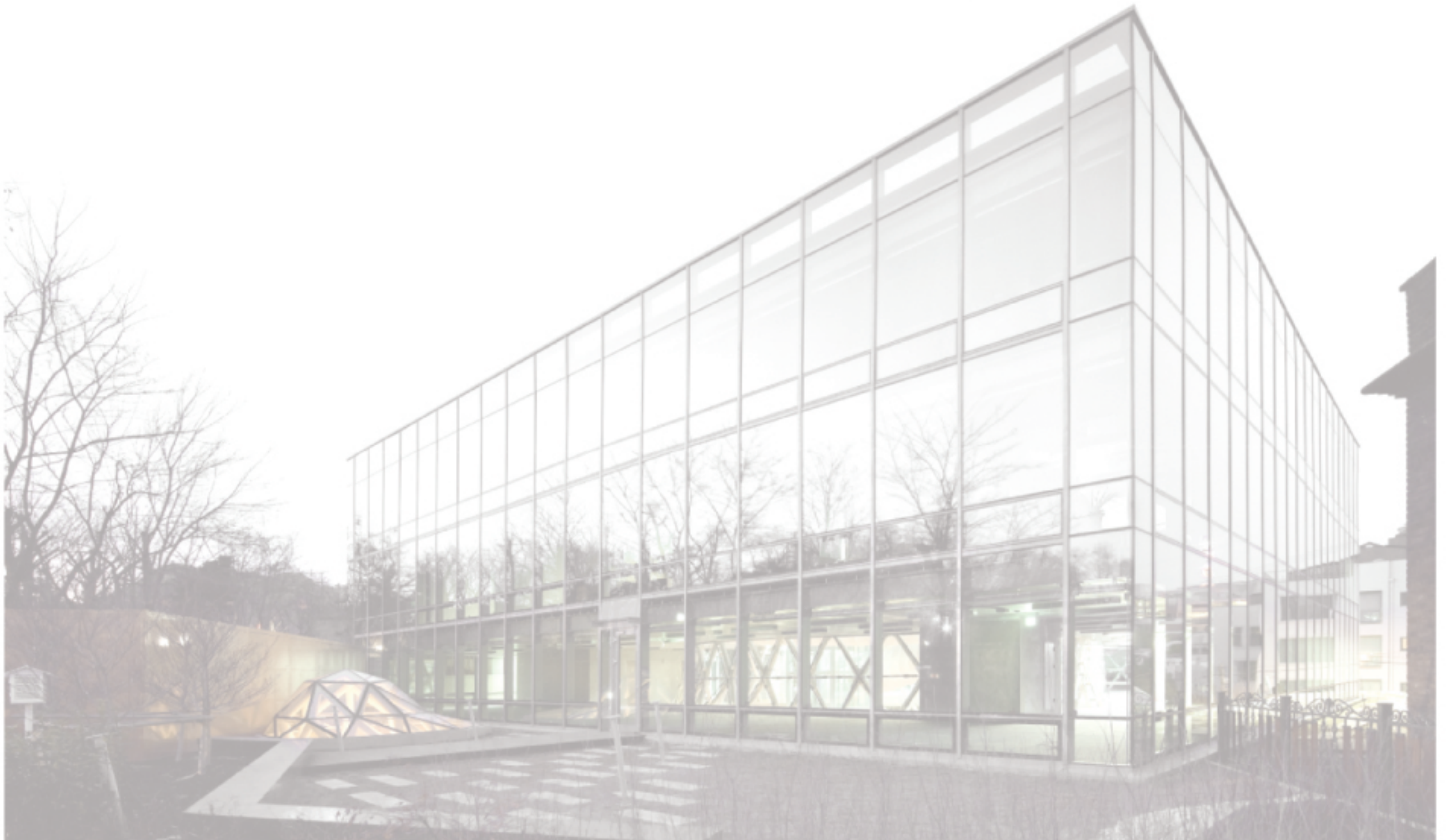
ASAN EXPERT SERIES



## **“Recent U.S. Congressional Elections and Implications for ROK-U.S. Relations”**

**Edwin FEULNER**

- **Date :** Monday, January 17, 2011
- **Time :** 7:00~9:00 a.m.
- **Location :** Main Conference Room (4F), The Asan Institute for Policy Studies
- **Speaker :** Edwin FEULNER (Heritage Foundation)



2010년 11월에 있었던 미국 중간선거에서 유권자들이 보수를 선택하였습니다. 지난 선거에서 공화당은 오하이오, 미시간, 위스콘신 등의 중서부나 펜실베이니아와 같이 그간 약세를 보여 왔던 지역에서 5 명의 주지사를 배출하는 쾌거를 이루었습니다. 더불어 공화당은 하원의원선거에서 약진을 하였는데, 그 결과 미국하원의 구성원은 1938년 이후 가장 큰 폭으로 교체되었습니다. 공화당이 하원을 장악할 수 있었던 이유는 거대정부에 대한 유권자들의 우려가 증가한 데 따른 직접적인 결과였으며, 당면 문제를 국민의 요구에 부응하여 적절하게 해결하지 못하는 비대정부에 대한 심판이었습니다. 이러한 배경에서 공화당은 향후 연방 정부의 규모를 2008년 수준으로 줄이는 사안을 적극적으로 추진하고 있습니다.

2010년 중간선거의 핵심 쟁점은 외교 정책이 아닌 국내 경제였습니다. 그렇다면 한-미 자유무역협정은 향후 어떻게 될 것인가에 대해 질문할 수 있는데, 하원 세출세입위원회 (House of Ways and Means Committee)의 신임 의장직을 맡은 데이비드 캠프 (David Camp)는 올해 상반기에 한-미 자유무역협정 법안을 위원회에 상정하고, 7월 4일 여름 휴회가 시작되기 이전에 발표되길 희망한다는 개인적인 의견을 표명한 바 있습니다. 론 커크 (Ron Kirk) 미합중국무역대표도 이러한 일정에 맞추어 사안을 추진하는 데 동의했으며, 한-EU 자유무역협정이 발효되기 전에 한-미 자유무역협정 법안이 인준되길 희망한다고 밝혔습니다. 결과적으로 한-미 자유무역협정 법안은 파나마와 콜롬비아와의 자유무역협정과 관계없이 독자적으로 심의될 가능성이 클 것으로 예상됩니다.





## Dr. Feulner's Speech

Significant changes have occurred over the past three election cycles in the United States. In 2006, the House of Representatives changed from a Republican to a Democratic majority. Obama's election as president in 2008 won the Democrats control over the executive in addition to their majority control already held in Congress. The midterm elections of November 2010, however, saw a swingback of U.S. voters in a more conservative direction. With recent history in mind, the focus of this meeting will be on the current and the future state of U.S. politics. While the Heritage Foundation is very conservative, it is also strictly non-partisan. It is not involved in partisan elections and works with individuals from both political parties.

What happened on November 2nd, 2010 as one reporter said, was a dream for the Republicans and a nightmare for the Democrats.

The Republicans picked up 63 seats in the House of Representatives, bringing the balance to 242 seats against 193 in favor of the Republicans; John Boehner (R) was elected as the Speaker of the House. In the Senate, the Republicans picked up 6 seats, occupying a total of 47 seats, though the Democrats maintained their majority. Looking forward to the 2012 election, the Democrats will have to defend 23 seats in the Senate, whereas the Republicans only have to defend 10. Much of the political speculation in Washington is that the Republicans will reclaim the majority in the Senate. Also significant in the past election is that the Republicans picked up 5 governorships. This included governorships that many republicans had given up on, such as the hardcore Midwest – Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin. In Pennsylvania, where the former chairman of the Democrat party did not run, a conservative Republican was elected. In New Mexico, a Republican Hispanic woman was elected as governor for the first time. This election represented the biggest proportional change in the House of Representatives since 1938, in terms of a shift in the balance of power from one party to the other. More importantly, the state legislatures swung from Democratic to Republican control in most states.

Before the 2010 midterm elections, state Houses were comprised of 52 Democrats and 33 Republicans, but after the election that number switched to 53 Republicans and 32 Democrats. This change is significant because within the next two years, under the U.S. constitution, the state legislatures will be redrawing the congressional district lines. Based on how those lines are redrawn, Republicans will presumably be at an advantage for the next ten years. In last year's election, there were 90 million voters - a record turnout for an off-year election. Furthermore, with the Republicans in charge of remapping the congressional districts around the country, this will be the biggest representation change since the Supreme Court made its decision in 1962 that ruled that congressional districts will be as near a "one man - one vote" as possible. Consequently, much will change not only in Washington, but also in state capitals. Important things to watch for in Washington during the course of 2011 will be discussed below.



The 2010 midterm elections were debated and fought predominantly on internal economic issues, such as the size of the federal government, the amount of government spending, and the new healthcare plan that the President has put in place. While economic issues were of critical importance to the electorate, foreign policy was not a major point of contention. Every candidate for both political parties expressed strong support for the troops in Afghanistan, Iraq, and at other points of potential tension including along the DMZ in South Korea. Yet foreign policy was not a central issue. The real issues were economic in nature.

The second issue will be addressed in late January when the House of Representatives will vote on repealing Obama Care. The conventional wisdom is that the vote will pass handily in the House of Representatives then go to the Senate, where it will be put on a very slow track by Harry Reid (D). This point will be discussed in detail later.

The third point, which some people may have missed in the rush to adjournment in December, is that Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid (D) presented a 2,000 page bill to the Senate to continue funding the federal government until the end of the fiscal year, which is September 30th. Senator McConnell (R), the Minority Leader refused to accept the bill and eventually won. Instead, a two-page long, 3-month extension was entered to maintain current levels of funding for the federal government until the middle of March, at which point the extension will expire. This will provide a major opportunity for conservatives to offer amendments to the bill in order to shrink the size of government. The congressional Republicans are talking about cutting the government back to 2008 levels, which would constitute a significant reduction, but one arriving at levels still very high compared to historic American averages. It is expected that on the House side, there will presumably be enough Republican votes to pass a continuing resolution with significant cuts. However, it is expected to stir controversy on the Senate side.

Related to this issue is the rescission package, which could eliminate previously approved spending. The House Budget Committee, chaired by Congressman Paul Ryan (R) of Wisconsin, will come up with a package of about 100 billion dollars in rescissions that will be voted on in February. It is then expected to go





to the Senate and again, face somewhat of an uncertain future. (Footnote: Last year, even with the Democrats having the overwhelming majority in both Houses, they did not pass a federal budget or any appropriations bills, which is the actual money allowing the government to function. They were occupied by other goals on their legislative agenda, such as the Dodd Frank Act and Obama Care. Consequently, Democrats ignored their fundamental responsibility of “raising revenue” and passing a budget, as stated in the U.S. Constitution.) Boehner (R) and McConnell (R) have said that they are going to do things differently and offer a budget that will propose an alternative to the president’s budget. On January 25th, the president will deliver his State of the Union message to the country, and two weeks after that he will present his budget. Shortly afterward the Republicans will have an alternative budget, presumably at a much lower level. At some point those budgets will both go to the floors of the House and the Senate, a significant development assuming that the House will pass the Republican version. When the budgets get to the Senate, the Republican minority can offer unlimited amendments to make the president’s budget look similar to the House Republican budget. That will be a big point of contention and controversy in conjunction with other related economic issues such as rescissions. All of this will happen in early March.

Secretary Geithner made an announcement ten days ago that the debt ceiling will be approached sometime in April, adding another dimension to the already complicated economic debate. The Heritage Foundation’s estimate of when the debt ceiling will be reached is either late May or early June. It is important to note that most of the Republicans who were elected were opposed to increasing the debt ceiling. Because of the increase in federal debt to nearly its limit, some expect that the U.S. will renege on its international commitments to pay its debt. Some Chinese have even said that America will be in default. However, I do not expect that to happen. Instead, I expect the debt to continue increasing toward the ceiling, at which point the Republicans will offer a 2 or 3 week long extension. They will offer to increase the debt ceiling by a certain amount and in return expect a decision on cuts in the same amount. The argument will then go back and forth for several weeks, or even several months, and will probably lead to a public relations battle between President Obama on the one side, and the Republican majority in the House and the Senate minority on the other side. By fall, these events could lead to a potential government shutdown. However, I believe that the two sides will be able to come together and make a decision.

Of the 8 points I have raised so far, not one was related to foreign, defense, international, or even trade policy. I would like to add to that list the U.S.-Korea Free Trade Agreement, which I am sure, is of great interest to those of you here. David Camp, the new chairman of the





House of Ways and Means Committee from Michigan, has personally told me that he plans to bring up this issue in the first half of this year. Ron Kirk, President Obama's special trade representative, has agreed with that timetable. Camp was hoping that the committee will make a decision before its July 4th recess, and Kirk said that he wanted it to be approved by the U.S. Congress before Korea's FTA with the European Union goes into effect. I believe that the U.S.-Korea FTA will be voted on its own, without being linked with the Panama or Colombia FTAs, which the Bush administration negotiated along with the Korea FTA. However, the Democrats have chosen not to push this issue largely because of opposition from the AFLCIO.

Secretary Gates and the Joint Chiefs of Staff have also mentioned proposals for cuts in the Pentagon's budget. This will be part of the budget debate, but again, it will not be the primary focus of the budget debate. The real issues concerning the budget debate are going to be discretionary domestic spending, and whether the Congress and both political parties have the courage to at least to take an initial look at entitlements, which is the big spending item in the federal budget.

Another factor that calls for attention is the inability of the states to fund their own governmental activities. The last several years have been very hard on state governments, whether it's Albany, NY, Springfield, IL or Jefferson City, MO; certainly Sacramento, CA has struggled. While the new breed of Congressmen and Senators acknowledge the problems of state governments, they have expressed very vocally and forthrightly that there will be no bailouts. If one bailout were to be granted, it would result in an endless parade of governors, mayors and city council members in Washington asking for handouts. This issue is another important dimension of the spending question and it will create financial crises in state capitals around the country.

I do not expect Washington or the American political leadership to pay much attention to foreign policy. There is a possibility of a change in focus, if Iran or North Korea does something rash, but short of that, the focus in Washington will be very much fiscal. The Heritage Foundation's website will have updated information on a daily basis and sometimes on an hourly basis in terms of what is happening. It is still unclear how things will turn out because a divided government is a great challenge, especially in a society that is very populist and energetic with a well-informed public. The Heritage Foundation has 700,000 members around the country, which is quite significant. Firstly, as a think tank, to acquire 700,000 members is quite remarkable; secondly, our size enables us to grab the attention of those who are involved in policy making. For example, when I go to meet with the congressman from the sixth district of Illinois, I can tell him that we have 2,340 members in his congressional district. With our membership consisting of double the number of people as the district's largest employer, we will certainly be able to get his attention. The Heritage Foundation is not just another think tank in Washington; we have boots on the ground, so to speak. The upcoming year for us is going to be a very interesting and challenging one with an introspective focus. Politics is not a game, and we do not view it as such. But, with the Tea Party activists all relying on the constitution and harkening back to its first principles, it will be a very interesting political time. Thank you very much.

The views expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the views of the Asan Institute for Policy Studies.



## Questions & Answers

**Q1:** What prompted such a shift in the U.S. Congress as discussed in the lecture?

**A1:** The shift happened as a direct result of the increase in the size of the government and people's perception of that increase. The federal government has grown too unresponsive to its own needs and also too intrusive. But more importantly, it was not solving the real problems that confronted the people. James Carville, a noted liberal Democrat political strategist said some years ago, "It's the economy, you stupid." With the unemployment rate edging up to 9.5%, dissatisfied constituents want to replace incumbents. Moreover, people are able to engage in energized political debates around the country, and receive communication via Twitter, and the Internet as quickly as possible. This kind of energized political environment has resulted in a push back against the big government plans that were put in place by Obama two years earlier. When Obama ran for president in 2008, he ran as a centrist. However, that was not the way he started to govern once elected, diverging from his campaign promises. All of these factors culminated and lead to a point where the American people were frustrated with the government for its ineffectiveness.

**Q2:** I believe Fox TV plays an important role in U.S. politics – what do you think is needed in Korea to recover that right-side leadership?

**A2:** The news media in the U.S. are broken into two different, related but very separate parts. One is television, such as Fox News Channel and Fox Business News where their whole theme has been 'fair and balanced'. Whenever an admitted conservative is on, there will also be a liberal on at the same time. Frankly, at such channels as CNN, ABC, CBS or NBC, the same balanced perspective has been lost and viewers basically only get the liberal side of the view. For example, on CNN early this morning was a program called 'Gun Control Post-Arizona', where a single person was arguing in favor of the 2nd amendment and four arguing against him, and this type of unevenness has become the norm at CNN. If there is a new Fox news-type outlet in Korea, they could bring arguments from both sides evenly. The other part that is a daily energizing force, especially on the conservative side, is talk radio. Rush Limbaugh, Sean Hannity, Laura Ingraham and all other conservative talk radio hosts comprise about 80% of all political talk radio shows, whereas liberal commentators only make up 20% of all political talk radio. While there is a discrepancy in the representation of each political party in talk radio, there are some justifications for this: conservatives listen and buy the things that the sponsors are advertising. There are however, some successful liberal radio hosts. Al Franken, a







U.S. Senator from Minnesota, had a successful talk radio program before he was elected and Rachel Maddow also had a successful program. However, they are very limited in number compared to Limbaugh, Hannity and other conservatives who reach out and talk to the already converted and reinforce their beliefs. Speaking as a political scientist, this dominance of the conservative viewpoint is worrisome because the American public needs to be able to listen to both sides of the argument, and hear it in a fair and balanced way, in order to be educated and informed. Especially, with the new social media such as Twitter or Google - which allows people to specify the kind of articles they want to read - it has become very easy to just shut the other side out. People should listen to the whole argument, and make their mind up accordingly, instead of relying on their preferred side of the argument for the future of U.S. democracy.

**Q3:** As a lawyer, I am interested in Obama's healthcare program. However, as a Catholic, I can hardly understand how Americans can even conceive of an idea to finance abortion with federal funding. What is your view on Obama's healthcare plan? I believe it has to be repealed and substantially changed.

**A3:** There are problems with the U.S. healthcare system, but overall, it is arguably the best in the world. The current problems in the U.S. healthcare system can be addressed with a specific series of steps to solve the problems, instead of a wholesale change that throws out the entire current system. The problem with any kind of a social program like this is that once it has passed, it is like a ratchet in a gear, and very hard to reverse. What the Republicans are going to try to do in the House of Representatives is attempt to stop the funding of Obama Care before the different regulatory bodies implement the provisions as they are presented. They will probably have some success doing that. They will also then, as discussed earlier, have an opportunity in the rescission package, in budgets and in the debt ceiling, to challenge specific provisions of Obama Care to make it better.

There was a group of nine Democrats, mainly Catholics who took Obama's word that Obama Care



would not result in an expansion of abortions in the U.S. and therefore voted in favor of it. Unfortunately, that was not written into the bill and there are already regulations coming out of the department of Health and Human Services that will in fact increase the number of abortions. This is giving more ammunition to those who want to stop Obama care, or repeal, at least, the most outrageous parts of it. Incidentally, of those nine Democrats, five or six either lost the election, or voluntarily retired for fear that they would lose. On the basic question of abortion, the amazing thing is that the rate of abortions in the U.S. is actually declining as medical technology is improving.

**Q4:** Have the Democrats reached a consensus on what went wrong, what they ought to be learning and have there been any actions since the November, 2010 election?

**A4:** Indeed, there have been. The Heritage Foundation published a book called 'Solutions for America' last fall which had 127 specific recommendations that Congress could implement right away in terms of reigning in the excesses of the federal government. Two weeks after the election, President Obama adopted one of those suggestions, which was to freeze federal pay. But, one thing that is well known in Washington is that there are no permanent victories or defeats, but rather there is a permanent battle. One should never assume that the other side is standing still. The Democrats are very good at reframing the issue and regaining the initiative. One important lesson learned during the Bush era is that the president has a bullet that reaches far beyond anything that anyone else says, including figures such as John Boehner (R) and Mitch McConnell (R). There is going to be a good open and spirited public debate, and the Democrats will be putting forward meaningful alternatives to what the Republicans are proposing. The Democrats are going toward the middle to appeal to some of the people whose support they have lost. The Democrats are also aware that if somehow the unemployment rate remains at 9.4% in November 2012, then they are not going to keep the White House. Therefore, they are going to do everything they can to solve the problems, and blame the Republicans if it is not solved. In sum, they are not standing still.

**Q5:** I am curious about your mentioning of going back to the first principles of the constitution. Why are you suggesting that the U.S. is moving away from the fundamental principles of the constitution and how do you identify those deviations? How do you propose to return to those fundamental principles? Also, how would you describe the relationship between the Tea Party movement and the Heritage Foundation?

**A5:** One of the first changes that the House Speaker Boehner (R) implemented in the House rules is that any piece of proposed legislation should have specific references to the part of the constitution which authorizes it. For example, this is the whole reason why the Obama Healthcare Act is now being challenged in federal court. Does the federal government have the right to require individual American citizens to purchase something? That is a constitutional question and also, a good example of what going back to those fundamental principles or going back to the constitution means. The Tea Party movement is an effective grassroots move



ment of Americans who are concerned about and interested in wanting to change what is going on at the governmental level. The Heritage Foundation encourages members of the Tea Party movement to get involved at the local level; get involved with the local school board, local towns, cities, then state legislatures and the state government, in addition to worrying about the federal congress and the future presidential campaign. Too often in the past, conservatives have believed that simply voting, and voting for the right person, fulfills their duty. Now, millions of Americans are saying that is not enough, and they want to stay involved, and find out how else to be involved in local politics. While the Tea Party movement has experienced success as a grassroots political movement, the traditional parties, the Republican and Democratic parties, have not found similar success. While the members of the Tea Party movement are welcomed as members of the Heritage Foundation, the foundation does not endorse any particular Tea Party. An interesting fact about the Tea Parties is that they are all independent of each other and trying to find a leader of a Tea Party is as difficult as trying to find the leader of the American Christian community.

**Q6:** We know that it will not be easy for the Congress to pass the FTA because of the newly elected Republican members' stance on trade issues. Do you think that the conservative majority will make it easier to pass the FTA?

**A6:** By general disposition and broad attitude, the Republicans tend to be more pro-trade. Most of the newly elected Republicans have not looked at this issue, and therefore do not understand it. However, when they do take the time to read through the agreement and understand it, they will see that it is very much in the interest of their own congressional district and the U.S. to pass the Free Trade Agreement with Korea. Moreover, the newly elected Republicans are not restrained in the same way as so many of their democratic predecessors were by allegiance to the trade union movement, where they are automatically a no-vote. While the Republicans will have to be educated on the exact nature of the agreement, their general disposition will be towards the passage of the FTA. Chairman Dave Camp (R) in the House Committee on Ways and Means and ranking minority member Sandy Levin (D) are both from Michigan, who lead the renegotiation with Ford Motors. The changes made with Ford Motors will be put up for vote in the Congress and I hope it will pass fairly comfortably and pass early enough to convince the Korean National Assembly to also take a positive vote on it. I believe it will happen.

**Q7:** One of the things that I noticed during your comments is the phrase that the American people were populist, energetic, and plugged-in. It sounded as if you were using the term "populist" in a





rather positive fashion, and I gather that you were referring to the Tea Party movement. But, especially from a conservative Republican point of view, I would think that populist is a 'dirty' word if anything.

**A7:** When I use the word populist, I go back to my contemporary political hero Ronald Reagan who said, "Trust the people." Trusting the people is what this whole movement is about. Sometimes people make mistakes, get swayed by emotion, or swayed by very powerful speech making, but they will eventually get it right. So, we believe in trusting the people. In this sense, I am a conservative populist, but still bound by the chains of the constitution.

**Q8:** Is the idea of populism compatible with the principle of limited government in the U.S. Constitution?

**A8:** That is a very good philosophical question about which we could have a great debate. Over the last hundred years, changes have been made to the constitution so that the senators are no longer elected by the legislature. This moved the U.S. toward a more egalitarian rationalization of congressional districts. Such changes have, if not changed the constitution, at least altered it at the margin. In order to square such changes with our own beliefs, it is important to focus on the core principles and remind ourselves of our traditional American values. These are values such as the belief in individual freedom, belief in the space to be an innovative entrepreneur, and the space to pursue your dreams. These traditional values and beliefs are what undergird America, a free society, and the constitution. So yes, I believe that we can reconcile these issues pretty well.

**Q9:** You said that the Heritage Foundation is non-partisan and it does not support any political parties, but do you support individuals?

**A9:** No, it so happens that the majority of them are in one political party, but we work with any individual who supports our views.

**Q10:** Like Heritage, Brookings also says that they are non-partisan, but many people simply think that Heritage is pro-Republican and Brookings is pro-Democrat. Why is it that neither foundation will publicly announce their position as pro-Republican or pro-Democrat?

**A10:** This is because both of these foundations are in the idea business. This is what enables Heritage to be outspokenly conservative, since it is these conservative ideas that the foundation embraces. I wish my friends at Brookings would be as candid in saying that they are pro-liberal because they are, but they do not say that. Nevertheless, there is a difference between a set of ideas or principles versus a political party. Political parties have a different base of support and their goal is to be able to reach across the aisle and meet people on the other side on specific issues. It is a broader concept to say that some people are conservative than to say that they are Republican.



**Q11:** The Bush administration used to say that it is the United States' government's job to introduce democracy in other parts of the world. I take that to mean that the U.S. government is a model democracy and that everybody should learn from its example. Do you believe that the U.S. government and its politics are still a model democracy which other countries should learn from?



**A11:** I hope so, because whether Barack Obama is president or Ronald Reagan is president, I still view America as that shining city on the hill from which people all over the world can learn a great deal. The U.S. does not have answers to all the problems and it certainly has taken a very long time to deal with some of the great social problems of its own, such as the civil rights issue. However, I hope we can inspire others to aspire to something better. The U.S. is not perfect and its model cannot be imposed directly anywhere else, but I do believe in American exceptionalism and that America is a very unique place.

**Q12:** The relationship between the two major parties is more antagonistic than ever before. If the nature of the political relationship between the two major parties is becoming more bipolar, then what is the future of democracy?

**A12:** In U.S. history, there have been times when the Senate and the House of Representatives behaved in a manner that made the Korean National Assembly appear well behaved by comparison. Politicians used to carry canes, and the main reason for having a cane was to beat the other side up with it. I gave a commencement speech about 10 years ago that was titled 'Lay Your Hammer Down.' My argument then and today is that both sides in any political debate should forego the idea of attacking the other person. Civil discourse should not only be encouraged, but is also necessary. Sometimes people can get very intense and deep in terms of their feelings about certain issues, but those feelings should not be personalized: do not attack the character of your opponent, rather attack his or her ideas. However, for those who are outsiders, or on the receiving end of a TV interview with 10 seconds to reply, it would be much easier to simply say that the other person is not a good person than to explain one's beliefs and the circumstances under which the facts will be born out. So, what will prompt changes in the Korean political debate so that it resembles the American political debate more? Everybody needs to calm down, stop attacking each other and start a more intensive and introspective dialogue. For example, when Charlie Rose does his interviews, he will have his guest on for a full hour in order to go into a subject in some depth. In this day and age when people are merely given 10 seconds to make their point, it is very difficult to engage in a serious political dialogue. This is also the point that the Heritage Foundation wants to explain to the Tea Party. Political dialogue is more than immediate



give and take but rather, it involves learning what the political culture is about, its history, and building on that for the future. America still has a lot to do in terms of making its political dialogue more mature and everything from the presidential debates to the candidate debates have a long way to go. Hopefully, we can learn how to do it better in the months ahead.

**Q13:** What is your opinion on the new phenomenon of activists playing an influential role in think tanks? Should these activists play a main role in the future or should their roles be diminished?

**A13:** Since the Heritage Foundation started almost 40 years ago, it has played two main roles. The first is to conduct research on public policy issues, and secondly, to make that research available to the policy makers and to encourage them to utilize it. Think tanks' secondary role has been a more controversial issue. Should think tanks actively promote their research or should they let politicians seek that information on their own? The Heritage Foundation publishes short papers rather than thick books, sometimes even one-page summaries, which is a new trend in think tanks. In addition, Heritage has set up a sister organization that is more politically involved. As an educational organization, Heritage cannot go to a congressman and dictate which bill the congressman should vote for or vote against, since it is prohibited by U.S. law. The sister group, which is in a different category of organizations, is actually patterned after the Center for American Progress and it can make the kind of suggestions that educational groups cannot make. This trend stems from a realization that producing books that sit on bookshelves is not enough and that it is important to encourage people to use the research produced in a positive manner.

**Q14:** Last year in March and November, Korea experienced major provocations from North Korea. One was the sinking of a naval ship and also an artillery attack on Yeonpyeong Island. What is your personal opinion on this issue?

**A14:** Like the rest of the civilized world, we were shocked that North Korea did it and admitted the fact that they did it. From my personal perspective, I am shocked that China is not reigning in its client state. I am aware of the other things that they are concerned about, such as arguments about refugees and an unstable regime on their border. However, it is primarily China's responsibility to remind the regime in Pyongyang what is expected of them as a member of the world community. Regarding this matter, China has not lived up to its obligations. While it is still unclear which direction to take from the current situation, the good working relationship between the U.S. president and the president of Korea is a good sign and they seem to be of one mind on these related questions. I hope that President Obama will have this on the agenda when President Hu Jintao visits Washington tomorrow.

**Q15:** I was wondering what kind of role the evangelical churches and military soldiers' families will play in the next presidential election? They seem to be very influential groups in previous presidential elections. Are



they gone?

**A15:** The old Christian right has pretty much disappeared. Falwell is dead, and Pat Robertson and James Dobson are both basically retired. Their followers are present, but they are not as focused in terms of supporting Conservatives as they were before. During the 2008 presidential election, a number of evangelical Christians even came out and openly backed Obama, which, 4 or 8 years ago, would not have been a possibility. The Christian right is still there, but they are less a part of any one identifiable coalition.



## Biography of Edwin J. FEULNER

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**Edwin J. FEULNER** is the President and CEO of The Heritage Foundation, Washington's most important public policy research organization located on Capitol Hill, Washington, D.C. He has held that position for more than 25 years, and has been responsible for Heritage's growth from an annual budget of less than \$1 million to more than \$74 million (2010).

He serves on several governmental boards and commissions including the Meltzer Commission on Reforming the International Financial Institutions (1999-2000), Chairman of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy (1982-92) and as Vice Chairman of the Kemp Commission on Tax and Budget Reform (1995-96). He has been a consultant in the White House (during the Reagan Administration), and received the Presidential Citizens Medal from President Reagan. He has received the Distinguished Service Medal from the Secretary of the Navy, and the Distinguished Service Award from the Director of the U.S. Information Agency, and has been decorated by the President of the Republic of Korea and by the President of the Republic of China (Taiwan). He is a member of the International Advisory Board of the Multimedia Super Corridor in Malaysia, and a distinguished visiting professor of Hanyang University (Seoul, Korea).



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