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# Congressional Candidates Must Face THE ISSUES

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■ To SET its goals, mark its direction, and bind its elements into a consistent and integrated policy, government must be guided by principles. Otherwise you have a jumble of contradictory initiatives, trial-and-error balloons, and counter-productive ephemera. A nation's guiding principles must be consistent with reality and the nature of man. While our

Constitution meets such criteria, the contemporary "Liberal" pragmatism ignores the Constitution and treats traditional principles as anachronisms.

The myriad federal programs established by "Liberal" pragmatists have as a result proved to be disasters. Poverty was not defeated by their War On Poverty, which only



**Washington "Liberals" are urging the Reagan Administration to adopt "pragmatic" policies promoting a larger Welfare State, even more deficit spending, and further reduction of individual responsibility. We must work harder than ever to elect principled Conservatives who will resist this collectivist con game.**

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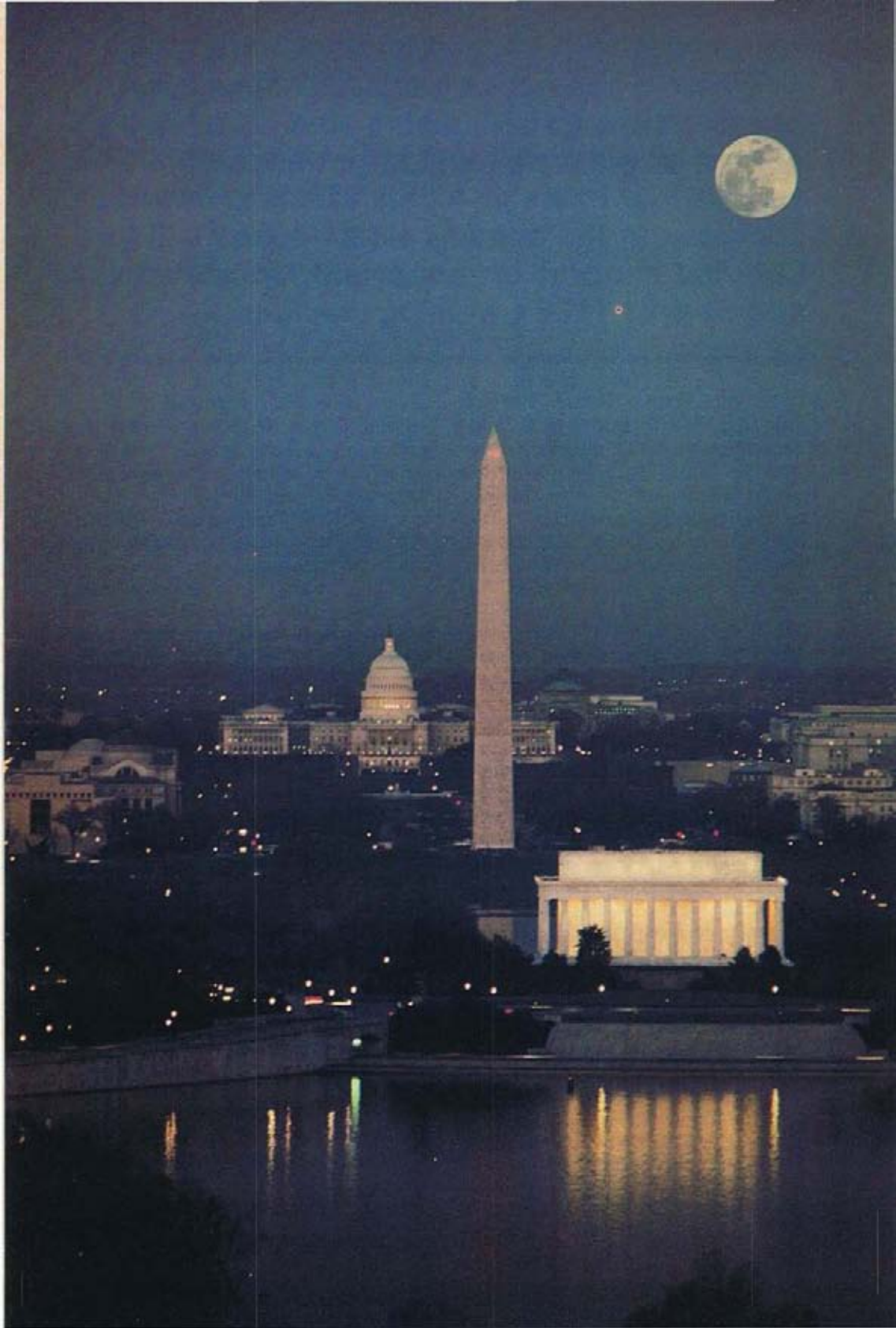
increased the power of government and the number of the well-paid caretakers of the poor. Their efforts to end racial discrimination by forced busing of schoolchildren have only aggravated racial tensions while increasing drug use, sexual promiscuity, and gang violence in the public schools. Their insistence that we send nearly half a trillion dollars in foreign aid to the Third World countries has left those countries no better off than before and on the edge of formal bankruptcy. And, instead of resulting in the promised world of peace and security, the "Liberal" policy of unilateral disarmament has only brought the world closer to nuclear war or Soviet hegemony. Moreover, while Americans were preoccupied with Welfare programs and "pragmatic" no-win wars, "détente," and disarmament, our freedoms were being encroached upon by collectivism which no longer creeps, having built up an awesome speed and momentum.

It is now obvious that the policies of the "Liberal" pragmatists have failed, and an increasing number of Americans have come to believe that this failure was no accident, no amazing string of coincidental mistakes and horrible errors. The failure was the ineluctable result of a false philosophy on which those policies

were based. It was carefully sold by the tax-free foundations and think tanks and academic institutions of Establishment *Insiders* who have a vested interest in keeping political authority free from the restrictions of our Constitution and its principle of limited government. Without their "pragmatic" frauds and false philosophical doctrines to con the American people, the Establishment *Insiders* would lose their power over government. Their game would be up because the people would see through the deception of the Welfare State and recognize it for the naked power grab that it is.

The victory of Ronald Reagan and the Conservative Republicans in the 1980 elections was largely due to the fact that Americans were finally ready to accept the failure of the New Deal and other Establishment con games as a political issue. If Americans had been ready to do that in 1964, our nation might already be well on the road to less government and more individual responsibility.

In rejecting Jimmy Carter and the "Liberal" Democrats, the electorate was demanding major change, desperately hoping that the Reagan Administration and the new Congress would reverse the growth of Big Government and again set America on the road to opportunity and progress.





**White House advisors claim social issues like abortion, forced busing, and racial quotas are not of great political importance. That is a very serious mistake. If candidates ignore such concerns in the coming election they will lose the vital support of movement Conservatives and destroy 1980's winning coalition.**

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In the aftermath of Ronald Reagan's stunning victory at the polls, many Americans began to believe that here was the Right Man, the leader who would rescue our country from the terrible mess into which the "Liberals" had led us. Many Conservatives seemed to believe that the battle had actually been won and that they could retire from further educational and political activities. Contributions to Conservative foundations and educational causes dropped precipitously. Everything was now going to be just fine.

But even before the President-elect took office he began to waffle on key campaign issues, causing concern among "ideological" supporters to whom Conservative principles are more important than personalities.

In an editorial column in the May 20, 1982, issue of the *Santa Ana Register*, former White House assistant for policy development Doug Bandow correctly observed:

"Until 1980, ideology was the bastard son of politics, and pragmatism the chosen one. Pragmatism is still very much with us, but, at least with the Reagan Administration, ideology has become its equal. Ideology is important because it should be the progenitor of policy. Indeed, the *purpose* of policy should be to implement a consistent set of philosophical prin-

ciples, and the purpose of political parties should be to support such a policy. In contrast, a party without principle is merely a conspiracy to seize power, and public policy without principle is merely a series of *ad hoc* rationalizations designed to maintain that power."

The philosophies of amorality and pragmatism have indeed served as powerful tools for those engaged in a conspiracy to seize and maintain power. Whenever principled critics of the Welfare State dare to question the premises on which the system runs, they are denounced or ignored as rigid ideologues, heartless extremists, or mere reactionaries.

But it is well to remember that when patriotic Americanists are disparaged as rigid ideologues they are in good company. After all, our Founding Fathers were ideologues. The fundamental idea behind the Constitutional Republic they established for us was that the government should be restrained by constitutional limitations on its scope and authority. Government officials should be bound by law in every official act, as Jefferson said, "by the chains of the Constitution." In other words the American political system was based on principles set down in the Constitution to limit the arbitrary whims of those in political power. There was to





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**The policy of unilateral disarmament promoted during the Carter Administration has encouraged aggressive Soviet expansion from Afghanistan to Latin America and brought the world closer to nuclear war. America now has little choice but to embark on a crash program permanently to restore our military superiority.**

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be a consistent application of these fundamental principles — fixed rules of the game, never to be changed to benefit some players at the expense of others. Which is why the Founders established standard procedures of due process and a Bill of Rights expressly forbidding the government from getting involved in private concerns of the people.

As the late Ayn Rand put it, "There are two potential violators of man's rights: the criminals and the government. The great achievement of the United States was to draw a distinction between these two — by forbidding to the second the legalized version of the activities of the first . . . . The government was set up to protect man from criminals — and the Constitution was written to protect man from the government."

A central feature of all of this is that government cannot give anyone anything unless it takes it away from somebody else. Too many Americans either do not understand this or do not care so long as their own place at the public trough is secure. One result is that we have politicians who make a career out of pandering to special interests. So our Teddy Kennedys and Tip O'Neills have built careers on promising coalitions of the credulous that the federal government can provide them with free medical care

and free education and free financial security for their old age. In each of these areas, of course, government involvement has only made matters worse. Medicare and Medicaid wallow in abuse and corruption while pushing medical costs to the moon. Public schools have become dens of corruption that teach less and less. And Social Security — the crowning achievement of Roosevelt's "Liberal" New Deal — is on the brink of financial collapse.

The solution to these problems is not to be found in better management, anymore than the solution to crime is to encourage a better class of criminals. The primary and most crucial political issue of our age — the one to which all the other issues are related — is the question of the proper function of government. The fundamental alternatives are: freedom *versus* tyranny and Free Market capitalism *versus* government interventionism. All other political issues are subordinate to this critical choice facing America. But recognition of this requires people to think in terms of principles rather than as pragmatic fools attempting to judge each issue on "its own merit" in the light of the current propaganda beaming from our television sets.

The most important consequence of the election of Ronald Reagan has



been that the chief subject of political debate is now where — and not whether — to draw the line against the excessive power of the federal government. Conservatives have at last begun to frame the issues, rather than merely react to issues raised by the other side. The American Right must now seize the opportunity to press its advantage by educating the public in principled alternatives to the failed policies of the past.

Unfortunately, this opportunity has not been exploited by our President. Rather than making a clean break with the past, he embraced the masters of past failure. He brought in Malcolm Baldrige of the Council on Foreign Relations, George Bush's Connecticut campaign manager, to be Secretary of Commerce; Alexander Haig, a C.F.R. member who was Henry Kissinger's top assistant, to be Secretary of State; Donald Regan, a C.F.R. member whose company political action committee had backed Jimmy Carter, to be Secretary of the Treasury; William Casey, a C.F.R. member who had been a Kissinger assistant, to be head of the C.I.A.; and, on and on.

From the outset, the staffing of the new Administration did not favor ideological Conservatives but "moderate" managerial types and career bureaucrats who care even less than they know about the U.S. Constitution and its underlying principles. What Conservatives surfaced have been systematically weeded out of positions of importance. One by one the loyal Reaganites, those who believed in what Mr. Reagan said he was trying to do, left office. Richard Allen. Lyn Nofziger. Martin Anderson. Paul Craig Roberts. At the same time, the Administration took on Nixon and Ford retreads and even Carter holdovers. In the internal war between the pragmatic managers and

the Conservative ideologues, the managers have clearly won and the Reaganites are in full retreat. The leader of this purge was White House chief of staff James Baker. In a cogent article about the Baker network, columnist M. Stanton Evans has observed:

"With these leave-takings and associated changes in the government, the Administration of Ronald Reagan is close to being captured by 'moderate' Republicans who opposed his presidential aspirations. The White House staff itself is heavily tilted toward the followers of George Bush (and others of even more liberal persuasion), while the management of foreign policy is firmly in the grasp of those who came to power as acolytes of Henry Kissinger.

"Here and there some pockets of Reaganite resistance remain, but they are isolated and under siege. The soulful plaint of Reaganites in one department after another is that they are surrounded by Bush-style 'moderates,' careerists, and Carter holdovers. Numerous loyal followers of the President are in the meantime on the streets, hoping some Bush or Kissinger type will look with favor on their applications for employment."

Movement Conservatives were indeed shocked when it was announced that James Baker, former campaign manager for "Liberal" Presidential rival George Bush, would hold the important post of White House chief of staff. It gave the Bushwhackers a means of compromising the President's policy initiatives from within the innermost core of the Administration. George Bush, as readers of this magazine will remember, was a director of the Eastern "Liberal" Establishment's Council on Foreign Relations until he ran for President.

M. Stanton Evans writes that, "By  
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## THE ISSUES

all accounts, the dominant force inside the Reagan White House is Chief of Staff James Baker — who fought against Reagan as a delegate hunter for Gerald Ford in '76 and again as Bush's campaign manager in 1980. Unsuccessful in electoral politics, Baker is apparently a master of inside maneuver. His influence is spread through the White House staff, communications set-up, congressional liaison, and the Republican National Committee."

President Reagan has been virtually isolated by non-ideological or Establishment advisors. No matter how good his intentions may be, or how sound his inclinations, the major policy decisions of any President cannot be better than the advice and information he is fed.

A good example of the problem is Richard Darman, Assistant to the President. Called the "fourth most powerful man in the White House," Darman controls the flow of information to the President and helps to set the terms of Administration policy decisions. It is Darman who decides what the President reads, prepares briefings on various issues for the Chief Executive, and controls the flow of paper. It is Mr. Darman who provides the data on which the President formulates his decisions.

For such an important post, one would think that Ronald Reagan would have insisted on a loyal Reagan partisan and staunch Conservative. After all, there can be no "Reagan Revolution" unless those in control of the levers of policy are themselves committed Reaganites. But Darman is not a Conservative, nor was he a supporter of Ronald Reagan's campaign for President. He is a former aide to "Liberal" Republican Elliot

Richardson and a key Baker team player. Asked by columnist John Lofton if he was a Reaganite, Darman admitted that he wasn't, that he had backed Ford against Reagan in 1976, and had not been involved at all in the Reagan campaign of 1980.

Darman has been joined by the new chief of lobbying activities, Kenneth Duberstein — former aide to the febrile Senator Jacob Javits of New York. And then there was White House aide Joseph Canzeri, who was for seventeen years an assistant to George Bush's friend Nelson Rockefeller. And of course David Gergen, in charge of White House speechwriting, was another strong supporter of George Bush in the 1980 primaries. Outside the White House, the key man for this crew in the Republican National Committee is Deputy Chairman Richard Bond, a former staffer for radical Republican Charles Mathias of Maryland and another Bush lieutenant.

Has the "Reagan Revolution" been Bushwhacked by career bureaucrats and Eastern Establishment clones? If it has, Conservative leadership on the issues will have to come from Congress because at the White House the troops are in control of the general.

What, then, are the great Conservative issues around which the American people would rally to assure the election of more movement Conservatives in the coming congressional elections? They are, to be sure, many and varied. Several are being promoted by their own single-issue organizations. But they all relate to the overriding issue of the proper role of government. Which is, as Frederic Bastiat put it, to be the collective organization assuring our natural right to legitimate self-defense by securing each citizen's person, liberty, and property rights.



Obviously, national defense — the protection of the nation from foreign aggression — is not only a legitimate function of government, it should be the primary responsibility of our national government. Yet, our government is today involved in so many areas not related to defense in any way that just twenty-six percent of the national Budget goes to defend us as compared to forty-eight percent even under disarmer John F. Kennedy.

Because of our government-fostered trade with the Soviets and East Europe, America has built up a fearful military enemy which poses a grave threat to our security. As a result of the unilateral disarmament that took place under Jimmy Carter, our relative military weakness has encouraged aggressive expansion on the part of the Soviets from Afghanistan to Latin America. As with Neville Chamberlain's acquiescence to Hitler's territorial demands before World War II, our government's obsequious appeasement of the Soviets has not resulted in "peace in our time" but has brought us precipitously close to the point where our only choices could be surrender or the devastation of nuclear war.

In view of the massive Soviet military buildup outlined in these pages last month by John Rees, it is clear that America now has little choice but to involve itself in a crash program to restore our military superiority. Though now necessary, this is a dangerous path since a Warfare State is as much a threat to freedom and economic liberty as a Welfare State. The Pentagon long ago became just another mammoth socialist bureaucracy like the Department of Health and Human Services. It reeks of waste, cost overruns, inefficiency, and bureaucratic controls. It has for years tolerated massive expendi-

tures on research and development for weapon systems that we created, elected not to deploy, and then passed to the Soviets in the form of technology sales or lost to them through espionage.

Now we hear Soviet-promoted propaganda from the appeasers calling for a nuclear "freeze." What it would freeze would be America's position of military inferiority. While we gave away our technology and killed program after program the Soviets have since 1970 introduced at least eleven new or modified I.C.B.M.s to our one. In the last twelve years, the Russians have introduced nine new or modified S.L.B.M.s (Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles) to our two. In 1980 alone, the Soviets outproduced us eleven to one in submarines, seven hundred to zero in S.L.B.M.s, ten to one in surface-to-air missiles, and thirty to zero in manned bombers. Today Moscow is building and deploying one SS-20 missile a week! They now have 308 of the SS-18 "doomsday" missiles with multiple nuclear warheads.

The truth is that since our politicians embraced *détente* and the SALT I agreement, America has virtually dropped out of the arms race. Yet Soviet-supported Leftists are touring our country describing the growing crisis as an American-sponsored arms race!

Meanwhile we are being told that what is needed is a new disarmament treaty with the Reds. Never mind that while the Soviets have been passing us by in strategic military power they have violated every such treaty that we have with them. They violated the 1972 Nixon-Brezhnev agreement on *détente* with the invasion of South Yemen and Afghanistan. By deploying "yellow rain" against the people of Laos, Cam-



bodia, and Afghanistan, the Soviets violated treaties banning chemical and biological toxins. They have violated the Helsinki Agreement of 1975 with widespread attacks on human rights in Poland and throughout the Communist empire. They violated SALT I by deploying heavy I.C.B.M.s and producing mobile I.C.B.M.s. Treaties to them are mere pie crusts, made to be broken.

The Soviet-orchestrated "nuclear freeze" movement is essentially a revival of the old unilateral disarmament cause which operated under the slogan "Better Red Than Dead." It is an emotional reaction based on Soviet-instigated nuclear terrorism.

To counter this, Conservative congressional candidates this fall should demand that the U.S. Government cease supporting the Marxist regimes of the world and stop subsidizing Western technological transfers to the East bloc. All trade and aid to the Soviets must be stopped. Conservative candidates must outline the problem in detail and promise to work to build up our military strength so that we will never again be in the position of being intimidated by Soviet threats or blackmail.\* At the same time they should call for a clear and consistent military strategy whose purpose is to defend American interests first, emphasizing that merely throwing more money at the defense problem will not suffice.

Federal spending and the federal Budget deficit should also be key issues for movement Conservatives in the congressional elections this fall. It is strange to hear cries of alarm over the \$100 billion deficit

from "Liberal" politicians who have for years voted to spend our money hand over fist. While decrying "excessive spending," the "Liberals" under Tip O'Neill have nonetheless moved heaven and earth to continue the spending spree. The \$4.5 billion Revenue Sharing scheme continues to expand. Within the infamous Department of Housing and Urban Development, a hefty \$4.5 billion could easily be eliminated by abolishing the Community Development Block Grant program and the Urban Development Action Grant projects — but they haven't been touched!

When voters ask how fast our nation is being collectivized, there is probably no better index than the growth in federal spending and the skyrocketing of "transfer payments"! Conservative candidates should emphasize that entitlement spending, which includes Social Security, Medicaid, Medicare, Food Stamps, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and various federal employee pension programs, has exploded 1,143 percent in twenty years — from \$29.5 billion in 1962 to more than \$366.6 billion this year! This accounts for over half of the federal Budget, with \$47 billion more being spent on these programs than last year. The total of these "entitlement" outlays now exceeds the entire federal Budget for Fiscal 1976!

One notorious example of what taxpayers are up against is the mammoth growth in the Food Stamp scam. The program began in 1965 with a budget of a mere \$35.6 million. By 1970 it was spending \$577 million. Only five years later, in 1975, the Food Stamp program was costing the American taxpayers \$4.7 billion! In 1980, only two years ago, this unconstitutional nightmare required outlays of over \$9 billion. Mr. Reagan, the "heartless" Budget slasher,

\*For detailed and shocking comparisons, candidates should see: William P. Hoar, "Soviet Military," *American Opinion*, November 1981, Page 13; John Rees, "Why We Can't Afford A Nuclear Freeze," *American Opinion*, June 1982, Page 7.



proposes an outlay of \$10.3 billion for next year! Conservative candidates should report these figures and promise to cut them to the bone.

Such candidates should explain that, in order to reduce interest rates and permit economic growth, non-defense federal spending must be reduced by at least eighteen percent across the board. Cutting federal spending and balancing the Budget to bring down interest rates without inflation are not impossible dreams. Simply *freezing* all cost-of-living increases on entitlement programs for a single year would save at least \$24 billion! An across-the-board freeze as proposed by the Smith-Grassley Budget Freeze Bill would balance the federal Budget by 1985. And in early June Congressman John Rousselot's detailed proposal for a balanced Budget drew 182 votes in the House of Representatives. So it can be done. But only movement Conservatives are ever likely to do it.

Americans know that those huge deficits are responsible for inflation and the high interest rates that have produced massive unemployment. Conservative candidates who pledge to balance the Budget will therefore be offering a powerful political lure. A Sindlinger poll found that a full seventy-nine percent of those Americans asked say they favor *cuts* in order to balance the Budget. Only eighteen percent of Americans agree with Tip O'Neill and the "Liberals" that taxes should be raised, while a surprising fifty-three percent favor cuts in social programs.

Meanwhile, to encourage Congress to make real cuts, Conservative candidates should commit to support the Balanced Budget/Tax Limitation Constitutional Amendment, pending in the Senate as S.J. Res. 58 and in the House as H.J. Res. 350.\* The President has endorsed this, but ac-

tion has been held up because of Tip O'Neill and his "Liberal" friends in the House. If movement Conservatives have the wisdom to use this issue effectively it could be the most important single issue in the 1982 elections.

Another crucially important plank on the Conservative agenda should be genuine monetary reform. One essential element in this reform would be the abolition of the Federal Reserve central bank. Ten or fifteen years ago, few people knew anything about the Federal Reserve System, but thanks to concern about high interest rates and the grass-roots educational activities of The John Birch Society and others, this Money Trust has become a hot political issue. The essence of the monetary problem (and all the evils it spawns) is that to fund our deficits "money" is created out of nothing, citizens are forced by legal-tender laws to accept this phony money, and such legal counterfeiting is sanctioned by law. But the Establishment *Insiders* could do this just as easily through the Treasury as they do now through the Federal Reserve System. The ultimate solution is to prevent *anyone* — including the government itself — from having the exclusive privilege to engage in the fraudulent activity of counterfeiting claims on deposited wealth. No one should be granted the monopoly to issue or manipulate money and credit. Money and credit should be left to the Free Market economy.

As Congressman Ron Paul (R.-Texas) explains: "Under the strict rules of a free market — private ownership and individual liberty — the monetary system could never have been abused as it has. Gold and

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\*For details, candidates should see my article on "Balancing The Budget" in *American Opinion* for June 1982.



silver would be the only currency, and inflation would be impossible . . . . If the purpose of government is to preserve freedom, and punish fraud, and the people are allowed to choose, gold money will result. Paper will vanish and the special interests who benefit from paper will lose the power they now have to control the government and the economy."

Under our present system, the growth of the money supply is linked to debt, especially the burgeoning government debt. A Free Market system based on gold would break that link. Gold does not have to be given value artificially through legal-tender laws. It is market-chosen money, not politically imposed money.

The debate over the proper role of gold in the money system has now moved from the meetings of the Gold Commission to the halls of Congress. Perhaps unwittingly the Gold Commission has recommended something that could set the stage for evolution of a gold-coin system by offering freedom of choice between gold and Federal Reserve notes. In a summary report on the Gold Commission, Joe Cobb, the executive director of the U.S. Choice in Currency Commission, observes that "the Commission recommended the renewed coinage of gold. Senator Jack Schmitt and Congressman Ron Paul have introduced legislation, S. 2330 and H.R. 6054, to implement this part of the Commission's plan. The new coins would be valued at the free market price of gold, and most important, 'Any gain or loss derived from the sale, exchange, or other disposition of any coin authorized by this Act shall not be recognized as a capital gain or loss under any Federal, State, or local income tax.' This section goes on to exempt the 'American Eagle' bullion coins from sales

taxes and personal property taxes — just like other forms of money.

"Advocates of the classical Bank-of-England model of a gold standard with a fixed ratio between the national currency ('dollar') and grains of gold, managed by a central bank, have been disappointed by the Gold Commission report. The report positively rejected any linkage between gold and the Federal Reserve's monetary policy. In several places, the report discussed the business cycles and other problems caused by the management of the 19th century gold standard by the Bank of England and the management of the 20th century versions by the Federal Reserve under the Bretton Woods Treaty. It found fault with classical models. All things considered, it is probably best that the Gold Commission did *not* embrace the imperfect hybrid of gold-and-managed monetary institutions that existed formerly. These, after all, *did* break down under political pressures in the past and would probably break down even more rapidly in the present international political environment."

The bills proposed by Senator Schmitt and Congressman Paul, which would be the American Eagle Gold Coin Act, offer an alternative to inflationary paper. As such they deserve the support of Conservative candidates anxious to make the point that Americanists have another practical solution to Debt-driven inflation and artificially high interest rates. Don't miss the importance of this. The leading American populist movements of the past, later absorbed into the major parties, were all fueled by this issue.

Another serious problem facing the Reagan Administration and the Republican Party is the growing restiveness of some of the grass-roots elements which supported Reagan



and the Conservatives against Carter and the "Liberals" in 1980. New Right groups, such as Moral Majority and various pro-life organizations, were important constituents in the Reagan landslide. Now, many in these organizations feel that Mr. Reagan has let them down, and that he has not moved decisively on such issues as abortion, school prayer, forced busing, and racial quotas. Consider the following stern warning by Cal Thomas from a recent issue of *The Moral Majority Report*:

"Old-line Republicans think they have the New Right in their hip pocket. They reason: 'Where else can these people go, except behind Mr. Reagan?' But there are several places we can and will go. The Administration and the Republican Party don't seem to understand that our people are not motivated by the party, but by *principle*. Whether one wears a Republican or Democrat label is of less concern to us than the position candidates or incumbents take on important issues like abortion. As an alternative our people could stay home as they used to, which would insure Republican defeats. Or we could vote for the other guy as a protest, or form a third party so we could vote and express our principles."

Anyone who understands this country's politics at the level of the Congressional Districts knows that issues such as abortion, school prayer, forced busing, and racial quotas have been very important to large sectors of the electorate and attention to these issues played a large part in the victories which two years ago swept the Republican Party back into power in the Senate for the first time in twenty-eight years. Yet the Administration seems to have largely ignored concerns over these issues.

The President's political advisors

have passed these concerns off as matters of personal conscience rather than substantive issues of principle. Questions concerning national defense and the economy have been regarded as "normal" issues of political discourse, but abortion, forced busing, affirmative action quotas, and the like have been shunted aside as peripheral "social issues" to be played down as remote from the affairs of government. Congressional candidates will follow this White House lead only at great peril.

To pretend that the "social issues" are not matters of political concern is to ignore the fact that federal courts and bureaucrats have made them political issues for millions of Americans who are very angry about it. If this were not so, these concerns would not have the large numbers of people behind them that they do. Nonetheless, the Administration seems to believe that rhetoric alone will keep the New Right forces in line. An illustration of the disappointing dissimilarity between promises and action was President Reagan's choice of Sandra Day O'Connor to fill a rare vacancy on the Supreme Court. Right-to-life leaders were livid at the choice in view of Mrs. O'Connor's pro-abortion background. Having felt themselves stung by Reagan they will not be pushovers for Conservative candidates who do not make firm commitments.

President Reagan has stated publicly that he "believes" a child in the womb is a human being and that abortion (feticide) is the taking of human life. If he believes that, he must be convinced the 1.5 million abortions performed in this country every year constitute the killing of 1.5 million human beings. But, if he believes that, then why did he choose Sandra Day O'Connor to sit on the Supreme Court?



In a July 12, 1981, syndicated column, Rowland Evans and Michael Novak wrote that the most "plausible explanation is that Reagan shares the view of Jim Baker and his other aides that the Moral Majority is not vital to his political coalition. He has given that signal by ignoring its sensibilities in selecting Sandra O'Connor." Indeed, said Evans and Novak, "important Conservative Republicans in Congress, while keeping mum publicly, grumble privately that the President has lost control of his own administration to moderate forces generally and chief of staff James Baker III in particular."

While the White House may be having enough problems trying to deal with Budget deficits, runaway bureaucracy, and a slumping economy, if President Reagan and Republican leaders continue to ignore abortion and other "social issue" concerns of the New Right, they will lose the badly needed support of these sincere activists and wreck the winning Conservative coalition. In the meantime, that coalition is available to congressional candidates who seek out its leaders and harness the labors of their troops.

The plight of education is another key issue for Conservative candidates in this fall's congressional battles. Parents are fed up with forced busing, deeply concerned over the epidemic problem of drug use among teenagers, furious over amoral sex education courses in the public schools, and angry about the Supreme Court ban on prayer in public schools. Many parents are afraid for the safety of their children when they send them into the blackboard jungles. Middle Americans are determined to make candidates take a stand on these issues. But there is an increasing number of Americans who recognize that many of these ills are

symptoms of the underlying problem of public education itself. These determined people favor some form of tuition tax credits to give parents freedom of choice in the educational marketplace. Again we are back to the "social issues." Those parents who were upset when prayer was outlawed in the public schools are now livid as the schools have embraced the new state religion of "secular humanism" which indoctrinates pupils with the message that there are no objective values, that everything is subjective and relative, and that there are no absolutes in morality.

Parents meanwhile note that scores on standardized reading and mathematics tests and Scholastic Aptitude Tests have been falling since the mid-1960s in a direct correlation to the intrusion of federal subsidies and control. Formerly a local issue, education has been increasingly invaded by the federal bureaucrats. It is now as much a national issue as a local one.

In the *Communist Manifesto* Karl Marx listed ten measures for socializing advanced countries. In the tenth plank, he advocated "free education for all children in public schools." The United States, being an advanced capitalist country, was the primary target for Leftist activism in increasing government involvement in the crucial field of education. In his recently published book, *The Ominous Parallels*, Leonard Peikoff clearly explains the role of public education and academic institutions in the rise of totalitarian socialism. Much of what is wrong with modern education in America can be traced to the ideas of John Dewey, the father of "Progressive Education." While focusing his discussion on Dewey's philosophy, Dr. Peikoff indicates the strategic importance of government control over education



from the point of view of any collectivist or would-be dictator. He writes:

"The process of spreading a philosophy by means of free discussion among thinking adults is long and complex. From Plato to the present, it has been the dream of certain philosophers and social planners to circumvent this process, and, instead, to inject a controversial ideology directly into the plastic, unformed minds of children — by means of seizing a country's educational system and turning it into a vehicle for indoctrination. In this way, one may capture an entire generation, and thus, shortly, a country, without intellectual resistance, in a single *coup d'école*."

The result, as Dr. Peikoff goes on to describe in fascinating detail, has been the sabotage of the minds of America's youth — and all the pernicious consequences from "functional illiteracy" to moral bankruptcy. Clearly, America must not only remove the tentacles of government from the field of education, but also rout the influence of the Deweyites and the Establishment foundations which funded the spread of their philosophy and methods. Tuition tax credits, if properly implemented, could be the first important step toward the goal of depoliticizing education so that it will once again be a matter for parents, students, and teachers rather than socialist bureaucrats.

The field of education should be liberated from politics and turned over to the marketplace because education is far too important to be the monopoly of bureaucrats. The issue of tuition tax credits for private education will be gathering considerable attention in the months ahead. Conservative candidates for Congress will ignore it at their peril.

In any case we must all bear in

mind that the 1982 congressional elections will produce Conservative victories only if the people are given real choices instead of mere echos. These elections will test the effectiveness of our educational efforts as never before. Political victories for Conservatives are the payoff for successful grass-roots education. Only rarely do they result from the efforts of mere party-line activists without ideology or understanding. Which is why Conservatives are this year more important to the leaders of both major parties than ever before. The parties need us far more than we need them. They may provide the vehicles, but they operate on our fuel and our issues. At election time they will go where we direct them.

Whatever Ronald Reagan's instincts, he is now surrounded, isolated, and controlled by aides and advisors who are pragmatic Bush types or worse. If the reforms Mr. Reagan campaigned for are to have a chance of being adopted, stronger leadership will be required. Since that leadership is not going to come from the White House, it will have to come from Congress. And the House of Representatives is still controlled by a "Liberal" Democrat majority — with Speaker Tip O'Neill working desperately to obstruct every Conservative reform.

The congressional elections this November will be vitally important to the future of America and Americanism, because their outcome will determine whether a Conservative Congress will assume the leadership role which the Reagan Administration has all but abandoned. The Right desperately needs more men and women of principle in Congress who will stand ramrod straight on the issues. With Ronald Reagan when he is right, and against him when he is wrong. ■ ■