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Why The Score Went Down This Year

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■ DURING the early phase of the 1980 Presidential primaries, the political wisdom of the Establishment press had it that Ronald Reagan was engaged in a struggle for the Republican nomination that was doomed to defeat. The reasoning was that Reagan was too closely identified in the public mind with the "New Right extremists" to be a credible candidate. According to the pundits, even if the former actor could win the nomination, he would have no chance in the general election against incumbent Jimmy Carter. White House strategists for the Carter re-election campaign were expressing the hope that Reagan would, indeed, be the G.O.P. nominee rather than Gerald Ford, who had said Reagan should not be nominated because he was "unelectable." Along with all this smugness there was a crescendo of anti-Reagan propaganda which attempted desperately to depict the former California governor as first

cousin to the Monster from Boggy Creek. The Left was certain that it could do to Ronald Reagan what it had done to Barry Goldwater in 1964.

Nonetheless, well before the end of the lengthy series of Republican primaries, Mr. Reagan had won

THE UNITED STATES

Area: 3,617,123 square miles; Population: 221,000,000; Capital: Washington; Per Capita Income: \$11,000; Head Of State And Of Government: Ronald Wilson Reagan.

enough committed delegates to assure his nomination. With Reagan's nomination a foregone conclusion, there was no big battle for the top spot to divide the Convention. Certainly there was little of the rancor engendered by the confrontation between the Goldwater people and the Rockefeller wing of the G.O.P. which sixteen years earlier had poisoned the 1964 Convention in San Francisco. This time the Conservatives were not only better organized but far more sophisticated. They gave their Presidential nominee a Conservative Platform and were assured he would run on it.

All that was left for the Convention to do was to confirm Reagan's choice for Vice President. Ronald Reagan had repeatedly and publicly promised that he would pick a runningmate who shared his Conservative philosophy — and he had assured key Conservative leaders that under no circumstances would the Number Two spot go to George Bush, former-

ly a Trilateralist and member of the Council on Foreign Relations who was openly supported by David Rockefeller. The primary campaign between Reagan and Bush had grown vitriolic after New Hampshire and some speculated that the Carter people would embarrass any Reagan-Bush ticket by playing videotapes of Bush saying that Reagan was "trigger happy" and calling the Reagan tax proposals "irresponsible" and based on "voodoo economics."

But, after word was leaked of negotiations with Henry Kissinger for a bizarre deal to make former President Gerald Ford "co-President" with Reagan, even Bush began to look acceptable to the delegates. The Reagan partisans were so jubilant that their man had won the top spot on the ticket that they went along with the choice of Bush. This was both unnecessary and a tragic mistake.

Conservative Republicans had for years fought to rid the G.O.P. of control by the Rockefeller "Liberals" in order to appeal directly to Middle Americans smarting under the increasing burdens imposed on them by the Welfare State. Reagan could have ended the Rockefeller family's hold on the Republican Party by making sure that his runningmate was a movement Conservative. By choosing Bush, Reagan not only put the Eastern "Liberal" Establishment back in the game, but made David Rockefeller's boy the heir apparent to the Presidency.

Within months, and contrary to the wishful thinking of the "Liberal" Establishment and its phony opinion polls which claimed that the race was "too close to call," Ronald Reagan defeated Jimmy Carter in an Electoral College landslide. The voters overwhelmingly rejected the "Liberal" policies of Carter and elected Reagan because they perceived him

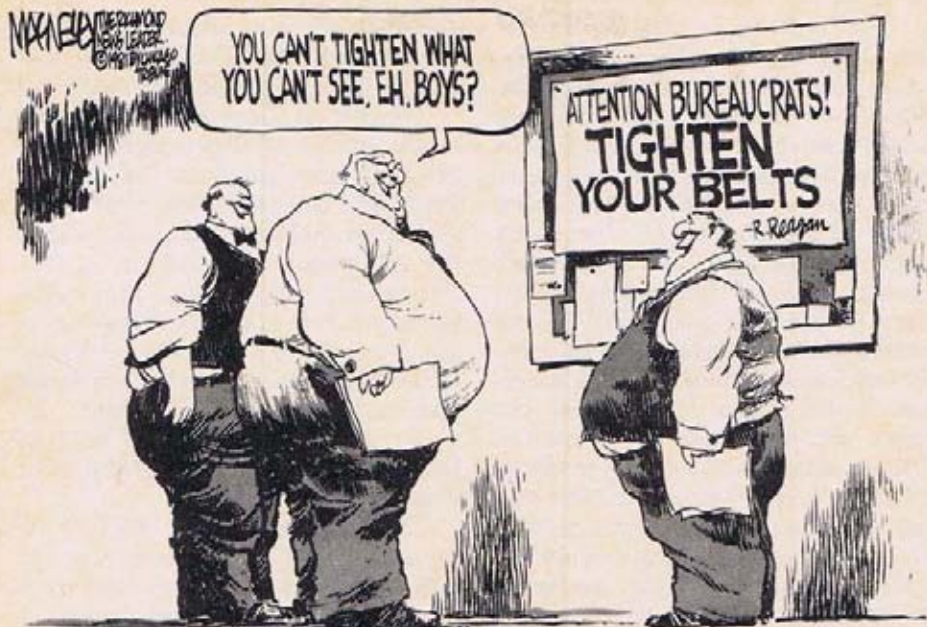
to be an advocate of traditional Americanist values.

The Conservative message had reached the people. Even the Trilateral Commission (and its parent organization, the Council on Foreign Relations) became a political issue. Before the Florida primary, for example, Candidate Reagan was asked about his position on the Trilateral Commission. He replied:

"Let me just say that I believe what prompts your question is that the present Administration, beginning with the President and Vice President, . . . has something in the neighborhood of 19 of the top appointees all from a single group. Now, I don't believe that the Trilateral Commission is a conspiratorial group, but I do think its interests are devoted to international banking, multinational corporations, and so forth. I don't think that any Administration of the U.S. Government should have the top 19 positions filled by people from any one group or organization representing one viewpoint. No, I would go in a different direction."

Unfortunately, the first few chances Reagan had to free himself from the C.F.R. and Trilateral crowd he went in the wrong direction, picking William Casey to run his campaign and George Bush as his runningmate. Now that he is in the Oval Office, President Reagan has appointed members of either the Trilateral Commission or the C.F.R. to the five top Cabinet posts (State, Defense, Treasury, Commerce, and C.I.A. Director), and at least seventeen more to sub-Cabinet posts. As a result, the Republican Party lost the Trilateral Commission as an issue which it might otherwise have exploited to good advantage against the leading "Liberal" Democrats.

More important, however, was the



extent of Conservative gains. What is now referred to as the "Revolution of November Fourth" not only delivered the election of Ronald Reagan but replaced leading collectivists in the Senate and the House of Representatives with movement Conservatives determined to restore the American Republic. Last year's Republican landslide gave the G.O.P. control of the U.S. Senate for the first time in twenty-six years. Republicans now hold a majority there with fifty-three Republicans, forty-six Democrats, and one Independent (Harry Byrd of Virginia) as contrasted to the fifty-eight to forty-one Democrat majority that existed before the elections. Radical C.F.R. "Liberal" John Culver was replaced by movement Conservative Charles Grassley in Iowa. Another C.F.R. man, the wildly "Liberal" Jacob Javits of New York, bit the dust on November fourth when the voters ousted him in favor of Conservative moderate Alfonse D'Amato. Also missing from the Ninety-Seventh Congress are such

veteran Senate "Liberals" as Birch Bayh of Indiana, Warren Magnuson of Washington, Herman Talmadge of Georgia, Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin, Robert Morgan of North Carolina, George S. McGovern of South Dakota, and Frank Church of Idaho.

In what was probably the toughest battle of the 1980 elections, it was Congressman Steve Symms who defeated "Liberal" Frank Church. Both candidates campaigned tirelessly right down to the opening of the polls. Symms emphasized the voting record of the incumbent on the issues of inflation, taxation, and national defense — while Senator Church labored to hide his "Liberal" record and then resorted to personal attacks. In an exclusive interview with John Rees for *The Review Of The News*, Senator-elect Symms expressed appreciation for the help his campaign received from Conservative educational efforts based on articles and interviews out of our sister weekly, *The Review Of The News*. "The arti-

cles and interviews in *The Review Of The News* were excellent in getting out the facts and demonstrating the differences between my positions and those of my opponent," said Symms. "I understand that a private group mailed out 200,000 and more copies of the *Review Of The News* article on our race. So, that report reached most of the homes in the State of Idaho. I was asked by reporters what I thought about the article and I said I thought it was excellent. Your careful analysis of the issues was more effective than the strident attacks some others made on Senator Church because it was factual, it did not attack Church personally, and it was an article I could endorse as being thoroughly responsible. It talked about his voting record rather than drawing a caricature of Frank Church or his family. It was educational in the highest tradition of public affairs."

Another major victory for the Right was won in South Dakota where Conservative Congressman James Abdnor soundly defeated radical Senator George S. McGovern (C.F.R.). George received only thirty-nine percent of the vote statewide in a heavy turnout. Abdnor defeated McGovern in every District of the state, gathering fifty-eight percent of the total vote. It was the most massive repudiation of any of the incumbents, and Conservatives can be justifiably proud that again distribution of many thousands of copies of a comprehensive *Review Of The News* report on the McGovern record greatly helped in electing Mr. Abdnor, who as Congressman had achieved a cumulative average of 86 on the Conservative Index.*

Among the other Conservatives newly elected to the Senate are: John East (North Carolina), Robert Kasten (Wisconsin), Don Nickles (Okla-

homa), Warren Rudman (New Hampshire), Mack Mattingly (Georgia), and Paula Hawkins (Florida).

The list of Conservatives elected to the House of Representatives for the first time may run as high as forty. Although the Democrat Party still has a majority sufficient to keep the "Liberals" in control of the House leadership, there is now a slim Conservative majority fighting to put a check on the Leftward moves initiated by the "Liberal" Committee and Subcommittee Chairmen. Indeed, the swing votes are held by forty members of the Democratic Conservative Forum.

The "Swing to the Right" reflected in the 1980 elections — sweeping out so many of those who had voted for Big Government, and putting in their places those proclaiming to favor less government and a stronger national defense — is proof that the Reagan landslide was not merely a rejection of Jimmy Carter personally. As a *Washington Star* editorial expressed it the day after the elections: "Far more significant than the raw numbers of the Republican victory is a coloration that suggests a genuine sea change. It is not just that the Republicans have won, but that they have driven out so many prominent liberals and replaced them in so many cases with dedicated conservatives. The victory of Ronald Reagan . . . might have been taken, in itself, as only a verdict on the performance of President Carter. And it was undoubtedly that, at least to some degree. But the defeat of such senators as George McGovern, John Culver,

*Last year *The Review Of The News* ran a special election series on "Liberal" Senators Frank Church, John Culver, Mike Gravel, George McGovern, Birch Bayh, and Robert Morgan. Concerned citizens purchased and distributed many hundreds of thousands of those reports. All six Senators were defeated.



Birch Bayh, and Warren Magnuson, as well as several liberal leaders in the House, will move the center of American politics sharply to the right."

Our government has indeed moved to the Right toward more individual responsibility and less government control. It didn't happen by accident, but resulted from years of selfless educational effort and the development of a sound political base. This in turn produced a Conservative team of sophisticated professionals financed by an independent Americanist constituency. The mass media have labeled this the "New Right" since it is easier to attack a perceived enemy that can be pictured as monolithic.

Among the political groups which gave the Right clout in the 1980 elections was a group known as the National Conservative Political Action Committee (N.C.P.A.C.). Under the direction of its chairman, Terry Dolan, N.C.P.A.C. ran political action schools for Conservative candidates and campaign personnel as well as

providing well-organized campaign services to movement candidates. Such Conservative leaders as Senator Orrin Hatch (R.-Utah), Senator Gordon Humphrey (R.-New Hampshire), Representative Robert Dornan (R.-California), and Representative Daniel Crane (R.-Illinois) said openly that N.C.P.A.C.'s aid had been so valuable that they might not be in Congress without it. Conservatives seeking office in the 1980 elections got the message.

Dolan, who six years before had cut his teeth on State Senator C.R. Lewis's losing race for the U.S. Senate in Alaska, was determined to use N.C.P.A.C. to correct some of the advantages enjoyed by the "Liberal" incumbents — the free publicity of the office, the franking privilege, Washington-based polling and research expertise, direct-mail assistance, and so on. The "Liberal" Democrats had created all of this as a weapon to help incumbents fend off opposition. The Federal Election Commission and federal laws re-

stricted even political action committees to campaign contributions of five thousand dollars in a primary and five thousand dollars in a general election. This applied, however, only to donations to the political campaigns of candidates themselves — not to independent political education activities intended to enlighten voters about the issues and the records of their public officials. *Conservative Digest* for December 1980 explained the new approach taken by Dolan and N.C.P.A.C. as follows:

"Liberal senators, in their efforts to get re-elected, constantly claimed to be 'moderate' or even 'conservative.' Dolan's idea was to make independent expenditures against these senators to let home-state voters know the truth about their voting records.

"Following the 1976 Supreme Court decision in *Buckley vs. Valeo*, there is now no restriction whatsoever on the amount that can be spent to defeat a particular candidate. NCPAC's 'Target 80' program therefore provided an unprecedented opportunity for conservatives. The program was aimed at the Senate's most radical members, and over \$1.2 million was spent on TV, radio, literature, and direct mail used against them. The results astonished even the most astute political observers. Of the five senators originally targeted by NCPAC, four — McGovern, Church, Culver, and Bayh — were defeated. Majority Whip Alan Cranston (D.-Calif.), who outspent his opponent 3 to 1, was the only originally targeted incumbent to survive."

Friend and foe alike have credited N.C.P.A.C. with influencing the major Senatorial races, especially the defeat of George McGovern, who admitted that N.C.P.A.C. was responsible for a twenty percent lower-

ing of his popularity in the polls.

In Idaho, N.C.P.A.C.'s aid was also important. Almost two hundred thousand dollars were spent by Dolan's organization to expose the record of Senator Church. Americanist Steve Symms triumphed over Church by a narrow margin of only about forty-four hundred votes. In an interview with *Conservative Digest*, Dolan stated: "Church is an excellent example of why we began the program. We felt you couldn't beat a guy who had been there since 1956 and had done a great deal of service work among his constituents by throwing a couple of 60-second spots against him for 90 days before the election. I think one of the most important aspects of the Target '80 campaign was that we were able to capture the voters' attention, and we did so starting in January of 1979."

Analysts also attribute much of the success of Conservative candidates in 1980 to another political action committee, the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress. Set up with the help of financial contributions from Colorado entrepreneur Joseph Coors, C.S.F.C. is headed by the principled and astute political mechanic Paul Weyrich. Mr. Weyrich's organization played a key role in most of the Conservative victories in the Senate. Among those he assisted was Admiral Jeremiah Denton, who survived seven and a half years of Communist brutality as a P.O.W. in Vietnam to become the first G.O.P. Senator from Alabama since Reconstruction. The C.S.F.C. was also very involved early on in the successful Grassley campaign in Iowa as well as the successful campaign of libertarian Dan Quayle who defeated Birch Bayh in Indiana.

Unlike most other political action committees which won't commit to a candidate until after the primaries,



Weyrich's group was involved even before the crucial primaries. The C.S.F.C. was one of the very few political action committees that went out on a limb to risk financial support in the early stages. This was especially important to Jerry Denton in Alabama and Bob Kasten in Wisconsin. Mr. Weyrich, a brilliant and tough Conservative ideologue, has already begun working on campaigns for the 1982 elections.

Another organization, this one emphasizing the strategic importance of long-term education, is Tax Reform IMMEDIATELY (TRIM). Older than N.C.P.A.C., and not a political action committee, TRIM informs voters on the issues of government spending, National Debt, taxes, and inflation — and publishes the voting records of Congressmen in more than three hundred Districts on the important spending bills. It is widely believed that TRIM played a crucial educational role in helping to defeat many collectivist candidates in the 1976, the 1978, and the 1980 congressional

elections. The TRIM Committees, organized at the District level, sponsor educational film showings, speaker programs, and even information tables at state and county fairs. Quarterly, TRIM distributes millions of copies of its Bulletins. These consist of three pages of basic educational articles on some aspect of taxation, inflation, or Big Government. The last page of the Bulletin features the public record of the local Representative, showing how he voted on eight to ten of the most important spending bills of the quarter. In addition to a large quantity of other literature, more than ten million TRIM Bulletins were distributed last year.

Joe Mehrten, the Western Director of TRIM, told us about a few of the Districts in which TRIM education efforts set the stage for change in 1980. According to Mehrten:

"One race I think we can point to was the one in the San Diego District where Duncan Hunter replaced Lionel Van Deerlin, who rated a mere

7 out of 100 on the cumulative Conservative Index published by *The Review Of The News*. A TRIM Committee has been active in that District for four — maybe five — years, and over all that time it has put out TRIM Bulletins regularly — every quarter — and distributed them by the thousands. When Duncan Hunter came along and ran a good, strong, Conservative campaign he benefitted from that raising of public consciousness and defeated the entrenched Van Deerlin.

"Another District here in California where TRIM had quite an impact was in the Thirty-Fifth Congressional District — where David Dreier, a Conservative Republican, replaced a "Liberal" Democrat who long masqueraded as a Conservative. He was Jim Lloyd, one of the leaders of House "Liberals." In that District the TRIM Committee had been active since 1978, and it grew and grew — until by 1980 it was regularly distributing many thousands of Bulletins. In fact, in 1980 alone, it distributed more than sixty-five thousand TRIM Bulletins door-to-door, and then distributed another 125,000 through mailouts and newspaper inserts. This TRIM Committee also bought advertisements to display the TRIM voter report in local papers with circulation of another fifty-two thousand. Total: 242,000 TRIM Bulletins in just one Congressional District. Believe me, voters in that District knew where Jim Lloyd stood when they voted for or against him."

It's important to note that TRIM does not endorse candidates or "go after" targeted incumbents. It uses the same bills to evaluate the record of every Congressman, letting the chips fall where they may. Nonetheless, many incumbents were irate at TRIM for publishing the way they voted on key spending bills — and a

couple of years ago "Liberals" attempted unsuccessfully to have the Federal Election Commission ban the Committees. But since TRIM is not a political action committee, and is strictly educational, the federal courts told the F.E.C. it could not get away with abridging TRIM's right to publish the voting records of Congressmen.

It is believed that TRIM also had considerable impact in the First Congressional District in northern California, where more than twenty thousand TRIM Bulletins were distributed in 1979 and over ninety thousand during 1980. Here a Conservative named Gene Chappie was



Terry Dolan's group provides essential campaign services.

selected by the voters to replace the powerful "Liberal" Harold Johnson, a twenty-two-year incumbent. When asked by reporters why he had lost, Johnson declared: "During the last twenty-two years there were a lot of spending bills — and I voted for a lot of them." He clearly understood the message TRIM and the voters were sending to Washington: Lower Taxes through Less Government!

In the Eighth and Tenth Districts in the State of Virginia — near Washington, D.C. — almost fifty percent of the constituents are government employees. Here, says Mr. Mehrten, local TRIM Committees circulated more than one hundred thousand Bulletins. As a result, even in these Districts with a vested interest in Big Government, "Liberal" incumbents Herb Harris and Joseph Fisher lost re-election bids to fiscal Conservatives.

Another House race of national importance where the results of TRIM's education efforts were seen last year was in the defeat of John Brademas of the Third District of Indiana. Brademas, a radical "Liberal" who was a member of both the Council on Foreign Relations and the Trilateral Commission, held the important position of House Majority Whip. His Conservative Index score was a pathetic zero.

Commenting on the Brademas upset, Joe Mehrten recalls: "There had been considerable work by the TRIM Committee prior to 1978. That year, Brademas won by only six thousand votes over his 'Liberal' Rockefeller opponent — who had been arrested for drunken driving on the first day of his campaign. The TRIM Committee kept right on working. Indeed, the effort grew until, during 1980, more than 153,000 TRIM Bulletins were distributed in that District. John Brademas was also defeated by a fiscal Conservative."

An important advantage that TRIM has had over the political action committees is its cost effectiveness. Mehrten comments: "The production and distribution of the TRIM Bulletin is extremely economical — ten dollars per hundred Bulletins is roughly what it costs to print and distribute; and that's using commercial means, not volunteers. This comes to ten thousand Bulletins for only one thousand dollars. For twenty thousand dollars a *tremendous* education job can be done over a year in any Congressional District in the country. That is not an enormous sum when you realize that the average race for Congress costs each of the candidates about a quarter of a million dollars.

"Unlike political organizations," says Mehrten, "even if a big spender gets re-elected, the TRIM Commit-

tee keeps right on functioning instead of collapsing the day after the election. And if a Conservative is elected the TRIM Committee is still there to keep him honest. Reinforced by the fundamental information about economic principles and spending issues in the front part of the Bulletin, written by National TRIM Director William E. Dunham, the TRIM effort is the best device ever created to separate the rhetoric from the record, and deliver the record to the people. You can bet your last Johnson slug that the Big Spenders don't like it."

William E. Dunham reports that from mid-1976 through the end of 1980 the TRIM Committees have distributed twenty-three million copies of the TRIM Bulletin and millions of other pieces of TRIM literature.

For perspective as to what this sort of thing has produced, compare the ideological makeup of the House of Representatives before and after January, when the newly elected



Committee headed by Paul Weyrich provides early support.

Representatives took office. Congressman Lawrence P. McDonald (D.-Georgia) has said that the Ninety-Sixth Congress had about thirty-five constitutionalists and about one hundred socialists, leaving three hundred or so politicians who are not consistent on either set of principles and tend to go with what they guess to be the trend of the moment. While it is still too early to know in any detail who is or is not on the hard-core Right or hard-core Left in the new Congress, the new team is definitely more Conserva-

tive. Our estimate is that the number of hard-core socialists has been reduced to somewhere between fifty-seven and sixty-nine, while the number of strong constitutionalists has risen to between forty-six and sixty-five. There is thus a closer balance between Right and Left than has existed in the Congress for many years.

Conservatives have much to be happy about. And there is no doubt that The John Birch Society has played a role in helping to create this change. Not just through its TRIM Committees, but also through its other *ad hoc* committees and educational efforts — all aimed at increasing the awareness of the American people of basic principles and key issues. The Society has for decades led a nationwide network of dedicated activists working in concert through grassroots chapters and committees to fight the tyranny of the regulatory bureaucracies (including O.S.H.A. and E.P.A.), to defend our freedoms from a national police force and gun control, to expose the machinations of the United Nations, and battle high taxes and inflation. It has an active speakers bureau booking many hundreds of engagements in every part of the country on a year-round basis. Through its network of chapters, millions of pieces of Conservative literature are distributed annually, and its films and filmstrips are shown every night on such topics as the tyranny of federal regulatory agencies, the nature of our dollar crisis and inflation, the created energy crisis, the attacks on U.S. sovereignty, what's wrong with public schools, and the manipulation of our foreign policy by elitist conspirators.

The John Birch Society has undoubtedly distributed more pro-freedom, Free Enterprise, and patriotic books, pamphlets, and articles than

any other single organization in American history. Through its hundreds of American Opinion bookstores and libraries all over America it has clearly done more than any other one organization to educate the public about inflation, taxes, government-created shortages, political regulations, and high taxes — and to promote the principles of private property, *laissez faire*, and individual responsibility.

It is clear that The John Birch Society did much of the educational



**William Dunham says
publication of voting
records is the key.**

groundwork over the years that made possible the successful fundraising and campaigning last year by the New Right political action committees. We have mentioned N.C.P.A.C., C.S.F.C., and TRIM. Other political action committees and educational groups include Howard Phillips' Conservative Caucus, Western Inter-mountain Network Political Action Committee, the American Conservative Union, and the Heritage Foundation. Aiding TRIM in efforts to lower taxes through less government is the excellent National Taxpayers Union, directed by James Dale Davidson. Among many other valuable services, N.T.U. regularly publishes data about the total National Debt and what it means to our pocket-books.

While it is impossible to list all the New Right groups and campaigns which contributed to the move toward the Right in the 1980 elections, some of the important single-issue groups include Reed Larson's National Right to Work Committee, Phyllis Schlaf-

ly's Stop ERA and Eagle Forum, the National Rifle Association, Gun Owners of America, the Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms, the Second Amendment Foundation, the anti-busing groups, the National Right to Life organization, the National Pro-Life PAC, and various pro-family and religious groups such as Dr. Tim LaHaye's Family Life Seminars, the Religious Roundtable, and the Reverend Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority.

Falwell has borne the brunt of the most savage and hysterical attacks since the "Liberal" media unlimbered their smear guns on The John Birch Society in 1962. In a recent interview with John Rees of *The Review Of The News*, the Reverend Falwell explained how he responds to critics who declare that Conservative religious believers ought to stay out of public life and politics, and concern themselves only with personal salvation. He observed:

"It has been my experience that the people who make such demands are absolute hypocrites. The fact is that the National Council of Churches and other Leftist organizations have been involved in politics since time immemorial. They have in my opinion been on the wrong side of every issue, yet you don't hear anyone complaining that *they* are involved in politics. When I look at the Berrigan brothers, William Sloane Coffin, and scores of ministers like them, I don't know how they can even *suggest* that we refrain from political activities.

"The problem is that they have never had credible opposition. They had always been able to portray the Conservatives as religious fanatics and got by with it. They can't do that anymore. The people on our side now have tremendous media coverage. We have our own networks, our own mag-

azines and newspapers. We have the ability to answer fully and logically. What they are now screaming about is that we outnumber them; we are mobilized; we are effective; and, we are not going away."

Why has the Left resorted to such a ferocious smear campaign? Falwell comments as follows:

"The efforts of the Far Left are failing. So they are fighting back like a wounded tiger, lashing out at everybody and everything that moves. Fortunately, these people are for the first time on the defensive. But they have never learned how to play defense. Now we have the ball and they don't know how to deal with that."

To which we can only add, "Amen, brother Falwell."

The Left is now on the defensive for the first time in decades — and it has much to be defensive about. During the 1960s the Far Left manipulated fronts to run offensives on the themes of peace, poverty, and civil rights. Then the Vietnam War became their central cohesive issue. The Left got just what we warned it would get in Vietnam — an unspeakably bloody tyranny from which hundreds of thousands have fled. When even Joan Baez comes to recognize what Southeast Asia has become under Communism, you can bet it is obvious to everyone except Marxists who will sanction anything in the name of "building socialism." Americans are ashamed of our defeat in Vietnam — and have come to despise those who led the surrender movement during that period of New Left activism. Because of the Watergate aberration, however, America continued for a time to retreat in the face of Soviet imperialism; we recognized Red China, greatly weakened defense capabilities under Carter, surrendered our Canal in Pana-

ma, and withdrew our support of one after another anti-Communist Government. Each time a domino fell, more Americans recognized the consequences of appeasing Communist aggression. Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the seizure of American hostages by Iran drove Americans who care about our country to turn against the "Liberals" in a frenzy.

The major "Liberal" drives during the 1970s were the anti-technology and anti-nuclear causes, run under the labels "ecology" and "environmentalism." Such slogans and notions as "man's rape of the earth" (to describe surface mining of coal) and "limits to growth" (to describe destruction of capital) stopped selling in the face of power brownouts, heating oil shortages, long gasoline lines, huge fuel and housing costs, and economic recession.

By the end of the 1970s and early 1980s, the last major "causes" through which the "Liberals" were operating had become Ethnic Power and Women's Liberation. Here, again, the Left began to lose. The racism behind the drive for quotas of selected "minorities" was well exposed as a phony power play. The scheme was designed, like so many of the New Deal/Great Society programs, to create a built-in constituency for "Liberal" politicians and to secure a personal power base for self-appointed "leaders." The tired old line that those who oppose forced busing and ethnic quotas in hiring are "racist" has worn thin with Middle America.

Middle Americans have also backed away from the more radical aspects of the Women's Lib movement. The attempt to pit women and men against each other has failed, and the Libbers have failed politically. A Conservative victory on the

abortion issue will finish this movement as well, replacing it with the mounting Conservative pro-family movement.

In short, Americans are tired of "Liberal" nonsense — having granted the Left the benefit of the doubt for so long and now seeing the consequences. Patriotic Americans of varying philosophies have now organized to promote their own values. But we must admit that the "Swing to the Right" — which has in fact been exaggerated by the "Liberal" media — is partly due to a widespread *rejection of the Left*.

More important than the decline of the Left, however, is what will arise on the Right to replace it. We are in a critical transition period in which Americanists must take a more active leadership role. And they are doing so. Through the various political action committees and single-issue causes, the New Right has developed into an influential force. It is more sophisticated than the Left in the nuts-and-bolts operations of contemporary political warfare. It is years ahead of the Left in its use of electronic data processing techniques and direct-mail fundraising. Even its polemics are more in tune with Middle America. The New Right groups have been responsible for getting many new people involved in the political process, frequently for the first time in their lives. They have access to sophisticated polling services and know how to use them. Now they are harnessing the vast untapped resources of what is becoming known as the Religious Right.

This *organizational* sophistication, however, must be accompanied by an increase in *ideological* sophistication as well; otherwise, there is danger — ever present in organizations involved directly in politics — that these groups could become ends in them-

selves, or tools of personal ambition, rather than means of informing a vast movement determined to have less government and more individual responsibility. As Medford Evans put it so well in the February 1979 *AMERICAN OPINION*: "It is a problem of Conservatives that those interested in breaking corrupt political power may come to resemble their prey (the wolfhound and the wolf are kin), while those interested in preserving purity of principle seem sometimes to forget that peace is a precondition for the operation of Free Market principles, and there is no peace without the guarantee of lawful political power . . ."

Americanists must work to make sure that the direction in which America is moving is, in fact, to the Right — toward a limited, Constitutional Republic based on respect for the individual's right to his own life, liberty, property, and pursuit of happiness within a market economy free of political meddling and manipulations. It is true that knowledge without action accomplishes nothing. But organization and action without morally sound intellectual direction can only be counterproductive. A balance is needed.

Also, we must keep in mind that Ronald Reagan and his Administration of C.F.R. and Trilateral retreats are not nearly as Conservative as the "Liberal" media would have the people believe. Because of the enormous mandate he received at the polls, Reagan is in the strongest position of any U.S. President since World War II to stop the advance of socialism in America by cutting Big Government to its knees and freeing the people to produce. But we believe he hasn't delivered all of the cuts possible. And he hasn't so much as hinted at reform of the monetary system — much less at abolition of the Fed-

eral Reserve. Sound money is not even on the agenda for discussion, although there are a few gold sympathizers, like O.M.B. chief David Stockman, who say privately that they are anxious to have the issue seriously considered. And, as far as Reagan's vaunted "freeze" on bureaucratic regulations, consider this: Of 172 regulations caught in the one-month "freeze," 136 have already gone into effect and only thirty-six have remained frozen. None has been repealed.

So, it appears that — as usual — Administrations will come and go, but the bureaucracy will continue to mismanage the country. This is why we cannot depend on Mr. Reagan to save us from Big Government. We must continue to press Congress to take the initiative in repealing the laws which make the bureaucracy self-sustaining. Congress must take a meat axe to the federal Welfare State, and to assure that Conservatives must use the 1982 elections to retire the "Liberal" leadership.

We've come a long way — but we still have a long way to go to put our country on the Right path. To overcome pressures from the new "Liberal" political action committees, the A.C.L.U., Common Cause, and others on the collectivist side of the political spectrum, we are going to have to write more letters to Washington than ever before, work harder for TRIM and our other educational committees, see to it that the educational programs of the Right are fully funded, keep our fences mended with the single-cause constituencies, and support the political action committees which assist Conservative candidates. We cannot rest on our laurels — but must work as never before to assure that the coming Americanist transition is neither defeated nor betrayed. ■ ■