

a senator, and a president, Zell Miller was the son of a teacher—a teacher who died when Miller was just two weeks old. Raised by his mother in Appalachia, in a rock house she built herself, Miller found his focus in the United States Marine Corps, and his unabashed patriotism, combined with his down-home populism, makes him an American classic.

Zell Miller is also a world-class campaigner and orator. His keynote address to the 1992 Democratic convention ranks with Barbara Jordan's and Mario Cuomo's as one of the finest examples of powerful

rhetoric and partisan passion.

At a time when politics seems moribund, Zell would bring energy. When people are looking for heroes, Zell's the real thing. And when Democrats need someone who's not afraid to open up a can of whup-ass on the radical right, they need look no further than Zell Miller.

JAMES CARVILLE, *a pamphleteer and a provocateur*, and PAUL BEGALA, *a professor at Georgetown and a pundit, were previously political consultants for Bill Clinton and Zell Miller.*

Gore & Whitman 2000

CHRISTINE TODD WHITMAN

Talk about implausible. My fellow TV blowhards look at me with pity when I suggest that New Jersey Governor Christine Whitman would be the best candidate. And they're right that there's almost zero chance Gore would ask her; it would piss off the Democrats too much.

But if he really wants to win, he should choose her. The country is moving into a post-partisan period, even if the politicians aren't. In one swoop, picking Whitman would make Gore much more appealing to independents (he trails Bush among them) and make sure that the gender gap stayed open. Whitman on the Democratic ticket would be a loud message to the voters that the Republican Party is irredeemably right-wing and hopeless on a woman's right to choose. In New Jersey, she has gov-

erned six years essentially as a New Democrat, closer ideologically to Gore than to Bush.

Whitman is unacceptable on the GOP ticket because she supports so-called partial birth abortion—a total deal-breaker for Bush because it would cause a walkout at the convention. She might turn Gore down—she has already endorsed Bush—but having decided she's not running for Senate, what else is she going to do with her life? The argument that she has no future in Republican politics if she did this makes no sense, because she has no future in that party anyway. When it comes down to it, few politicians refuse the chance when asked. Come on, Al. Be really bold.

JONATHAN ALTER, *a columnist at Newsweek, is a contributing editor of The Washington Monthly.*

Gore & Norquist 2000

JOHN NORQUIST

Political devolution has brought stardom to many Republicans at the state and local level. Regional officials with national marquee value include Rudy Giuliani, Stephen Goldsmith, Tommy Thompson, and the Brothers Bush. But what many people don't know is that John Norquist, the Democratic Mayor of Milwaukee, has a record that beats all of these guys. Recently elected to his fourth term, Norquist is in the top tier of a class of New Democrats who got a big political boost when Clinton was elected in 1992. That year, Clinton chose a running

mate who would reinforce his own image: smart, wonky, moderate. Gore should follow the same strategy and put John Norquist on the ticket.

Norquist is most admired for his successes in educational reform. Milwaukee became a prime testing ground for school choice when Norquist pushed through a plan that permits public funds to pay for private and religious schools. There's already evidence that the plan is working. Since the reforms, Milwaukee kids are doing better on standardized tests—with minority groups showing particular improvement. And while reform

remains a contentious issue, Norquist continues to rack up impressive victories. When Milwaukee held school board elections last April, the Mayor's favorite candidates swept all of the teachers' union's candidates and gave the reformers a majority on the board.

He also knows how to run a government. In his time at Milwaukee's helm, Norquist streamlined the city bureaucracy, made the delivery of social services like snow plowing and garbage collection more efficient, and turned deficits into surpluses. At the same time, he has managed to cut taxes almost every year that he's been in office in an effort to halt middle-class flight to the suburbs. This has been successful, as more middle-class families are now moving into Milwaukee's reinvigorated downtown. And he has done this while preaching the gospel of urban independence from Washington and decrying the mentality of "tin cup federalism." (To his credit, Norquist is equally tough on businesses and has been highly critical of companies that try to stick their snouts in the government trough by demanding municipal subsidies). This is just the kind of track record that could help Al Gore neutralize George W. Bush's claim to be a "reformer with results." As University of Wisconsin political scientist Donald Kettl points out: "Norquist is a reformer with results, with more results to show."

To be sure, Norquist comes with political baggage. For one thing, the Gore camp is bound to be uneasy

about Norquist's frosty relationship with the teachers' unions. Those unions are 3.5 million strong, claim one seventh of the delegates to the Democratic National Convention, and have been stalwart Gore supporters throughout his campaign. Both Norquist's policies and his attacks on the "public school monopoly" have done little to ingratiate him with the Our Miss Brooks set. In addition, some Milwaukee minority leaders argue that in his efforts to boost the middle class and business presence downtown, he has paid little attention to trying to increase investment in the city's poorer areas. This has angered some of Milwaukee's black community, and Norquist's electoral support among minorities has decreased since he was first elected in 1988.

But the key political fact about Norquist is that he's something of a maverick. According to David Meissner of the Milwaukee-based Public Policy Forum, "John has challenged the stereotypical philosophies of the party. He is a cage rattler." And this may well be the most compelling reason for Gore to choose him as his running mate. Putting John Norquist on the ticket would send a strong signal that the Gore administration will be open to smart people and new ideas—even when they may be out of step with the party rank and file. Consider it the ultimate Sister Souljah move.

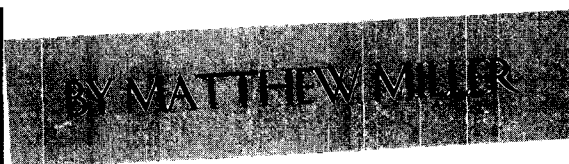
MARK MAZZETTI is a correspondent for *The Economist*.



ROBERT RUBIN

He's smart and he's rich. He knows Wall Street and Washington. He helped build the longest economic boom on record. Even Republicans revere him. Yet the real reason Al Gore should pick Bob Rubin to be his vice president goes beyond the obvious: He's the one man in America who can make the world safe again for liberalism.

Why? Start with Rubin's temperament. Sure, he's cagey, or he couldn't have run Goldman Sachs or wowed them up and down Pennsylvania Avenue. Yet the man carries himself humbly. When I worked for Clinton in the early years, staffers loved to imitate the soft-spoken preface Rubin invariably offered in economic policy meetings. "Well, it's just one man's opinion," he would stammer, or, "I'm hardly an expert on this, but..." From a man of his stature, this brand of modesty, even if an act, set a tone that made it easier for high-powered egos to



share credit and get things done. And if Rubin was sincere, why, so much the better: That's just the kind of mind you want near the helm in a fast-changing world.

Then there's Rubin's hyperrational, "probabilistic" approach to decision-making, best detailed in Jacob Weisberg's helpful 1998 profile in the *New York Times Magazine*. This isn't Robert McNamara's fatal belief in the ability of Reason to solve all human problems. It's more nearly the opposite: the trader's instinct for coping rationally with a crazed, unknowable world. Rubin's determination to coolly assess options and the likelihood of various outcomes sounds pretty elementary. But this sang-froid is rare and indispensable in crises (like the Asian meltdown) when the stakes are high and those around you are losing their heads. It's a quality he plainly thinks about: Rubin is the only former official I know who makes *the process of governmental decisionmaking* a central theme of his speeches. He urges citizens to judge