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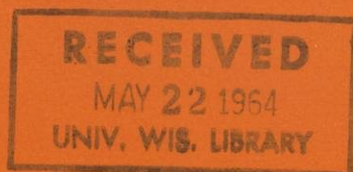
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insight and outlook



in this issue . . .

It's a Sick, Sick Republican Party

Publius Cornelius Scipio

Which Governs Not at All

Jared Lobde

Round Two: The Nomination

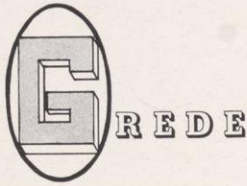
Richard O. Wright

Is Bruce K. Chapman A Threat?

Theodore Cormaney



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Attributed to GEORGE WASHINGTON
during the Constitutional Convention

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WHAT'S RIGHT WITH OUR COUNTRY?

For one thing, its economic system. Sure it's based on capitalism and there are people that contend that capitalism is basically selfish. But this criticism loses validity when we accept the fact that profit for the individual is the only practical way to stimulate productivity—to make more things available to more people.

But let's see just how selfish we are. In many cases, industry shares its profits with labor after wages have been paid. We permit governments of our own choosing to impose heavy taxes on us. We pass laws providing for social security and unemployment insurance. We contribute to medical research. We endow the arts. There is something deep within us which cries out to us to be humane. We give millions to charity. We send our wealth and our people abroad to help the less fortunate. We are inherently generous.

Such problems as our people do have, seem graver than they are because of the general well-being of the

vast majority. And, because we spotlight our problems hoping to find solutions.

The benefits of our economic system are enjoyed by all our people. Our poor are fewer and less poor than the poor of communist countries. As our poor have been upgraded, our middle class has increased tremendously, eliminating the last vestige of the vicious European class system.

Our system has within itself, the capacity to find remedies for its problems, because the principal ideas behind our system is that our people have the right to be free. This freedom includes not only an absence of constraint, but assures the free choice of religion, occupation and association.

Who's in charge of America? Big business? Big labor unions? Wall Street? No one group is dominant. Influential? Yes, but we still come closer to guiding our own destinies than any other people ever have — and that's what's RIGHT with our country.

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insight and outlook

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University of Wisconsin

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Is the Republican Party an Elephant Joke?

The problem's been giving us trouble lately. Sure the G.O.P. is breaking its back to show why it's a zillion times better than the Democrats. And we know it has its elements that don't allow themselves to get bullied by left-wing vote snatchers. And sure the Party is for fiscal responsibility et bla bla . . .

But that's somehow beside the point. Since who-knows-when the Republicans have failed to give *any* effective opposition to the Democrats' programs of a huge central government and a foreign policy consisting of a jumbled mess of containment, retreat and rhetoric. As often as not the Grand Old Party played right along, selling its soul, and its principles, to anyone who wouldn't vote Democratic. Our question then is, how long will a nation conceived in liberty survive if neither of the two major parties is proudly dedicated to the preservation and extension of freedom at a time when it is so rapidly disappearing at home and abroad?

It is in this context that **INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK** publishes its special issue on the 1964 political scene, specifically the Republican Party. Although our authors are good, loyal Republicans, their articles are highly critical of the Party and those elements within it that are trying to force a No-Win policy on the G.O.P.

Hitting off, the Rockefeller people aren't real Party men at all but rather a well-financed collection of self-promoting ideologues, concludes Ted Cormaney, returning to our pages after a too-lengthy absence. Specifically, his target is Bruce K. Chapman who proposes a sure-fire method of retreat for Republicanism and (get this) titles it *Advance*. And yes, Barry Goldwater is still the front runner in the race for the G.O.P. presidential nomination and, liberal pollsters and columnists to the contrary, he probably will become the convention — simply because pledged to him is one heck-of-a-lot of support among the grassroots of the Party. That's the analysis of Richard Wright in his first appearance in our pages. The evidence presented supporting that conclusion is extensive and enough to drive those pollsters back to their laboratories to invent a brand new reason why Goldwater can't win . . . Departing from our theme, Jared Lobdell rejects the popular notion of government for the people, but not by them. And Publius Cornelius Scipio, the one man in all Rome with the genius to whip Hannibal, returns to earth after more than two millenia to marshal the Republican Party to its gargantuan task of whipping the Democrats. Scipio has caustic words for those who allowed the Party to sink into wrack and ruin, but he also pinpoints the one avenue still left open to Republican victory. Let the legions take heed!

For a Positive Conservatism

"Conservatism is against everything. It's pure negativism. It opposes progress." So goes the indictment of the sloganeers. There are several fine responses to those charges which merit the attention of intelligent people.

First and most importantly, there's not a thing wrong with negativism so long as it is directed at evil. The Ten Commandments are preponderantly negative. They enjoin us not to steal, not to covet, not to bear false witness . . . They could have been expressed positively, by enjoining us to respect private property, to tell the truth, and so forth. But the negative form is the stronger rhetorically because it pinpoints and dramatizes the evil.

Political, social and philosophical movements all attempt to resist and reform the existing order. To the extent that they oppose, they are negative. One thinks instantly of Marxism, with its venomous assault upon the alleged evils of regnant capitalism, and its scant attention to the socialist millenium. In its heyday, liberalism expressed itself in much the same negative manner.

The charge of "negativism" is usually the polemical tool of those in power, and is designed to make dissent look like mere foot-dragging rather than the exposition of alternative programs and ideals. At present, the Liberal Establishment uses the term to castigate those who resist its centripetal government programs. It is used to obscure the reality that private energy and initiative are overwhelmingly responsible for the nation's real progress.

Heretofore, because conservatives have been a resisting minority fighting the enormous ideological engine of established liberalism, they have been forced to express their beliefs in negative terms. That is, they have been forced to take stands against moral decay, against subsidies, against medicare, against compulsory welfarism, and so on.

Unfortunately, this has obscured conservatism's own positive idealism and has alienated those who cannot or will not see beyond the sloganeering.

Obviously, each negative conservative proposition has its positive corollary. Conservatives are

not merely anti-communist—they are for a free market capitalist economy. They are not merely against excessive government—but for the cardinal right of individuals to live in liberty, free from the depredations of tyrants.

Conservatives are not merely against government-paid medicine—they are for the right of individuals to insure themselves against disease according to plans tailored to their needs; for the right of individuals to choose hospitals and doctors; for the right of doctors to practice medicine according to wisdom rather than bureaucratic dictates; for the right of citizens to get the best care they can.

Conservatives are not merely opposed to governmental authority and regulation—they are for improving the private ethics of business and labor leaders; for teaching the virtues of restraint, self-discipline, and the control of greed; for the expansion of non-governmental sources of moral authority, such as the Church.

Conservatism is not merely opposed to compulsory government welfarism—it is for the expansion of personal charity and community service; for the expansion of voluntarism, which produces personal responsibility for the plight of the desperate; for the dispensation of charity only to those who need help rather than those who have learned to live on public funds.

These, then, are strong, positive expressions of modern conservatism. They are not merely "negative" protests against liberalistic coercion, supergovernment and moral decay, but rather the expression of a set of viable alternatives to liberal corruption and disintegration.

Unfortunately, conservatives themselves have been partially responsible for fostering the widespread belief that they are negative. Conservative politicians have talked too much about what they are against, and too little about what they are for. Conservative polemicists have been highly successful attackers, needlers and debunkers, but few have fashioned a constructive philosophy built on positive principles.

All that, however, is changing rapidly with the growth of a far-reaching conservative movement both here and abroad.

Aetius

The War on Plenty

In 1960, candidate John Kennedy got good mileage out of his charge that "17 million Americans go to bed hungry every night." President Johnson is doing as well today with his charge that one-fifth of the nation is living in poverty. The nation's population is 185 million, one-fifth of which is 37 million; from which we might deduce that after three years of Democratic administrations the nation has 20,000,000 more poor people than it had under the Republicans.

The editors, however, forebear to claim membership in these *nouveau pauvre*, because Mr. Kennedy's and Mr. Johnson's figures, and our calculation, are all hokum.

The 17 million who go to bed hungry, it turned out, are those who a Department of Agriculture report claimed go in for excessive dieting. The "fifth of the nation" Mr. Johnson insists are in dire need, are simply the one-fifth with a smaller income than the four-fifths making more.

Christ said, "The poor we shall always have with us." So we have had, and so we always shall. But Mr. Johnson's figures, with no discernible correlation to objective hardships, are hardly constructed to alleviate the miseries of the poor, and as we shall presently see, could compound them. The cut-off is \$3,000 annual income. If you make less you are poor, if you make more you aren't, and that's that. Everyone is entitled by the Cosmos to \$3,000 a year and that's that, too. There is no accounting here for savings, indebtedness, investments, flexible pensions, non-cash income (such as home-grown food, or room and board in the armed forces), local standards of living (one of our editors attests that a serviceman living on \$3,000 a year in Europe has a princely time of it) or of those who simply choose to live on less.

"Need" may be good politics, but it is terrible economics — which deals, rather, with wants. Economists use "need" only as shorthand for an individual's elementary wants on the assumption that everyone wishes to survive.

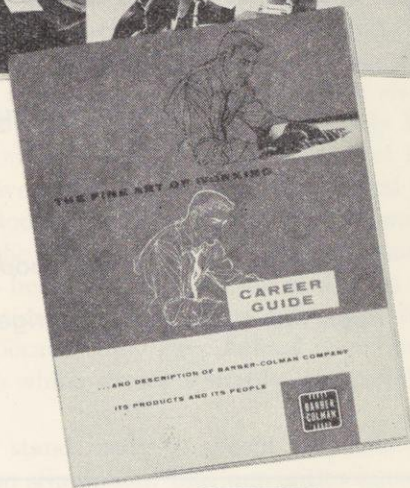
According to economic science, we *want* food, we *want* clothing, we *want* to lead a better life, we *want* an education; none of us is ever free from wants. One's wants can be externally influenced, but every individual is the final and supreme judge of his own desires; on the other hand we can make only the crudest assessment of another person's desires (try telling that to a bureaucrat!).

Let the politician announce that John over there *wants* bread and that he means to tax it off our table to give to John, himself keeping half for services rendered — we'd see him drawn and quartered instantly. But let him weep that John over there *needs* bread — sure's



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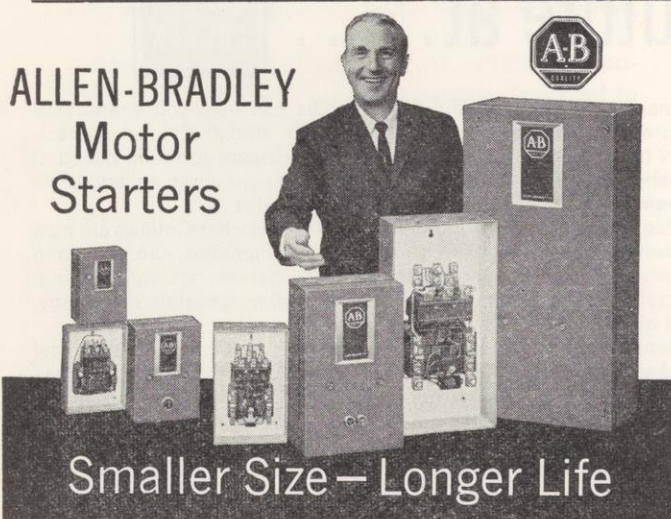
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the sun comes up in the morning, the loaf will be snatched off our table and we can damned well feel good about it. The politician, with bread crumbs on his mouth, will also feel good about it. He's a success in his business.

When the time comes that you can no longer earn enough bread to feed at once yourself, John and the politician, you're going to be forced to ask the government for bread. This is the significant step of your enslavement, and it describes, in microcosm, how civilizations fall.

Thus when your neighborhood politician, accredited by your neighborhood behavioral scientist, declaims that we *need* this, you *need* that, they need *Lebensraum*, baby needs a new pair of shoes, — watch out. His rationalist credentials are not in order; he speaks not for any real "we," and, you can be sure, he's about to pounce.

The problem of thirty-seven million people truly in need of food, clothing and shelter would be self-liquidating: they would soon die of hunger and exposure. But don't fret about the possibility.

Americans "in need" are just ammunition for a massive political invasion of our free institutions. The War on Poverty is meant to be egalitarian, redistributive, centralist: straight from the Liberal Copybook (look it up under "Peachy-keen Ways to Legislate Progress").

Egalitarianism is another word for conformity, anti-excellence, anti-Nature, anti-religion, status quo and inherently impossible. Redistribution is the polite word for theft. Centralism is the drive for totalitarianism. If these features of the War on Poverty aren't enough to gladden the liberals' hearts, there are more: Mr. Johnson's plan will batter property rights, invade personal privacy, extend the swollen bureaucracy, enhance the immoral concept of doing good with other people's money, attract more snoopocrats to the spoils in Washington, give the sociologists and meddlers a free hand to experiment with our lives, create a citizenry dependent on the federal government by taxing away individuals' means of self-support, not to mention their means of private charity — and all of this will cost, by the first low estimate, only \$15 billion.

Truly this is an attack on order and prosperity: an attack on the blessings of liberty. They should call it the War on Plenty.

Low Blows in California

Mr. Fred Haffner, who is Governor Rockefeller's Northern California campaign director, is inaugurating a campaign to "expose" the so-called "extremists" in the ranks of Goldwater supporters.

"... We are building our dossier on the extremists," he said. "We think we will be able to keep our campaign bristling..."

The Rockefeller managers themselves will not go around naming names, according to the plan, but they will have others do the job.

"Extremists are joining the Goldwater campaign one by one," said Haffner. "We want the Goldwater people to get so stuck in that cobweb that they can't extricate themselves. We expect to unmask the extremists on their home fronts, with local people."

This kind of politics sounds all too familiar to great numbers of people. It is patent that Haffner is turning into a witch-hunter of the first rank. It is also clear that he is using the same kind of guilt-by-association approach which was so roundly denounced a few years ago. His purpose is to tar the Goldwater campaign with the brush of extremism by concentrating the public's attention on a handful of cranks.

Witch-hunting is an abomination no matter which side practices it. The process of exposing radical dissenters, just for the sake of exposing them, accomplishes nothing and hampers the process of orderly debate of the issues.

A New Look at Labor

Organized labor now holds a power position second only to the Federal Government. In its maturity, it no longer needs the special privileges which Congress granted to protect fledgling unionism.

The imbalance of the union and corporate power is so severe, in fact, that labor is frequently able to impose settlements on management which hamper industrial progress by diverting capital that would normally go into modernization.

The Committee for Economic Development, a non-partisan research organization sponsored by businessmen and dedicated to increasing the fecundity of American enterprise, has published a ten-point proposal designed to remedy the inequities in labor law.

The committee suggests that "racial, or other barriers to union membership, apprenticeship or employment should be eliminated."

"Laws against violence and the threat of violence, which tend to coerce through fear, should be respected and enforced in labor disputes by federal, state and local authorities."

"Every worker should have the right to decide freely to belong or not to belong to a union . . ."

"United States courts should be authorized to issue a restraining order against unions in cases involving strikes in violation of a labor agreement, as they are now authorized to compel an employer to accept arbitration of disputes arising under agreements."

"The right of employers, singly or collectively, to use the lockout in the bargaining process should not be diluted . . ."

"Determination of the form and content of collective bargaining should be left to the parties."

"There is need for legislation in most states aimed at limiting the use of union resources for political purposes."

"The present Taft-Hartley provisions for government action in national emergency disputes should be retained. The recent tendency toward increasing government intervention . . . should be halted."

We think these suggestions are worthy of acceptance and ought to be implemented immediately.

To Re-Clarify the Issues . . .

For as long as INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK has been in existence and, we suspect, much longer, the philosophy of conservatism and the programs set forth by conservatives for positive action have been subject to a slanderous abuse and misinterpretation that can only be explained by a complete ignorance on the part of its critics. Conservatives have, on occasion, been linked to George Lincoln Rockwell and his crazy swastika wavers as well as to the hack corrupters of Teapot Dome. Leftists have also been known to scream at the top of their voice "Reactionary!" only to run away and die, content, at last, because they have helped to defame a bloody ogre. To which we reply simply, and calmly, Nonsense.

As always, we stand ready to accept the harshest criticism, with one stipulation: that our critics have a vague idea of what they are talking about. We know from experience, however, that this strict rule of criticism is hard to abide by, and, as conservatism steadily grows in influence and power, we can expect no fairer treatment from the ideologues in the future than we've received in the past.

For those who do wish to understand conservative philosophy and action, whether for general understanding or responsible criticism, we traditionally offer, at least once a year, a list of books which explain and expound the conservative philosophy above and beyond what can be done in these pages. These books vary in length and in difficulty and there should be something here for readers at every level. Although by no means complete, this list should help anyone, conservative or liberal, understand what this burgeoning conservative movement is all about. Many of these are available through the Wisconsin Conservative Club; others can be obtained from the Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y., and those cited, from the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, 505 Lemcke Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.

Communism and Foreign Policy

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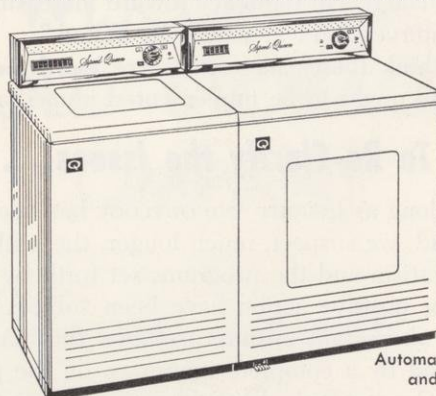
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Coulter, Charles and Richard Rimanoczy. *Education for What?* (ISI)*
Molnar, Thomas. *The Decline of the Intellectual* (Meridian)*
Weaver, Richard M. *Education and the Individual* (ISI)*
....., *Academic Freedom* (ISI)*

*Available in paperback.

The Restoration of Alger

Cy Butt

**Fremont is called from above
to pull the pink skeletons
back out of the closets**

Fremont Guilfoyle, Ambassador Without Portfolio, dashed into Mr. Joseph Troia's Steak and Martini House this winter afternoon, rubbing his ears and stamping his feet. With him was his confidential secretary, Fifi, who was quivering here and there, too, but not from the cold. Mr. Troia, who has a quick and appreciative eye, dropped the oar with which he was concocting a tub of martinis for the evening rush. Turning one glistening peeper on a client at the far end of the bar and the other on Fifi's abrupt frontal escarpment, which is a nice trick if you can do it, Mr. Troia inquired as to the needs of the couple.

"A couple of dry ones," said Fremont. "Singles."

"Singles?" said Mr. Troia. "Are you weaning yourself?"

"Not at all," said Fremont. "It's that whenever Fifi and your double martinis get together something always happens. If you remember, the last time we were here she got an olive stuck in her ear and Doc Moggs had to take her to your office and remove it with a buttonhook. I still can't understand why the good doctor insisted that she remove all her garments for a simple little thing like that."

"I can," said Mr. Troia, using both eyes and twitching slightly. "To what does Madison owe this visit? Is there something of moment afoot?"

"We're going to whitewash Alger," said Fremont. "I thought that with all the liberals floating around here, it would be easy to get a few statements to aid the cause."

"Whitewash Alger!" said Mr. Troia. "Horatio Alger? Just what . . ."

"No, no," said Fremont. "I mean Alger Hiss. Algy was a top rank Democrat and if we can get him accepted again now, it will be simple to go on from there."

"Whitewash Hiss!" said Mr. Troia. "Compared to him a skunk would be welcome at the Sunday School picnic. I don't think you can make it."

"It shouldn't be too hard," said Fremont. "It's the trend now. Look at the job we did for Oppenheimer. For a couple of years we put out stories of how terri-

ble it was that he lost his security clearance in atomic work and since there weren't too many yips we worked the ploy harder and what do you know but the other day we handed him a \$50,000 tax-free check. As Hitler said, no matter how ridiculous the story it will be believed if it is repeated often enough."

"I have heard the theory," said Mr. Troia. "But Hiss is a different breed of cat than Oppenheimer."

"Perhaps," said Fremont. "But Owen Lattimer was found by a Congressional committee to be a 'conscious, articulate instrument of the Communist conspiracy' and he's back doing work for the government again. Hiss only has a perjury rap against him and look what we had to fight in the Oppenheimer case."

"What?" asked Mr. Troia.

"Well," said Fremont, "He paid dues to the Communist party before and after the Nazi-Soviet pact; his wife, brother and mistress and all his close friends were Communists; he belonged only to Communist organizations; he employed at and recruited into the Los Alamos and Berkely atomic projects no one but Communists; he was in frequent contact with Soviet espionage agents and secured recruits for the party. There were other specifications, too, but, of course, he admitted them all."

"He admitted," said Mr. Troia, "only after he had lied about it for years and been caught."

"Well, yes," said Fremont. "But not very many years. A few years ago it couldn't have been done, but now the trend is different. Contrary to reactionary-inspired laws we are selling wheat to Russia on credit and the government is to guarantee payment. We plan on joining them for a moon landing and for other projects."

"That burying project where we are to be guest of honor?" asked Mr. Troia.

"I haven't heard," said Fremont. "But undoubtedly we'll do what we can. Next week, you know, is Coddle a Communist Week and on the strength of this I am going to try to get some institution of higher learning to make Alger a professor."

"Why?" asked Mr. Troia, carefully drying his oar.

"Because," said Fremont, "professors always stick up for each other, no matter what happens."

"Like they did for Professor Barghoorn?" queried Mr. Troia.

"Not like Professor Barghoorn," said Fremont. "Not Professor Barghoorn."

Which Governs Not at All

Jared Lobdell

Guy Fawkes wanted the Government to do something, and saw that the first thing to enable the Government to do anything was to blow up Parliament. I think it is very much to be regretted on the whole that he failed, because, ever since he failed, the whole history of Parliament has been a triumphant vindication of his grasp of the situation. It has been a continual demonstration that you not only defeat government by entrusting it to Parliament, but in a far more complete way you defeat Democracy . . .

—G. B. SHAW

But then, you see, I really do want to defeat Democracy. And so should everyone, if by Democracy we mean the rule of the *Demos*, the collective People, the *populus* whose voice we are so frequently advised to consider the voice of God. Generally and unthinkingly, this is what we do mean by the word, and if there are those among you who mean by it something else—say, for example, a system whereby we spread the temptations of power over so many people that, with luck, no one is sufficiently smeared with them to become a positive danger—then I think it fair to warn you that this is not what I mean here, and certainly not what Mr. Shaw meant. You would be quite justified in your definition, and in the further conclusion that, if you define the word this way, a perfect Democracy would be a system of government by the whole people acting together. This would, of course, be workable only in Paradise, and short of that, any Democracy would tend toward perfection precisely insofar as it tended away from government. Evidently this is not Mr. Shaw's Democracy, though it is a very good description of his Parliament.

No, what he, and what the modern philosophical Democrats, mean by a perfect Democracy is a system of government according to the will of the whole people—that is, government of and for the people, but not by them. Now it is clear that if the People is only the sum of its individual parts, the closest we can

get to the will of the People is the will of the majority. This leaves us with two alternatives. Either a Democratic government will enforce the will of the majority as if it were the will of the People, or it will, once having been elected Democratically (that is, by a majority which it will pretend represents the will of the whole people), assume therefore that all its acts, whatever they are, necessarily represent the will of the People, until such time as it is turned out of office.

It will do this, we will be assured, from the best possible motives. It will whip up a deafening clamor by the *Demos* for whatever measure it wishes to enact, and then attempt to enact it in answer to the clamor. It will with more or less perfect sincerity declare that it is only carrying out the will of the People. And with proper and judicious control of the People, a push here, a pull there, and doubtless the smallest possible admixture of brainwash, the will of the People will be just what it claims.

The other alternative is no better. To enforce the will of the majority as though it were the will of the whole people is merely to enforce the government's interpretation of what more than half the (voting) People wants, in place of enforcing the government's interpretation of what all the People ought to want. That it may be less dangerous for the members of the government I am not denying. But it is highly questionable whether it is less dangerous to the governed.

You will note that I am leaving out the possibility that the government will not enforce either the will of the majority or its own will—in short, that it will not enforce any will at all. If it did that it would not in fact be a system of government at all. It would be the variety of Democracy that we have already defined out of the question—what Mr. Shaw called Parliament.

All this, of course, rests on the premise that the whole of the people is no more than the sum of its parts. If it is more, then it is possible to have a Democracy (that is what it would be called) based on the General Will of the *Demos*, to be interpreted with equal facility by Mussolini or Hitler or Lenin or Stalin or Khrushchev or, for all I know, Lyndon Baines Johnson. And I suspect Mr. Shaw wanted it to be based on the General Will as interpreted by Mr. Shaw. But that is beside the point. The point is that such a General Will (differing from, and not ascertainable by, the will of the majority) is the fittest instrument for tyranny the modern world has produced, and if this is Democracy, then of course everyone should want to defeat it. Everyone but the tyrant.

But is the tyranny of the majority or the tyranny of the Democratically elected government enforcing its own will any less a tyranny than this one because it is more or less self-imposed and better intentioned and more beneficial and wears ten gallon hats? It may be necessary and (compared with other tyrannies) attractive, but you can be sure that the only certain protection against any government is an almost equally powerful instrument of non-government incorporated within it.

Which is why Britain has a Par-

liament and we have a Congress, and why complaints about the dilatory action (or inaction) of the Congress are not only not to the point but against it. When Parliament tried to govern, they succeeded in chopping the King's head off and replacing him with Cromwell, a far more absolute ruler, thereafter declining into an aberrant, but reasonably innocuous, desuetude. And when they had another chance, they gave it all up and brought in another king. When the king no longer governed, the First Lord of the Treasury took over. It is not the

function of deliberative bodies to govern: it is their function to be ungoverned and ungovernable.

If we ever deprive them of that function, if we ever (in the name of Democracy) bring in a system of government that of its nature must do things, that cannot help doing things, that spends twenty-four hours every day governing, instead of wrangling and pontificating and wasting money and grafting and doing nothing (which I consider the properly ordained purposes of government), then we may be sorry, not that Guy Fawkes failed to

blow up Parliament, but that he was so misguided as to assume that halfway measures would suffice.

With a little more perseverance, and the luck to be born three hundred years later, he might have taken strong executive action, after a Democratic appeal to the People, in accordance with their General Will, and blown up everything.

And then, if we did not have Paradise, at least we would not have Mr. Shaw's Democracy.

Unless, of course, after the explosion, we wound up in Hell.

Is Bruce K. Chapman a Threat?

Theodore Cormaney

**Frantically trying to
force the GOP to accept
an ideologue**

Bruce K. Chapman is publisher of *Advance*, A Journal of Political Thought. Mr. Chapman and *Advance* are wedded to a beatific vision of Nelson A. Rockefeller as President of the United States, and, therefore, to exorcising the Republican Party of the ogres of the "Radical Right" with quarterly incantations that "Goldwater Can't Win." Handcuffed to Mr. Chapman's one wrist is a carpetbag full of amulets and ju-jus to ward off the evils of the Goldwater for President Committees. With the other hand Mr. Chapman holds one branch of a divining rod that tells him that only he who appeals to the intellectual and journalistic communities, and to the "variegated" minorities, and to the kept votes of organized labor can win. Mr. Chapman wears blinkers over his eyes which deny him a view of the tremendous crowds that Senator Goldwater draws in the heart of the intellectual and journalistic community, the "variegated" minorities, and the bastions of labor. For without people from all

these groups, how could Goldwater fill Chavez Ravine on the night of a crucial Dodgers game?

In the last issue of *Advance* (Fall, 1963), Mr. Chapman raises the specter of a President Goldwater as "the Andrew Johnson of his time." By the strategy outlined in the early pamphlets of the Draft Goldwater Committee certain Eastern states were conceded to the Democrats. In compensation, the entire South and most of the West and Midwest are claimed for Goldwater, giving the Senator—on paper—an electoral college majority. That, after all, is how Presidents are elected. Very brightly, Mr. Chapman finds that by giving the big city states to the Democrats, Goldwater runs the risk of "probably" losing the popular vote. Having been elected President, in the flight of Mr. Chapman's fancy, Goldwater would be opposed

by the Democrats, "with the vast majority of voters on their side," and they would "*call for his resignation.*" (italics added) Although the voters "would accept Goldwater's legitimate claim to the Presidency, they would not be impressed by it . . . for most people in this country believe that the man who gets the most popular votes wins, period." A very interesting, not to say ingenious, formulation, but where does that leave the late President Kennedy? Why did not *Advance*, and Bruce K. Chapman, and Nelson Rockefeller call for Kennedy's resignation when he was elected President by less than a majority of the major party vote? Why wasn't *Advance*, *et al.*, calling for the resignation of Kennedy in light of the widespread and well substantiated stories of wholesale vote frauds in Illinois, Texas, Missouri and elsewhere? Finally, where do *Advance's* horror stories leave Abraham Lincoln who was elected President in 1860 by less than 40 per cent of the popular vote?

In the same series of frantic "Goldwater Can't Win" chants, *Advance* tells the unwary "since [the thirties] the only time the [Republican] party had won the Presidency



was with a 'Modern Republican'." Except that the term Modern Republican was not coined until Arthur Larson manufactured it during Eisenhower's second term, this is another bit of *Advance* anti-history. For, if by Modern Republicanism *Advance* means that mish-mash of One-World, Welfare State, Me-Tooism spouted from its own pages, then every Republican Presidential candidate since Hoover has been a Modern Republican. No one, of course, ever knew what Alf Landon was, but Wendell Willkie and Tom Dewey certainly fit into the Procrustes bed of *Advance*-Modern-Rockefeller Republicanism. Willkie not only lost miserably, but Dewey will long live in the memory of Republicans as the man who snatched defeat from the jaws of victory in 1948. If *Advance* and Mr. Chapman would put down their "Who Else But Nels" pipes long enough to check back they would find that Eisenhower's platform of "Communism, Corruption and Korea" was hardly calculated to cozen Democrat votes. They would also find that Eisenhower, in 1952, could have been elected President on an Anti-Vivisection platform.

Just in passing it might be mentioned that *Advance* and Mr. Chapman harbor the fond illusion that Rockefeller will "regain his pre-marriage popularity." By "pre-marriage" it must be assumed that they mean "pre-re-marriage," but aside from that, it can fairly be said that the bottom dropped out of the Rock's popularity market coincidentally with his divorce and re-marriage, not as a result.

At the same time that the story of Rocky's marital peregrinations broke, came the initial announcement and formal organization of the National Draft Goldwater Committee. With this catalyst, Draft Goldwater Committees sprang up all over the country. In Wisconsin, without exception, these committees were not organized as anti-Rockefeller, but as pro-Goldwater. The response has been literally overwhelming. At the University of Wisconsin the Collegians for Gold-

water organization rivals the size of the Young Republicans, and their membership is by no means overlapping. The tenor of their meetings is not openly anti-Rockefeller, but it is clear that they are committed to Goldwater; their allegiance will not be transferred; they will accept no decision of the Republican National Convention but Barry Goldwater.

. . . like in Wisconsin

One of the less glaring errors committed by *Advance* in its last collection of anti-Goldwater diatribes is its generalization of the question of "who will run best in the largely similar industrial states bordering the Great Lakes—that is . . . Wisconsin . . . ?" *Advance* tells us that there are in this state "large, organized liberal elements" and "smaller arch-conservative groups." The "large, organized liberal" element in Wisconsin is coalesced within the Democratic Party of Wisconsin into an odd bag of organized labor COPE votes, agrarian radical Farmer's Union votes and the lathering liberals of Madison's University community. The "smaller arch-conservative" group is, generally, the Republican Party of Wisconsin, except that its conservatism is hardly arch. As things shape up for 1964, for instance, the Wisconsin GOP will be putting up for the U. S. Senate and for five state constitutional offices as unconservative a slate of candidates as will be seen in the Midwest, with the possible exception of Minnesota. The leading candidate for the Republican nomination for the U. S. Senate has been an open admirer of Rockefeller's, an out-and-out liberal, and violently anti-Party. Significantly enough, over the course of the summer this gentleman was heard to say that he too thought Goldwater could win.

The question, above the pettifogging and backbiting of an insignificant organ of the Rockefeller press, remains: is there a threat to the Republican Party from the Republican liberals and the Rockefeller forces? And the answer follows that if there is a single danger from the Republican left, it is that a minority "out"

party cannot afford the luxury of a political purge. Call it unity, call it expediency, call it what you like: if the Republican Party is to elect a President in 1964 it will be by recruiting people into the Party, not by reading them out. This reading people out of the Party is precisely that which Nelson Rockefeller and his cronies at *Advance* have shown themselves to be most adept. His outbursts of scandal-mongering and name calling following the Young Republican National Convention, where the New York backed candidate for National Chairman was narrowly defeated, were an infinitely greater disservice to the Party than his divorce and remarriage. His wanton and unprovoked attacks on Senator Goldwater, his smearing with the brush of "extremism" the man who leads him in the race for the nomination reveals Rockefeller as a man who will either rule or ruin.

At the 1964 convention of the Republican Party in California, when the Rockefeller forces lost the test vote on endorsement of presidential candidates in the June primary they promptly walked out. The Governor had addressed the convention only eight hours before. But that kind of a walkout is hardly the act of a group essentially interested in the success of the Republican Party. This is the action of a man and a gang merely interested in forwarding their own selfish interests and philosophy and forcing them down the throats of an unsympathetic Party. Only in this light of a preference for an ideology and its victory whatever the cost to the Party vehicle can the statements, charges, accusations and walkouts of the liberal Republicans be understood.

Even looking back to 1960, Rockefeller's major act, after his ignominious withdrawal from the nomination race, was to gull Richard Nixon into accepting a liberal platform for the Party. This is the cavalier act of an ideologue. This is the rule or ruin attitude that characterizes Nelson Rockefeller, liberal Republicans, and Bruce K. Chapman. This is the threat of Bruce K. Chapman and his ilk.

Round Two: The Nomination

Richard O. Wright

**It looks good for
the Senator, but the
libs are digging in**

On January third, Senator Barry Goldwater announced his intention to seek the Republican nomination for President, ending much speculation to the contrary. In the opinion of many in the mass media, John Kennedy's death had caused Senator Goldwater such grief that they were confident that he would not run. For the umpteenth time, they hopefully counted him out. Yet, after a serious evaluation of the political scene, he sent them scurrying back to their closets for a further session of garment rending over his positive announcement. A few, collecting their wits and objectively scanning their handbooks and following the commentators and columnists on the left, predicted Goldwater's rejection by the Republican National Convention, before the people got their chance at him. But Goldwater is not politically naive. He knows, and has often stated in the past, that he could do his cause more harm than good if he ran against heavy odds. His announcement to run means obviously that Goldwater is depending on something he finds in the political scene which promises him victory at San Francisco, and at the polls in November.

The background of the Goldwater announcement reveals the portion of the political landscape—missed by those who view through their leftist tinted glasses—which produced the Senator's confidence. His decision was actually forced on him. Early in 1963, Barry Goldwater may have had the presidency meandering into his dreams, but, to force his decision to actually make the race required a campaign which grew to proportions surprising even those who had been pre-

dicting such. The Draft Goldwater movement was in the truest sense just that—a draft movement. Goldwater had not even been aware of the National Draft Goldwater Committee until after the news of its formation was available to the public. As F. Clifton White, national director of the committee stated it, "We [the group which met to form the organization] didn't know how the Senator would react to the committee. We were hoping that he would just ignore us, but we were half expecting a harsh rebuttal in the morning." The Arizona idol of the conservatives had to be talked into running.

The Draft Goldwater Committee intended to organize and demonstrate a grassroots conservative upheaval to the Senator, but, before they could begin, local Draft Goldwater Committees appeared spontaneously everywhere as if the mere formation of the national committee had ignited an explosion. By the end of the summer,

many states had combined the local groups into state Draft Goldwater Committees and by mid-October forty states had Goldwater Committees. Unlike the farcical "draft" movements of past campaigns, initiated by the candidates themselves, the origin of this movement was the local precincts, often with inexperienced and, just as often, politically naive political workers taking the organizational initiative. The national committee spent most of its time simply connecting the local organizations into State units and gloating over the large number of contributions and signed "Goldwater for President" petitions which were pouring in. Rallies were held and speeches were made—and the mass media could not squelch the commotion.

Unusual Enthusiasm

All of this activity, plus several independent movements, amounted to a year's head start on a campaign. Goldwater became as much



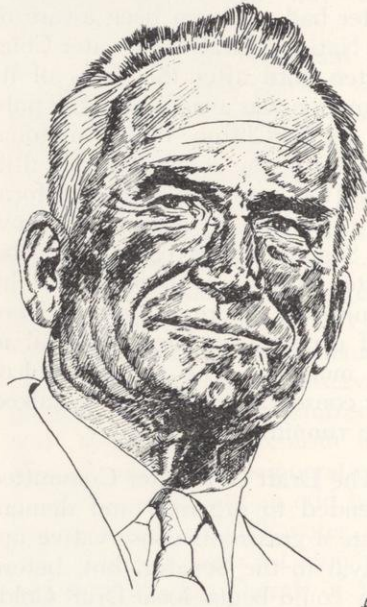
a household word as Kennedy had been. The immense heat generated by this unusual enthusiasm finally penetrated the thick skins of the pollsters and the political reporters, who promptly, and curiously, attributed the noise to a public furor over the Rockefeller remarriage. What these news nursemaids failed to comprehend was that the draft movement merely uncovered the simmering conservative rebellion at the grass roots. The substance of conservative support for the Senator from Arizona was proved, virtually compelling him to accept the challenge.

This, then, is what Goldwater sees in the American grass roots; a conservative protest of proportions enough to elect a man, like himself, who promises the electorate a return to the direction of progress which our forefathers envisioned. Against Johnson, Goldwater knows he must concede some southern states, but he is certain of his greatly increased chances of carrying such previously dubious states as Pennsylvania and California. He knows that John Kennedy had demonstrated that America is looking for a hard hitting, personable man and tends to reject the politician's politician—a Nixon or a Johnson. Goldwater feels that he can stir the conservative unrest at the grass roots.

Admittedly, the remaining two-thirds of the campaign were complicated by the communist who shot the President. Just as Goldwater attained such a tremendous lead for the GOP nomination that the opinion shapers admitted his high position, his designated Democratic opponent was removed from the scene. Before the sorrow had subsided, those who had told how Goldwater's popularity was the result of the newest Rockefeller wife were pondering the problem of how the assassination must have also slain Goldwater's presidential possibilities. The thought never entered their cluttered minds that his chances could have increased. Never! A change—any change—must reduce this rebellion, this Goldwater commotion, to dust.

Such is the logic of those afflicted with Liberalism's fanciful notion of an irreversible world leftward movement.

The situation needs a more objective evaluation. Consider these points: We have the Goldwater Republicans and the non-Goldwater Republicans. The existence



... a choice, not an echo

of adamant fans of Nixon, Romney, Scranton, Rockefeller or Lodge is not substantiated by observation. The support offered these gentlemen is of the eastern wing and their few and far scattered, although monetarily powerful, cohorts of the Republican party. The flexibility of these party people in lending their support to any of a number of the Goldwater opponents would indicate that their main purpose is to foster a stop-Goldwater drive. They are not as concerned with the nomination of a favorite candidate of their own as with denying that honor to Goldwater.

Peering more deeply into the anti-Goldwater forces, one easily stumbles into the basic content and basis of the drive. The most glaring characteristic of the movement is that the relatively few individuals involved *almost invariably* hold some position of prestige in the Party, such Governor or Governor's

lackey, Congressman, State Party chairman, or county chairman. For instance, the most important anti-Goldwater moves are born inside the ranks of the Eastern or "me-too-ist" wing of the GOP, which has controlled the Party for thirty years. The same observation persists when one examines the intra-party struggles in the various states. Most state Party bosses are classed as non-Goldwater people while few can be found in the rank and file of the party. The favorite son movements provide such people with an effective means to stop the Goldwater move. The maneuver often—as in Wisconsin—rewards its operators with complete control of a state delegation, leaving little chance of exerting direct influence by any who are not well acquainted with the "favorite son." A favorite son, in any case, decreases the chance of any candidate (meaning Goldwater) securing commitments from many of that state's delegates. Naturally, these moves have all been generated in the inner circles of the party, and not at the local precinct level. As suggested, these circles are the main stomping grounds for the non-Goldwater Republicans.

The characteristics of the Goldwater Republicans offer further clues to the strife. The Midwest, South and West have produced most of the Goldwater Republicans, creating a situation which has left them relatively in the bleachers on national Party policy making. Few of these individuals have stuck to their conservative ideals and have simultaneously gained high position in the national Party. The nucleus of prominent Goldwater Republicans can be seen to consist of a mixture of the remains of the Taft conservatives, together with a much larger proportion of relatively young and inexperienced politicians, many of them having just recently gained control of their local and state organizations. The important thing to note is that this group aspires to national control. Furthermore, as substantiated by the Draft Goldwater movement, the vast majority of the rank and

file of the GOP across the nation has proven to be pro-Goldwater, lending probity to the claims and ambitions of their leaders.

These observed characteristics of the non-Goldwater and the Goldwater Republicans force the conclusion that the anti-Goldwater drive inside the GOP is born of the previously high riding Eisenhower Republican's fear of losing their Party control. If Goldwater wins the nomination, the Republican Party will forever move out from under Ike's blanket of radical moderation. The campaign positions and thus Party leadership in most areas will necessarily fall to the young upstarts now seething in disagreement with their present Party officials. The influence of the eastern wing will be tremendously reduced as the South joins the Party and the conservatives in the Midwest become nationally prominent. Thus, Goldwater's nomination spells political death to many now in high position, and his election would be the funeral service of the Eisenhower Republicans. Naturally they fight their pending doom.

Unequaled strength

Goldwater's general convention prospects, therefore, involve his widespread support in the GOP rank and file as the favorable factor, and the unfavorable high position and knowhow of the Eisenhower Republicans, who intend to keep their lid on the boiling pot. Contrary to the reports of our many commentators at the time, Goldwater inherited the front runner's position for the 1964 nomination immediately after Nixon's vote total was final—mainly by virtue of the Senator's support even then building in the grass roots. This is quite reasonable. The rank and file of the GOP will make their presence felt mostly through their continuously and immediately effective numbers. On the other hand, the Party big shots require time for their controlling maneuvers. Their troubles were further compounded by the fact that the conservative upheaval was rapidly and continuously building strength, moving the

rank and file to the right. The question remains: has Goldwater retained his lead?

The answer to that question, the gallop poll notwithstanding, is that Goldwater at this moment enjoys a commanding lead for the nomination. Approximately 450 delegates to the convention are known to be pledged to Goldwater while another 125 are considered practically "sure." (A total of 655 delegate votes are needed for the nomination. Such strength by one candidate at this early date is highly unusual. 500 pledged delegates would certainly chop a gaping hole in any draft movement, which contains the only hope for a Nixon, Romney or Lodge. Nelson Rockefeller, despite his large expenditure of time and money, remains as only a minor threat to Goldwater and, following New Hampshire, is fading swiftly. Ike's boys will be anxious to ditch the governor after he fizzles in the rest of the primaries, an event of reasonable certainty. Their obvious strategy, that of tying up enough delegates through effectively uncommitted favorite son delegations and hoping for a convention deadlock opening the way for a draft, requires at least one candidate with delegate strength reasonably comparable to Goldwater's. They must



stop Goldwater on the first ballot, a task that favorite son delegations are not numerous enough to perform. Nelson Rockefeller cannot hope for too much more than New York's delegation (and not all of

that). Nearly all of the remaining Goldwater-Rockefeller primary contests take place in the areas considered Goldwater country. Illinois and other states, as strong Goldwater areas, didn't promise the Governor enough support to risk any campaign expenditure. He even tried to pull out of Texas. Other states promise three-way battles with the third contender, Scranton, or in some cases like Oregon, Lodge, slicing Rockefeller's vote in half. Unless Nelson Rockefeller's political durability is approximately ten times greater than his ideological durability, one could reasonably predict his withdrawal as a serious candidate. This means that the non-Goldwater people must then push someone else, probably Scranton, into energetic primary campaigns.

The greatest fissure in these evil plans is that the Eisenhower crew will be, in effect, sticking its foot under the wheel of the locomotive to try to stop the train. When Rocky, who has had the top billing for his stop Goldwater act, careens into nowhere, the AUH₂O bandwagons shall pour forth. On the other hand, if Rocky won't listen to reason and does stay in the race, Goldwater will undoubtedly trample him in the remaining primaries, setting the momentous bandwagons loose earlier. If this is the case the Senator should build his convention delegate strength well past the needed number. If he has not yet reached 655 committed delegates by June second, the California primary, which contains much support for Goldwater, who will be as of now, running against both Rockefeller and Stassen, should push him over the top. This time it appears that the Eastern, militant moderates won't be able to cram their candidate down conservative throats. If they stay with Rockefeller as their top contender, Barry Goldwater should rocket straight into the nomination and, if they switch horses in midstream, Goldwater's bandwagon will only pick up momentum. The anti-Goldwater, modern Republican's thirty year reign appears to be near its end.

It's a Sick, Sick Republican Party

Publius Cornelius Scipio

Why Does the Elephant Lose Elections? Because It Is Making an Ass of itself . . .

Everyone agrees the Republican Party is sick, but only the unscientific would permit horse doctors and ward bosses, who know, to explain why it is sick. We took a poll. Consider the astonishing—but finely scientific—results we invented to make our demonstration: Of a representative cross sample of 50 students we polled on the question, “What is wrong with the Republican Party?”, 14% had never heard of the Republican Party; 26% thought it hadn’t kept its promise to free the slaves; 10% found it too honest for a fun government; and 32% considered it too reactionary.¹ Science-wise, then, it is concludable that is as sick as everyone agrees.

The Democrats, on the other hand, appear to be in radiant health (what they’ve got only shows up in smear tests). But we are not here concerned with the Democratic Party.

The serious fact is, politics abhors a vacuum. Political failure compounds failure; entrenched power begets power. For every Republican reversal there is a Democratic advance. Although the Republicans can still count on tens of millions of votes nationally, they have long since ceased to win enough elections at any level to hold their own and thus the Party proceeds, apparently ineluctably, toward its grave.

In contrast, the Democratic Par-

ty fields a trim fighting machine. Up front it has its mercenaries—labor, ethnic minorities, urban masses; it buffers its flanks with “the little man”; it keeps a whopping pork-barrel vote in reserve. It wrote the book on class warfare, Mr. Lenin notwithstanding. The Democrats win elections. For three decades they have divvied up the spoils.

Democrats dominate the Federal Government. In the executive they make policy and dispense patronage; they hold large majorities in both houses of Congress, and of course run (and staff) its committees; The Supreme Court and the federal judiciary are lousy with Democrats (of the hundred-odd judgeships filled by Mr. Kennedy, only twelve went to Republicans); above all, Democrats administer the powerful regulatory agencies and brandish the bureaus.

Behind the actual Democratic organization is a host of parapolitical groups whose interest in part is to maintain the party as a vehicle for their own ambitions. Undoubtedly foremost among these is organized labor, whose political lobby—COPE—makes and breaks congressmen as easily as Smoky the Bear snaps matchsticks. Leftwing powerhouses such as the ADA, the NAACP and the Council on Foreign Relations are safely in the Democratic camp, while leftwing outhouses such as the socialists, pacifists and Communists follow it closely, occasionally providing the winning margin for this or that congressman—William Fitts Ryan, a Liberal Democrat from New York, is one so blessed.

In the sprawl of the great foundations, and in the academic beehives, an army of intellectual shut-ins, scholars and pamphleteers lucubrates to give the Democratic

Party its ideology. Their ideas are then circulated and sloganized by the general press, the preponderance of whose reporters, commentators, staff writers and cartoonists are Democrats.

As a final and painful insult to “the party of Big Business,” the Democrats in all probability are financed by more and fatter cats from the business world than the Republicans, especially from concerns that like their government contracts.

The Ass in the Mirror

Reconnoitering the formidable Democratic forces posed against them, Republicans should readily judge they haven’t a chance slugging it out. They must look to revitalizing the party before they can hope to restore their political fortunes. What went wrong with Republicanism in the first place? What caused three decades of defeat? What Republican debilities so obviously gave aid and comfort to the Democrats?

Modern Republicanism, on all counts. The same “modern,” or me-too Liberal Republicanism that has owned the party and kept the conservative vote captive (or sitting on its hands) since 1936, when Eastern moneybags grabbed the party machinery with the notion that pastel variations on the New Deal could beat *that man*. The Moderns are only now relinquishing their grip, and are presently quartered somewhere in the vaults of the Chase Manhattan Bank. They are the principal source of the party’s illness.

Of course Mr. Roosevelt stomped all over Modern Republicanism in 1936. And in 1940. And in 1944. Even Harry Truman, a commoner, squashed Mr. Dewey in 1948, and did it with a Dixiecrat revolt on his

¹ Of the remaining 18%, 4% (a couple wearing matching army field jackets) thought it died in the Middle Ages; 2% said he “dunno” and “where is it being held?”; the rest (12%) hadn’t heard of it either.

hands. Modern Republicanism, in fact, might never have won an election had it not been able to tie itself to a popular war hero of indeterminate political hue (Mr. Eisenhower didn't know himself what he was, Republican or Democrat, until the last minute). And when, at last, Modern Republicanism moved into the White House liking Ike, and the nation positively strained to forget the disastrous twenty-year experiment just ended, no attempt whatever was made to repair the broken-down party organization or to advance distinctively Republican ambitions or ideals. The New Deal experiment hadn't ended at all. The Modern Republican legacy for 1960 was a party so gaunt and emasculated that it could not even put Richard Nixon in office after eight years of peace and unprecedented prosperity.

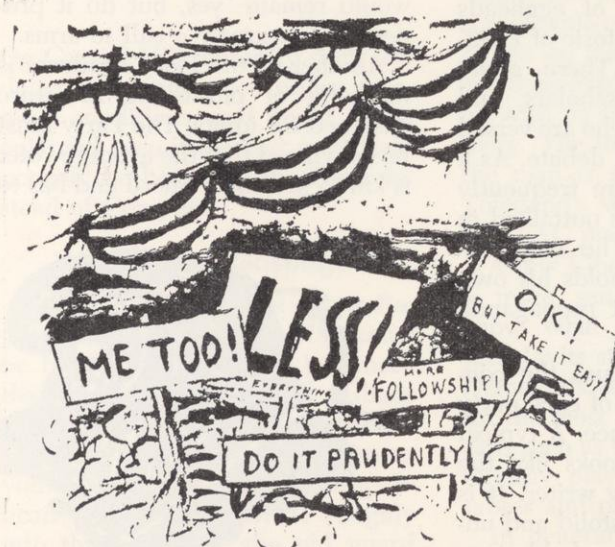
If the Republican Party machinery was not oiled in the Eisenhower years, at least the Federal bureaucracy was — Mr. Eisenhower delivered it over intact to the New Frontier. There is an elegant case to be made for a do-nothing Presidency, if the President does nothing with a mind to keeping the government off the back and out of the way of the people. But Ike, despite his forbearing to place a plaque over his bed recounting that he and Mamie had slept there all those years, was quite innocent of any intention to repeal the New Deal, or even to slow it down. The New Frontier felt right at home, right away.

Modern Republicanism has not been just a loser, it has worked hard at being a nonentity. Its "me-too" philosophy chilled what Republican ideals remained at large in the party, and it had no ideas to call its own. Ward bosses may correctly conclude that ideals and issues are merely material to be exploited for the good of the party, but the rank and file think differently. They see the party as a vehicle to advance their ideological goals. When the party proves incapable or unwilling to advance the ideals of its members, it disheartens and then loses them, and Modern Republicanism

has had just this disheartening effect on the party's conservative wing. Without the conservative vote at full strength, the Republican Party could not hope to win.

Deathless

Ask a man on the street what the Democrats stand for, and he will be able to respond with a series of specifics, such as Ted Sorensen's deathless "Ask not what your country can do for you . . ." or the corny "We will not negotiate out of fear, but we will not fear to negotiate."² He will have forgotten the likes of "Your sons will not fight in any foreign wars."³ Ask him what the Republicans stand for, and he won't be sure. The same stuff, only less of it, y'know? Less spending, government, taxes, welfarism, less of anything Democratic. If you press him,



the man on the street will also insist that the Democrats have the little man at heart, are more solicitous of the common good, and represent "all the people," unlike the

² Obviously borrowed from FDR's classic phrase, "We have nothing to negotiate but negotiation itself."

³ In which regard it is interesting to recall that since the civil war there have been thirteen Republican and only four full-term Democratic administrations. In the same period we have had four major wars. The four Democrats got the three best wars, while all thirteen Republicans could manage only the puny Spanish-American war: and Cleveland almost got that, too.

Republicans, who represent only Big Business and special interests and just possibly the Robber Barons.

Two points. First, the Republicans plainly have done a rotten job of communicating their beliefs, if they still have any, to the public. And second, the "smaller helping" as a permanent party platform only serves to attach Republicanism unseverably to Democratic theory. In other words, Republican thought must generate from Democratic assumptions, and thus political issues become not "whether" (whether a welfare state is moral and prudent) but "how much" (how much shall we spend for welfare if the President calculates \$28 billion worth of welfare problem and the Congress is damned if it will give him more than \$26.5?). The "how much" question always favors the side asking for "more" and leaves the "not so much" side with the sticky end.

Only the conservatives have developed a powerful, persuasive and viable alternative to Democratic theory, but more on that later.

That Democrats represent the little man (or if you would, the masses); that they represent Progress and the Future; that they

represent the mainstream of history; and the greatest of all, that history progresses leftward, and that leftward movement represents advancement to a higher, nobler society: with these assumptions the Democrat theorists hold the Republic, and me-too Republicans, bewitched. Not to put too fine a point on it, their assumptions are Marxian, if not in detail, certainly in emphasis. Certain historians have bent double erecting this mythology — one thinks of Arthur Schlesinger Jr., and Henry Steele Commager, and H. Stuart Hughes and Wisconsin's own W. A. Williams.

It is the source of a dozen inane slogans about turning back the clock.

The left-progressive Twentieth Century, with its mass wars, revolution, instability, genocide, cultural disintegration, slavery, imperialism and paranoia, sharply contradicts the "leftward is progress" theory; and monolithic Communism, standing over at the far left, simply roars it down. But so far, Republicans have scarcely challenged these assumptions, nor advanced the antithesis that leftward movement can only terminate in totalitarian forms of socialism such as Communism and Nazism, and in Molotov-von Ribbentrop Pacts. Thus, by default, the Democrats hold the patent on the future, and lure to their numbers the millions who dream about a brighter tomorrow.

Republican politicians lack access to the platoons of eggheads who polish up the rhetoric of Democratic incumbents. There aren't many Republican scholars, and there are even fewer who are versed in the arts of political debate. As a result, Republicans are frequently outclassed and always outtalked in political dialogues. The only Republican who really holds his own against Establishment propaganda is Barry Goldwater.

One need only peruse the congressional newsletters of each party to discern the difference. A typical Republican mailing looks like the labor of a junior copy writer. It is usually timid, crude, stolid and ungrammatical. The same holds true with Republican oratory, which rings like a combination of Dale Carnegie, tobacco auctioneers, and music to go to bed by.

One of the central failures of the Party is an inbred timidity, born of decades of retreat and defeat, that usually prevents Republicans from tackling the gut issues such as jobs, automation, monopoly labor and distribution of the national wealth. A typical GOP statement on right to work, for example, comes equipped with escape hatches, loopholes, disclaimers, fading ink, ambiguous sentences and a fail-safe device which sets fire to the paper after 24

hours if there isn't a positive reaction in the press.

Give the Party an inconsequential issue, however, and it will roar like a coast full of sea lions. Republicans will work themselves into knots over such peripheral grabbers as news management, swimming pool orgies, nepotism or poor Arthur Schlesinger's radicalism. Moreover, in foreign policy, where generalities are the rule and roaring rhetoric is as safe as mother's milk, Republicans are plenty free with thunderbolts.

The only Republican who regularly tackles gut issues is Barry Goldwater. His trust-busting assault on monopoly unionism and compulsory unions has elevated him into national prominence. Were it not for Senator Goldwater, the Party's official position on most issues would remain "yes, but do it prudently"—scarcely a call to arms.

Another of the Party's failures is its habit of publishing literature designed for idiots. The Party must be convinced that the average voter is kin to Mortimer Snerd and has to



be spoken to in monosyllabic words and sweeping generalities. ("I am a Republican. I believe government is too big. We should cut taxes. I favor snatzeling the baldersnatch and gibbering the bollywog.") Not only is the rhetoric insulting, but it is so vague that it leads the readers to conclude that the Party has neither principles nor programs.

A typical handout will show Our Hero as husband, father, civic leader and veteran. Beneath a homey photo or two, one finds Hero's pledge to support such items as Good Government, Fiscal Respon-

sibility and Sound Republican Principles.

Still another of the Party's weaknesses is its failure to use public forums. Most Republican clubs would never ever be so gross as to write a letter to the editor or demand equal air time. Nor do they protest rampant bias and distortion. For example, many papers habitually print the opinions and laments of organized labor on the front pages where everyone can read them. But the rebuttals of sensible businessmen are buried back on the financial pages, beside the shipping news, where they will be seen only by financiers and little old ladies in tennis shoes.

A majority of the nation's editorial pages are predominantly Republican, but that's about the only GOP sanctuary in the entire communications industry. The editorial pages don't help much, either. Many of them are creaky with age. Their editorials are rheumatic and incapable of persuading anyone but Birchers, who are easily led anyway.

In the past, Republican syndicated columnists have been very incompetent, but lately a new breed has evolved which is articulate, pungent and potent. Among them are Russell Kirk, John Chamberlain, William F. Buckley Jr., Ralph de Toledano, Robert Morris, Barry Goldwater and Henry J. Taylor. So far, too few Republican newspapers are making full use of these talented columnists, in spite of the fact that almost the entire polemical burden of the Party now rests on their shoulders. A number of editorial pages still cling to the old Liberal New York *Herald-Tribune* clique featuring the insipid likes of Roscoe Drummond.

There are exceptions, of course. Notably, the Pulliam papers in Phoenix and Indianapolis, the N. Y. *Daily News* and the Chicago *Tribune*. However, the Pulliam papers are conservative rather than Republican and because of their genius, both Indiana and Arizona are profoundly Republican states.

Although the polemical performance of the Party is generally ter-

rible, its organizational drive is somewhat better. In Ohio, for instance, organizational genius welded together an impressive machine that even wins elections, and in the process, Ray Bliss has shown what can be accomplished by overhauling the Party machinery completely, with careful attention to the problem of communication.

Ohio, unfortunately, is the exception. Elsewhere, much of the Party is in the hands of barbarians who lack the energy and leadership to blow some enthusiasm into their organizations. In big cities the problem is particularly acute. In countless alleys and ghettos one could sooner find *yeti* than Republicans. So few persons in large metropolitan areas accept any sort of Republican ideals that no amount of organizing is going to produce any results. There have been instances in which the Party even failed to get out its poll watchers—an open invitation to piracy.

Where the Party is moribund, however, the best results are obtained by hypermotivated conservatives, who enthusiastically proselytize in hostile neighborhoods and thrive on adversity. Ultimately, if Democratic strangleholds on cities are to be broken, it must be done by conservatives. A couple of conservative political adventures in New York City have demonstrated that Republican forces can be developed right in the heart of labor and Liberalism's safest fiefs.

The Republican apparatus relies too heavily on young white collar volunteers drawn from the lower echelons of management. They are confessedly sophisticated and expect their key to the executive washroom soon. They are eager to participate in the political wars—but only as field marshals and five star generals and witch doctors. All too few of them are willing to organize precincts and blocks, ring doorbells, do favors for neighbors and distribute literature.

The Party's national and congressional staffs comprise its brightest organizational potential. These groups are competent, dedicated

and urbane. The recent influx of conservatives into their numbers has strengthened them even more.



On Capitol Hill, minority staffs are doing an excellent job under execrable conditions, and ought to be enlarged even if the cost must temporarily be borne by the Party instead of Congress.

Hacks and Gasbags

A few delicate words about Republican incumbents. The fact must be faced that the Party has more than its share of hacks and gasbags in office and out, who contribute little and frequently fall victim to young, articulate opponents. Republican office-holders divide roughly into three groups: the old guard from the prairies and mountains of the west and midwest; the eastern Liberals; and the young conservatives.

The old guardsmen project a sort of visceral and phlegmatic conservatism. They don't know how to articulate their beliefs, but then, neither do their unsophisticated constituencies. In their midst are the Party's Senator Snorts, who stand foursquare for God and patriotism and equivocate on everything else. The severe shakeouts of 1958 and 1962 purged the Party of its weakest windbags and opened opportunities for more aggressive

and articulate young men. Meanwhile, however, the rest of the old guard remains vulnerable to attractive young Liberal Democrats like Sens. George McGovern and Birch Bayh. The old guard does cling to an essential Republican faith but it has lost its capacity to communicate its ideals in positive fashion.

On the other hand, the Party's eastern Liberal wing scarcely stands for anything at all. To be sure, its incumbents publish mountains of polished rhetoric about everything from federalism to civil rights, but somehow the effect is murky. Governor Rockefeller, for example, employs the services of a huge brain trust drawn from the Rockefeller Foundation. These wizards have strained and grunted and given birth to the Governor's celebrated loose-leaf notebook which details the pros and cons of every conceivable issue. The Guv has only to spit on his fingers, rub his belly and consult his wonderbook to come up with an instant opinion on anything. The impression persists that the man is merely—in Ralph de Toledano's words—a front for a UNIVAC machine.

A few Liberal Republicans enjoy a more sanguine image. People know what Tommy Kuchel and Jack Javits stand for, which is why Democrats keep electing them. But for the most part, Liberal Republicans such as Cabot Lodge and John Lindsay play politics with rubber sabres and pastepot manifestoes.

In general the Republican worthies in Congress have been slower on their feet than their Democratic colleagues, and less aggressive. Against such Big Lips as Wayne Morse and Hubert Humphrey they are completely outclassed.⁴ The one

⁴ Humphrey is reputed to possess a tongue weighing 11.7 pounds, which he has bequeathed to the University of Minnesota for future study. Morse's tongue is not nearly so huge, but has extraordinary musculature which enables it to waggle non-stop for record-breaking periods. William Proxmire is another Democrat with a first-rate, thoroughbred tongue. Among the Republicans, only Everett Dirksen comes close, but his 5.3-pounder is no match for Big Hubert.

bright spot in the whole picture is the performance of the conservatives. In the House there is a militantly conservative group of Young Turks who are refreshingly outspoken, articulate and aggressive. They are forming a nucleus of resistance in an otherwise spongy opposition. Already, the deepest hopes of the Party rest on their shoulders.

And in the Senate there is Barry Goldwater, the desert-bronzed white knight of the Republican Party. Singlehandedly, this salty champion has taken on the entire Liberal Establishment and punched it full of holes. The man's integrity and intelligence have radiated into the darkened corners of the Republic, and kindled fires of enthusiasm. If the Party had more men of his caliber, its worries would be over.

The Republican Vision

Withal, the Party has suffered most from lack of motivation. It has needed the special world-view that sets men aflame with idealism. That motivation was never apparent while the Party was in the hands of the Liberals and moderates, because neither could offer a vision that was uniquely and exclusively Republican.

Conservatism, however, does offer such a vision. Its electrifying effect is already everywhere apparent in the Party structure. Everywhere it touches it transforms a dormant organization into a dynamic one.

Its effect has been to toughen the Party's polemical stance and even permit the Party to assume the offensive on some issues. Party stalwarts are beginning to challenge ancient Liberal bromides for the first time in decades. GOP publications are beginning to discuss positive programs and initiatives designed to alleviate the distresses caused by supergovernment.

For the first time in the Twentieth Century, the Republican Party has a philosophy which actually converts uncommitted, independent citizens. No longer can it be presumed that the vast body of uncommitted voters will go Democratic in

any election.

Conservatism galvanizes and magnetizes. It comforts those in search of eternal verities in a disintegrating world. Its positive, libertarian program offers sound solutions to the frightful problems created by domestic superorganizations, and worldwide Communist aggression. Its emphasis on personal responsibility in all things gives people a sense of self in an age of suppressed individuality and unchecked collectivism.

The prospects for a genuine two-party system are greatly enhanced by the growth of conservatism. Voters

are being offered distinct alternatives once again, to the benefit of the public weal. The GOP is starting to acquire a personality and spirit of its own that no amount of Democratic imitation can steal. The Party at last is slipping out of the hand of the eastern Liberals whose blood is the bluest of blue and whose politics is the dulllest of dull.

If the Republican Party is to pull through, and ultimately if the nation is to survive free and intact, then conservatism must provide the vital force for regeneration. The 1964 convention must turn the Republican Party right.

Tribute to Soldier, Scholar, Statesman

Lyndon K. Allin

"There is no substitute for victory." Those are the significant words that General Douglas MacArthur has bequeathed to the West — victory in those supreme causes which our civilization has historically espoused: dignity of the individual, and peace with justice and freedom. For three generations this great soldier, statesman, scholar has selflessly served free men everywhere in a dedicated manner unprecedented in our time.

Whether it was inspiring his troops at the front line in World War I as the youngest division commander; or developing a Filipino defense force; or leading the way back through the South Pacific in World War II; or magnanimously turning an Oriental despotism into the hallmark of constitutional republicanism in Asia; or directing the UN forces to victory in Korea before his final efforts for success were so curtly halted . . . Douglas MacArthur for three score years exemplified with perfection his commitment to Duty-Honor-Country.

May every member of our generation, and those to follow, learn well of that gallant figure beneath the scrambled-eggs cap with the corn-cob pipe and a stirring record of accomplishment. We must also

learn from his example, especially in these days of neutralization and concession, that there is indeed no substitute for victory. Political expediency, the petty jealousies against him, the forces of announced and unannounced enemies never prevented Douglas MacArthur from serving without qualms of the personal consequences. His honest analysis of the Asian situation in 1951 maintains its shocking truth today, as the policy makers miserably fail to cope with Communism throughout the area he knew so well.

From the Plain at West Point in 1903 to the same location as an 82 year old patriot in 1962 where his brilliance again shone through, Douglas MacArthur combined mind, body and spirit with his beloved nation's interest fervently in his heart. In his own eloquently expressed words delivered in tribute to the American troops we find the only adequate way to set forth his meaning to all generations: "*He belongs to history as furnishing one of the great examples of successful patriotism; he belongs to posterity as the instructor of future generations in the principles of liberty and freedom; he belongs to the present, to us, by his virtues and by his achievements.*"

Can Latin America Remain Free?

Freda Vodovosoff

Many thousands of words have recently been written about the communist threat in our Western hemisphere. Many of these books and articles, however, tend to present an oversimplified, generalized approach to the problem, restating commonly known facts without discussing specific remedies. We are told repeatedly that Latin America is suffering from overpopulation, underproduction, and that the Cuban revolution has provided an impetus to communist growth. Underlying much of current writing on the subject is the tacit assumption that the Alliance for Progress will answer Latin America's economic and social problems, and in so doing will thwart communist aims in the hemisphere. Criticism of our implementation of the Alliance objectives can frequently be found, but beneath it all there is faith in the program itself.

A refreshingly different view is presented in a short, hard-hitting book by Philip Alexander Ray entitled *South Wind Red*. Unlike so many books on this subject, Mr. Ray, Under-Secretary of Commerce in the Eisenhower administration, writes in specific, down-to-earth terms about Latin America's problems. And what is more unusual, he briefly and concisely outlines solutions to some of these. Circumventing generalities

SOUTH WIND RED; OUR HEMISPHERIC CRISIS

Philip Alexander Ray
Regnery, \$2.00

almost entirely, he gives facts and figures, all well documented, to support his thesis that we should promote capitalism as an instrument of foreign policy instead of relying on foreign aid. To the dispassioned reader who is sympathetic to Latin America's plight and wants answers to the "how" of it, Mr. Ray makes an excellent case on behalf of letting capitalism work in Latin America's interest as it has in ours.

South Wind Red is written from the point of view that democracy can't prevail against totalitarian forces in a situation where the masses are hungry. The man who has hungry children to feed is concerned primarily with food and only secondarily with political philosophies such as freedom and democracy. In terms of Latin America's population growth rate, which is the largest in the world, it has been estimated that her annual economic development has to progress more than 60% faster than ours just to maintain their present hopelessly inadequate per capita income. Given the urgency of her economic situation, we can consider

the only relevant question for Latin America that of the relative economic productivity of capitalism as compared to communism, de-emphasizing for the moment the far greater prospects for personal freedom which capitalism offers. It is Mr. Ray's contention that our first task in Latin America is to demonstrate via private investment that our system is much more efficient and productive than that of the communists.

And yet we are not doing this. Because the Alliance for Progress is merely another form of foreign aid it does not offer the people of Latin America a significant alternative to communism. Instead, he suggests that the Alliance proposes essentially the same goals as do the communists, only to be arrived at more slowly and less efficiently. For example, one of the goals of the Alliance appears to be agrarian or land reform, which means the breaking up of large estates and their distribution among the landless peasants. Castro has already done precisely that in Cuba. He took the land from the wealthy and gave it to the poor and he is popular with the peasants because he tells them that the land is theirs by inherent right. The difference is in method; while the Alliance advocates compensation for seized land, Castro is not encumbered by such legal niceties. He achieved the goal in one grand sweep.

If the goal of agrarian reform in Latin America were redefined in terms of productivity, it should be obvious that rather than land reform, which is fragmentation, what is needed in Latin America is industrialization at the rural level. Farming is a business and needs capital investment in the form of mechanization, irrigation, fertilization. Mr. Ray points out that in the United States during the 1930's the same proposals of land redistribution were suggested and (fortunately) rejected. Today our farm population consists of only 7% of the total, half of what it was in 1939, but our farmers produce two to three times the 1939 crop from about the same acreage. By way of contrast, agricultural per capita production throughout most of the communist bloc has not even regained pre-World War II levels. Cuba, model of communism in the Western hemisphere, has instituted rationing for the first time in her history. The people there own the land "collectively" which means that the State has replaced the hacendado as the oppressive landlord. Now not only has per capita production in Cuba declined, but no one dares to fall behind in rent payments because rent must be paid before ration books are distributed. In

short, Mr. Ray is saying that "if we will abandon the wishing-well concept of farming held by our urban Liberals who get carried away by a secret longing to have their own cow, we may be able to increase farm productivity in Latin America without courting communism."

Capitalism has become an unpopular word in Latin America for two reasons. First, because communist propaganda in Latin America has succeeded in brainwashing the people into seeing capitalism "as a fat tyrant with dollar signs on his vest, chewing on a big cigar and wringing the neck of some poor peasant"; and second because the United States government has itself largely rejected capitalism and our free enterprise system as a solution to Latin America's problems. Our foreign aid planners oppose the economic force that made our country what it is today, namely, private growth aided by limited government. In so doing, these government planners blur any distinction the Latin Americans might see between our system and that of the communists. After all, what is the difference between a Russian 5 or 10 year plan and the Alliance 10 year plan? Or for that matter, what is the difference between a Peace Corpsman and a friendly Russian technician?

Going back to the original criteria of productivity as a means of raising the standard of living in these underdeveloped countries, Mr. Ray shows that our policies of encouraging government intervention has had the same consequences in industry as in agriculture, namely it reduced productivity. For example, after the 1952 revolution in Bolivia the government seized the three great tin interests forcing 1600 smaller privately owned mines out of business. Result: between 1952 and 1958 tin production declined from 27 million to 17 million kilos, and tin value from 65 million dollars to 28 million dollars.

When we tell Latin American governments that in order to qualify for Alliance funds they must first produce 10 year plans with a system of development priorities, we are in effect encouraging socialism, which besides being less productive than free enterprise is basically hostile to private investment. It is hardly surprising therefore, that such a policy should result in increasing expropriation of industries. Even barring outright expropriation, private concerns can't thrive in a hostile environment where they are competing with government run industries. Unlike private concerns which must meet the test of the marketplace to stay in business, government industries don't need to be efficient or even profitable because the taxpayer is subsidizing the operation. The government owned steel enterprise in Colombia was losing money so the government assessed a special 4% income tax forcing the taxpayers to buy steel stock at 10 pesos per share

whereas the same stock could be bought on the Bogota exchange for less than 2 pesos per share. The point is that we can't expect to encourage socialism in Latin America by pouring in \$20 billion in Alliance for Progress government to government aid and still expect private enterprise to invest there. Indeed, private investment in Latin America has shown a marked decline since the introduction of the Alliance.

As previously stated, Mr. Ray is not satisfied with simply stating why the Alliance is inadequate, nor does he use the terms capitalism and free enterprise glibly. Instead he spells out many specific policies that he feels should be instituted. Just to list one proposal, he suggests that the United States government provide an effective insurance program for investors who are reluctant to take the risk. He would, however, have the government attach three conditions to such insurance protection.

(1) At least 35% of the stock is to be sold to the people in the host country on easy installment terms in order to obtain the broadest possible base and the widest distribution. The idea would not be to sell stock to the few wealthy people in Latin America, but rather by employing easy installment terms, to sell stock to the middle class, thereby encouraging it's growth in Latin America. Such a policy would take the wind out of communist claims that the Latin Americans are not masters in their own house, that Americans have complete ownership of their investments. Some of our companies have been moving in this direction without prodding. Union Carbide offered 40% of its stock to Mexicans of average means. Celanese Corp. adopted a policy of holding only minority interest in each foreign venture. In Mexico they own only 48% of stock with 52% in Mexican hands.

(2) Companies must adopt a profit-sharing plan for employees. Sears has been effective in this respect. Sears employees in Latin America own 20% of the company. When Castro took over, the Sears employees resisted seizure because they had a stake in capitalism.

(3) And finally, Mr. Ray says that firms must commit themselves to a policy of basic education for their employees and their families in addition to vocational training. By this he means that companies should work to close the literacy gap by setting up educational programs to teach the three R's as well as the basic ideals of our society.

Mr. Ray also offers some very reasonable suggestions for dealing with the tremendous communist infiltration of Latin American education as well as with other problems. This is an important book for anyone seriously interested in Latin America, and particularly for those who have heretofore assumed that the Alliance for Progress offers the best solution to Latin America's problems and the communist threat there.



"THE STORY OF MY PIGGY BANK"

When I was a little boy, most kids, just like today, had a piggy bank. In those days pennies were hard to get, and every one that went into the bank was earned. Even my father wouldn't donate the penny, nor did anyone just hand it to him. If I inserted a knife to get one of the pennies, I received a short lecture. Most of all because that penny would have to be replaced, and taking it out of the bank would get to be a bad habit. As I grew older, I think that probably this helped my reasoning as life went on. . . . I know too that if something comes from the government, yours and my taxes are going up, for you and I are the government and have to provide the money so the government can pay its bills.

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hindsights



"... The laws, and the politicians who favor them, are the product of the mass-mind of America, and that mass-mind is the product of the ideas implanted in it long ago and carefully cultured through the years. Unless and until this mass-mind of America is re-educated to freedom, the end product of Socialism is unavoidable. No program based on a policy of immediacy can prevent it.

The Task of those who would stop our descent should not be the changing of laws but the inculcation of values which will make such laws impossible. That is a difficult chore, to be sure, but it is the only one capable of producing the desired result."

From the essay, "For Our Children's Children"

Written in 1949 by Frank Chodorov, Founder and President of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists

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Wisconsin's Governor John Reynolds, speaking before a crowd of Young Democrats at the University, said that the state is responsible for such problems as ending ghettos in big cities, ending de-facto segregation in schools and more fair-housing and fair-employment laws. Other sources say the bespectacled governor is running for President as Wisconsin's favorite (!) son. Could that be maybe on the State's Rights ticket with, say, Ross Barnett for a sidekick?

A broadside issued on behalf of the candidacy of the Governor of New York announces, for the world to behold the formation, in Wichita, Kansas, of an "Association of Republican Moderates (ARM)" Now Kansas's five Congressmen and two Senators have an average ADA rating of 5%. We suppose that is enough to make Kansas, in the eyes of the "Who Else but Nels" screamers, the ARM-pit of the GOP.

Among the benefits bestowed upon the world by the United Nations, according to a minion of the U. S. State Department at a recent "background briefing," is that in addition to feeding the hungry and clothing the naked, the UN "sprays the jungle villages." Uh-huh, with machine gun bullets.

Advance, a piece of the Rockefeller vanity press, reports in its March issue the formation, by "a small but growing group of young Republican intellectuals from the Boston [Harvard?] area," of the Ripon Society. "Named after the Wisconsin town where the GOP was born in 1854, the Ripon Society is progressive in outlook and impatient with party leadership that is unconcerned with research and issues." Advance advances. Considering the services heretofore rendered to the cause of returning the national GOP to its conservative heritage, this front of Advance's might be better known as the Rippin' Society.

Memo. To: Messrs. Linus Pauling, Steve Allen, Benjamin Spock, H. Stuart Hughes, Norman Cousins, Bertrand Russell et clique, and the whole damn Nobel Prize Committee. From: The Soviet Peace Movement. Subject: Peaceful Intentions. Remarks: "Our people love their army sincerely and warmly. They love and are proud of it, sparing nothing so that our army may steadfastly be strengthened and the arsenal of its mighty fighting means may become more perfect." — Soviet Armed Forces Day slogan.