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Who Will Control The Republican Party In 1970?

Why is it that — although conservatives faithfully support Republican candidates even when they are liberals or moderates — liberals do *not* support Republican candidates when they are conservatives? Why is it that liberal Republican Senators — who were elected with the votes of conservative Republicans (especially in such states as Ohio, Illinois, Kansas, and Kentucky) — can with impunity publicly side with Teddy Kennedy instead of with President Nixon on the crucial issue of the ABM?

Why is it that when conservative candidates lose in the primary, they close ranks and support the winner, but when liberals (such as John Lindsay and Thomas Kuchel) lose in the primary, they sulk in their tents and refuse to support the Republican nominee?

The answer to these questions is the fundamental fact that, while conservatives work in politics to save the country and to elect Republicans, liberals work in politics for one single over-riding objective, and that is *control of the Republican Party*. Knowledge of this basic fact is essential if we are ever to elect a bigger percentage of conservative candidates.

The matter of control of the Republican Party is determined in the following principal ways (some of which are overlapping as Party procedure varies widely from state to state): (1) the primary, (2) state Party conventions, (3) the election of Party functionaries from precinct committeeman to state chairman, (4) the nomination of Party candidates, (5) the election of Delegates to National Conventions, (6) district and county caucuses, and (7) the writing of Party platforms. Often the decisive actions are taken months, or even years, before the final election which puts a candidate in the U. S. Congress.

It is absolutely essential that conservatives also work for the objective of *control of the Republican Party* —

1) As a matter of self defense. If we don't do it, the liberals will exercise influence over Republican candidates and policies out of all proportion to the money and effort they contribute, and out of all proportion to the wishes of Republican voters.

2) This is the shortest and most practical way to achieve the objectives for which all conservatives labor, namely, an America of law and order, private enterprise, limited government, fiscal integrity, and strong defenses against our Communist enemies at home and abroad.

Conservatives soon find that, although everyone

seems to welcome their money and volunteer work during the general campaign, no one wants them to have any say about control of the Party or selection of the nominees. Here are the principal methods by which conservatives are dealt out of that part of politics where control of the Party is determined:

1) Businessmen, professional men and wealthy contributors are put in one of two categories — either they are put on the Party Finance Committee where they can raise money for the Party in the general election but are told they must not support any particular candidate in the primary, or they are encouraged to be “independent” and “vote for the man and not the party,” which is simply another device to disfranchise men from being active in the primary.

2) The women, who are the Party's best workers, are sold the line that they should remain aloof from the primary in order to avoid hard feelings, but are duty bound to support whatever candidate receives the nomination. It is particularly easy to put over this line if the women are affiliated with the National Federation of Republican Women because this is the Federation policy. Thus, the Party's best and most dedicated workers are prevented from having any control over Republican Party policies or the selection of its nominees.

3) Jobholders are kept from getting out of hand by the patronage squeeze.

The best way for conservatives to implement the wishes of the conservative majority is with and within the regular Republican Party structure. Conservative Republicans should get themselves elected as State Central Committeemen, National Committeemen and Women, county chairmen, precinct committeemen, members of the finance committee and committees for the selection of candidates, etc.

If this is not immediately possible, another plan of action is to form a parallel organization which is firmly conservative, independent, but acting in cooperation with and holding the respect of the regular organization. The California Republican Assembly (CRA) and the United Republicans of California (UROC) have both been immensely successful. These two organizations are officially recognized by the Republican Party in California and deserve much credit for the nomination and election of Governor Ronald Reagan. But CRA and UROC are not

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servile lackeys who support every Republican officeholder regardless of his liberalism. They strongly supported conservative Max Rafferty against the incumbent Senator Thomas Kuchel in the 1968 California primary.

Illinois Success Story

In Illinois an exciting new idea is flourishing which offers inspiration and encouragement to conservative Republicans everywhere.

A little more than a year ago, a small group of dedicated men and women formed a new organization called "Taproot Republicans of the 14th Congressional District."

The name "Taproot" was derived from the first letter of each word of their motto: "Traditions And Principles Republicans Often Overlook Today." "Taproot" also has another meaning: Webster's Dictionary defines taproot as the main root of a plant descending downward from the primary root, and giving off small lateral roots.

Taproot is an organization dedicated to the preservation of Republican ideals. It seeks the support of volunteer men and women who are devoted to the traditions and principles upon which the Republican Party is based. Conservative Republicans in the 14th Congressional District in Illinois were convinced that Taproot could fill a definite need. Organized effort to protect the interests of the conservative majority had become essential because some Party nominations had been grabbed by liberals. (For example, although this is one of the most conservative Republican districts in the United States, one of its Delegates to the 1968 Republican National Convention voted for Nelson Rockefeller.)

No other organization seemed to fill the need. The women's clubs do not accept husband-wife memberships, and the Young Republicans have age restrictions.

By a happy coincidence, about the time that Taproot was founded, Congressman John Ashbrook made a speech in which he said: "The greatest problem we have in this country is the fact we cut ourselves off from some things that are really important. We are like a bouquet of cut flowers. Cut flowers stay beautiful for a while. They have wonderful grace, charm, smell . . . but sooner or later they wither and die. In the same way, I believe that because of poor leadership, our country has cut itself off from its taproots . . . those taproots that gave us strength . . . those taproots that gave us the system we



George Ray Hudson, Chairman of Taproot Republicans

have. Like those flowers, we can bloom for a while, but unless we recognize what we are doing, unless we again reach down for those taproots . . . just like those cut flowers . . . this country is going to wither and die." Taproot Republicans promptly obtained Congressman Ashbrook's permission to use this quotation on their brochure.

The first venture of Taproot was to plunge into the controversial issue of whether or not Illinois should have an "endorsed slate" of candidates in the 1968 primary. Illinois had a tradition of open, unbossed primaries. In 1966 the county chairmen had a pre-primary convention to endorse candidates so they could then coast through the primary without opposition. In 1968, Taproot took a survey to determine whether the voters wanted an "endorsed slate" in the 1968 primary. The survey showed that the voters in their strong Republican district overwhelmingly opposed an "endorsed slate." The result of this survey was that the whole "slate" idea was dropped statewide.

The next opportunity for Taproot to participate politically was in a race for State Representative. When the incumbent did not choose to run, much of the regular Republican organization and all the newspapers endorsed a well-known liberal. But Taproot had a qualified candidate ready. Even with all the odds against him, the Taproot conservative candidate obtained 24,284 votes to 24,452 for the liberal. Prohibitive court costs prevented a recount, but the psychological impact of the close vote made the campaign well worthwhile.

The next step for Taproot was the Township election. A Taproot member defeated an endorsed candidate

in an open Party caucus. This was accomplished by getting out 350 persons to a night meeting and knowing parliamentary procedure so they could not be outmaneuvered by the liberal minority. Taproot now has one of its members elected to the County Board of Supervisors.

When Taproot started, the regular Republican organization took a dim view of the new club. But when Taproot held its first annual meeting in the spring of 1969 with Phyllis Schlafly as the speaker, the Republican County Chairman and County Chairwoman sat at the head table and publicly joined. The Taproot Chairman was appointed to the Advisory Committee of the County Republican Central Committee, and many local elected officials have requested membership applications. Now Taproot is operating from a solid and successful base to nominate conservative Republican candidates in 1970.

The success of Taproot is due principally to the fact that it has the right kind of leadership — a perfect combination of conservative principles, moral integrity, dogged perseverance, and political savvy. Chairman George Ray Hudson, the first co-chairman Ruth Bateman, the second co-chairman Shirley Canty, and the other officers who formed the Taproot nucleus have youth and enthusiasm — but they also are veterans of enough political battles that they are geared for the long haul and cannot be discouraged by temporary setbacks. Taproot leaders are staunch in their principles, but they also have tact and savior-faire in dealing with local Republican officials. Taproot doesn't stomp around like an elephant in a china shop, but moves with an attitude of friendly cooperation, acting with the quiet confidence that Taproot truly expresses the wishes of the big majority of Republican voters.

Taproot Republicans are the kind of people who will give dedicated service in all general elections. But they know that if we don't nominate quality candidates, it simply isn't worth all the shoeleather, the sugar bowl money, and the heartaches we pour into November elections. The principal effort of Taproot, therefore, is directed toward *nominating* the right kind of Republican candidates. This is the most important task of conservative Republicans today.

In accepting office as Taproot Chairman, George Ray Hudson said: "In forming the Taproot Republican organization, a flame has been kindled which can be a guiding light to

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The Minority ABM Report

A minority of Senators on the Armed Services Committee, led by Senator Symington, oppose an anti-ballistic missile system (ABM). Here are the answers to their Minority Report published on July 7:

1. "The American people have lived with fears of a Soviet attack for some quarter of a century . . . and have expended a thousand billion dollars on defense in recognition of this possible danger. These gigantic expenditures have been detrimental to many other plans, programs, and policies. . ."

Answer. These expenditures saved Europe, Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, the Republic of China, Southeast Asia, India, and Indonesia from being taken over by the Communists. Preserving the freedom of the United States and of our friends in Europe and Asia is not "detrimental" but highly beneficial to America and to the world.

The minority imply that "fears of a Soviet attack" are out-dated. On the contrary, the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia proves that the Soviets still believe in sneak, surprise attacks. From 1963 through 1970, the Soviets allocated \$50 billion more for weapons to hit the U. S. than we allocated for weapons to hit Russia.

2. "There is reason to doubt that the long-range radar and the short-range radar . . . will operate successfully. . ."

Answer. The radars have operated successfully in many tests in which anti-missiles based on Kwajalein Island hit missiles fired from Vandenberg

"Maybe we made a mistake telling the Democrats what the ABM system is all about. They'd probably have been for it if we'd just called it 'aid to our cities'."



berg Air Base in California. Senate critics such as Symington were invited to witness these tests, but they declined.

3. "Because of our domestic problems and our foreign commitments, we must establish some order of priorities with respect to the use of our resources."

Answer. The highest priority given Congress by our Constitution is to "provide for the common defense." England and France neglected the defense priority in the 1930s and thereby lost Europe and Asia to the heavily-armed Germany and Japan. Defense must have top priority.

4. "If we were attacked we could destroy the Soviet Union some 50 times over."

Answer. No proof is given. Secretary Laird and Research Director Dr. Foster testified that, without the

ABM, the Soviets will soon be able to destroy 95% of our land-based missiles. If Symington et al are right in saying that, even after an attack, the small U. S. missiles could destroy the Soviet Union some 50 times over, then the giant Soviet missiles (25 times more powerful than the U. S. Minutemen) could destroy the U. S. many times over including our deterrent.

5. "If we proceed with this system . . . the result could only be a further escalation of the arms race."

Answer. The minority Senators are victims of Soviet word warfare which has made "escalation" a bad word. We defeated Hitler and the Japanese militarists because we did escalate the arms race in order to save America. Failure to defend ourselves against the Soviet escalation of the arms race will be national suicide. If we lose the arms race, we lose all, and the anti-ABM Senators will be to blame.

6. "It would be unfortunate indeed if an ABM deployment on our part had a negative effect on arms control discussions."

Answer. It might be fortunate. Reliance on an arms control agreement instead of on U. S. strength could be fatal. The Soviets have violated more than 100 major treaties. They violated 17 when they invaded Czechoslovakia last summer, and one of them, the Declaration of Bratislava, was only 17 days old! Soviet leadership continues to be guided by Lenin who wrote: "Promises are like pie-crusts, made to be broken."

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Republicans who share a common concern for their party and their country. . . . Insofar as the Republican Party adheres to a reliance upon Almighty God as the true author of liberty, holds inviolable the United States Constitution and our republican form of government, insists upon the protection of private property, demands the maintenance of law and order, cherishes our system of competitive free enterprise — and sees in all of these the Taproots of human freedom — to this degree it will remain a sentinel at the gates of Liberty. Conversely, to the degree that Republicans allow these dedications to be subverted in favor of socialist doc-

trine, our party will have abandoned its historic cause. . . . So we seek to light candles of encouragement for those Republican leaders who would stand tall for the principles they know are right. This we can try to do with courage, perseverance and determination for our party and for our country."

Taproot may not be necessary or desirable in every Congressional District — but it certainly can be the answer in many Congressional Districts. It is a proven, practical, and effective formula to solve the problem of protecting conservative interests in the primary.

If you believe that Taproot is needed in your area, and if you have the

right kind of leadership including both men and women, write for a copy of the sample Bylaws and Taproot brochure to *The Phyllis Schlafly Report*, Box 618, Alton, Illinois 62002. The name "Taproot Republicans" is copyrighted and cannot be used by others without permission of the Illinois group.

The selection process for 1970 Republican nominees will begin in the fall of 1969. By early 1970, it will be in full gear. By the time most people think about the 1970 elections, it will be too late to nominate a conservative. **Now** is the time to organize a Taproot club so you will be ready when Party caucuses begin and vital decisions are made.

The "Show Me" State Shows The Way

The passage of Resolutions by national, state, and local organizations is an excellent way to form and crystallize public opinion on important issues. An organization that doesn't stand for something is apt to fall for anything, and Resolutions are a splendid technique by which you can find out if an organization stands for anything worthwhile. Resolutions are helpful in advising our legislators how we want them to vote, in mobilizing public opinion in your community, and in educating members of the organization which passes them.

Here are some of the excellent Resolutions overwhelmingly passed by the Missouri Federation of Republican Women at its State Convention on June 6, 1969. You can use them as a guide for Resolutions in your local or state organizations. When your club passes good Resolutions, send them to *The Phyllis Schlafly Report* so the good word can be shared with others.

Pornography

Whereas, President Nixon has asked Congress to outlaw the mailing of smut to minors, and to prohibit the mailing of purely sex-oriented material to anyone regardless of age, and

Whereas, throughout the nation we see moral decay, desecration of tradition, coarseness of conduct, widespread lack of respect for authority, and

Whereas, there are forces within and outside our borders who are profiting by and promoting planned decadence in this country, and

Whereas, President Nixon has said: "The courts have not left society defenseless against the smut peddler, they have not ruled out reasonable government action,"

Now, Therefore Be It Resolved that the Missouri Federation of Republican Women refuse to support financially or morally those books, magazines, plays, movies, or other means of entertainment whose moral values are not congruent with the traditionally high moral standards of America, and

Be It Further Resolved that we encourage members of the Missouri General Assembly to provide workable statutes on pornography and obscenity so that prosecutors will have legal grounds to prosecute those who engage in the distribution of such materials, and

Be It Further Resolved that we call upon our representatives at all levels

of government to support anti-smut legislation, especially those bills supported by President Nixon.

Sex Education

Whereas, there is a private organization promoting a compulsory sex education program for use in schools from kindergarten through high school, and

Whereas, leading members of this private organization have publicly stated that they cannot teach morality with this sex education program, and

Whereas, parents have an inalienable right to educate their children in morals and social behavior, and

Whereas, teaching sex in the absence of a moral code constitutes a violation of the tenets of many religions, and

Whereas, a compulsory sex program would constitute an infringement of the constitutional rights of some children by contradicting their religious beliefs as guaranteed by the First Amendment, and

Whereas, the time has come to re-establish the home and family as the basic concept for consideration of others and the rights of others and to return responsibility back to parents,

Therefore Be It Resolved that the Missouri Federation of Republican Women ask members of the Missouri Legislature to prohibit by statute the teaching of human reproduction or human sexuality in kindergarten through sixth grade, and allow only those courses which deal with personal hygiene or those presented in the context of biology in grades seven through twelve.

Campus Violence

Whereas, the American people have always looked to the college campuses for the leadership of the future, and

Whereas, our founding fathers so wisely recognized the need for education for all by providing land-grant colleges, preserving a climate for freedom of choice in schooling for all ages, for all ethnic groups, and for all truly interested in getting an education, and

Whereas, the moral fiber of our country is being torn apart and the strengths of our several peoples are being dissipated,

Therefore Be It Resolved that we do, without reservation, support our President, Richard M. Nixon, in his stand for the authority of law, based always and firmly on "justice for all," to be impartially applied on college

campuses and therefore insuring for all a return to respect, responsibility, and restoration of those principles without which no country can long survive.

Free Enterprise in Agriculture

Whereas, the people of Missouri, people who live close to the soil, people whose rich heritage began in the farm communities of this state, people who have recognized the plight of the farmer, and

Whereas, former administrations have not met nor solved their problems, the Missouri Federation of Republican Women do

Hereby Resolve to support a program that will promote free enterprise and will return to the farmer his integrity, his freedom to use his own judgment, and to restore his right to operate under the traditional, tried and true, law of "supply and demand," and

Be It Further Resolved that the Secretary of Agriculture be encouraged through a communication from this Federation of the action we have taken.

Note: The Missouri Federation of Republican Women also passed a strong pro-ABM Resolution which was published in the July *Phyllis Schlafly Report*.

ABM Testimony

Phyllis Schlafly's Testimony, refuting the Kennedy anti-ABM book, which she gave to the Senate Armed Services Committee is now available in the printed Committee Hearings. This is the full text of her Statement of which a portion was printed in the June *Phyllis Schlafly Report*. For your copy of this important reference book, write the Senate Armed Services Committee, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C. and request a copy of the 1969 ABM Hearings, Part 2.

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