

**The Washington Times**

# **Goldwater 50 years later**

**Remembrances by**

**Lee Edwards**

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# The father of American conservatism

By Barry Goldwater Jr.

**A** half-century ago, Sen. Barry Goldwater strode to the podium of the Republican National Convention in San Francisco to accept his party's presidential nomination.

He declared, "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice." Let me remind you further: "Moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."

My dad set the stage for the resurrection of a passionate belief in liberty and redefined the Republican brand.

It is interesting these same words could be used to describe another effort to ensure the civil rights of all Americans regardless of race. Unfortunately, those words were distorted by the media and his critics.

In his book "Conscience of a Conservative," published in 1960, Goldwater noted:

"The root difference between the Conservatives and the Liberals of today is that Conservatives take into account of the whole man, while Liberals tend to look only at the material side of man's nature. The Conservative believes that man is in part, an economic, an animal creature; but he is also a spiritual creature with spiritual needs and spiritual desires. ... Conservatism therefore looks upon the enhancement of man's spiritual nature as the primary concern of political philosophy. Liberals, on the other hand, — in the name of concern for "human beings" — regard the satisfaction of economic wants as the dominant mission of society."

It is interesting that my father's good friend Jack Kennedy echoed my dad in his own speeches. While my dad lost the 1964 presidential race, he launched a movement that has dominated and influenced the body politic and government for the past 40 years.

I can still hear my dad explain his philosophy "Let me remind you a conservative is one who fights to expand individual liberty and resist the accumulation of power by those who claim they know best."

It was Madison versus Jefferson as to the balance of power. Who should control? Who should dominate?

It is a struggle that has dominated the history of our country. John Maynard Keynes versus Milton Friedman, The New York Times versus The Wall Street Journal, the right versus the left, conservative versus liberal, MSNBC versus Fox, Republican versus Democrat.

The difference between a liberal and a conservative is that the liberal think we should be equal at the finish



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Sen. Barry Goldwater rallied a new conservative generation during his presidential campaign in 1964. Although he lost that contest, his landmark philosophies of conservatism still echo a half-century later. As Goldwater's son, Barry Goldwater Jr., reminds us, conservatives must present positive answers to national problems, not just condemn them.



As first lady, Nancy Reagan congratulated Sen. Barry Goldwater and West Point football coach Earl H. "Red" Blaik after they received the Presidential Medal of Freedom at the White House on May 12, 1986. Goldwater inspired Ronald Reagan, a New Deal Democrat, to become a conservative Republican who would go on to become president.

line while conservatives think we should be equal at the starting line.

That is the war, the classic struggle, going on in Congress and in America as we gather tonight.

I might also note that his belief that America and the free world will remain free only with a strong commitment to national defense. Clearly, with the record of the current president, we need a change in defense policy as well.

The conservative movement has been on a tortuous trail. It suffered defeat many times but came roaring back. With the overall huge victory in 2010 and 2014, I believe we are on the right path because we stuck to the message.

Now we look ahead to the 2016 presidential election. With 70 percent of the state legislatures in Republican hands and 36 Republican governors and control of the Senate and House, conservatives have an incredible responsibility to provide the leadership so lacking at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave.

In considering the challenges facing the new Republican majority in Congress, it is important to review my father's observation that conservatives must present positive answers to national problems, not just condemn the answers provided by the left. He observed: "Our failure is the failure of Conservative demonstration. Though we Conservatives are deeply persuaded that our society is ailing and know that Conservatism holds the key to national salvation ... we seem unable to demonstrate the practical relevance of Conservation principles to the needs of the day."

We have come together tonight to celebrate a powerful idea: liberty. We came tonight to recognize a movement: conservatism rooted in principles. We came together tonight as brothers and sisters to remember a man who had such a powerful influence on the two-party system and us.

With fond memories of battles we fought, friends we made and a philosophy we love, we salute our leader, Sen. Barry Goldwater.

Goldwater changed America for the better. He gave America a choice, not an echo. In our hearts, we know he was right. Goldwater was a man of principle, integrity and honesty. His ideas, his courage and his candor helped shape our national character, and I hope that his work will continue to be lived through the lives and dedications of the generations to come.

• *Barry Goldwater Jr. served in the U.S. House of Representatives as a member representing California from 1969 to 1983, and currently serves as chairman and president of The Goldwater Taplin Group.*

# In the beginning there was Goldwater. It's as simple as that.



By DAVID KEENE  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

In a very real sense, the modern conservative political movement began with Barry Goldwater. Had it not been for the Arizona senator it might have taken years or even decades for conservative ideas to break into the political mainstream, Ronald Reagan would be remembered today not as one of our greatest presidents, but as a “B” movie star and television host, and many of those who since the 1960s shaped our nation’s politics would not have had an opportunity to do so.

Goldwater seemed to young conservatives in the early 1960s like a sort of real life John Wayne, riding in from the West to do

battle with the liberals and Democrats who dominated everything. The growing conservative movement had Bill Buckley, of course, but was largely composed of writers, intellectuals and students. There were a few old Taft conservatives around as well, but the new conservative movement linking believers in free-market economics with Cold Warriors and those who are today called social conservatives was in its infancy and could count few elected officials within its ranks.

Goldwater was something else. He said what he thought and had the courage to stand up for his beliefs. He had been elected by upsetting the Senate’s majority leader and could often be found standing and voting alone on the Senate floor regardless of the odds or orders from his party’s leaders. He seemed to embody Buckley’s definition of the conservative as one who “stands athwart history yelling stop.”

Columnist Robert Novak, then a moderate and critic of Goldwater, wrote that “he was a conservative who smiled, who laughed, who was young and dynamic.” He came to Washington to change things, gave hundreds or perhaps thousands of speeches around the country as chairman of the

National Republican Senatorial Committee, authored a book that students and others devoured and became an instant hero to conservatives young and old.

In 1960, a reluctant Goldwater was nominated for vice president at the Republican National Convention and in withdrawing gave a speech that ignited his followers and led almost directly to his nomination four years later. He stood before the assembled delegates who had just nominated Richard M. Nixon and challenged his fellow conservatives. “Let’s grow up conservatives,” he said, “If we want to take this party back — and I think we can someday — let’s get to work.”

They did just that, building the political infrastructure that would vanquish those who had dominated the party for most of their lives and hand their hero the nomination. The sign that the conservative movement had arrived took place at Madison Square Garden two years later, The Young Americans for Freedom audaciously decided to put together a conservative rally and invite the Arizona senator, among others, to speak in what they called “the belly of the beast.” Eighteen thousand people showed up, and when Goldwater took the

stage, they welcomed him in a way that told the world he was their man. Richard Viguerie, who was there and helped organize the rally, remembers it as the moment when the political conservative movement really began.

Goldwater himself had always been reluctant about running for president, but was a close friend of the incumbent Democrat, John F. Kennedy, and the two had discussed and looked forward to a campaign unlike any other in modern American history. They even talked about touring the country together on the same plane and engaging in a series of Lincoln-Douglas style debates that would give voters a chance to choose between Kennedy’s liberalism and Goldwater’s conservatism. It would have been quite a campaign, but it was not to be.

Kennedy’s death put Lyndon B. Johnson in the White House and Goldwater was not very interested in running against him and was convinced it would be almost impossible to prevail in the aftermath of the Kennedy assassination. But his followers literally forced his hand, so the reluctant candidate stepped forward, vanquished the GOP establishment and seized control of the party in a raucous San Francisco convention.

The ensuing campaign was one of the most vicious and negative in history, and that is saying something today. Goldwater was pictured as a foaming-at-the-mouth madman who would destroy the world, who had secret ties to German neo-Nazis, would end Social Security and plunge America into depression. He lost, of course, by a huge margin. And the establishment thought the conservative movement he led had been destroyed once and for all.

Things would return to normal with Democrats and “respectable” Republicans differing on the margins, but agreeing on major issues. The intellectual elite that had so hated Goldwater and his advisers (like the eccentric Milton Friedman) who they felt gave the senator crazy economic advice would vanish and the world would go on as it had.

They were wrong, of course, because Barry Goldwater in losing had changed their world and ours in ways they couldn’t imagine. They saw his defeat as the end, but were soon to discover that it was only the beginning.

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● David A. Keene is opinion editor of *The Washington Times*.

## Remembering Phil Crane: A bridge from Goldwater to modern conservatives

By RALPH Z. HALLOW  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

It was fall 1964. A young Phil Crane, armed with Hollywood good looks and a freshly minted Ph.D., had wangled a job in the research shop of Barry Goldwater’s Republican presidential campaign.

Crane saw himself as foot soldier in the burgeoning conservative movement. That year, it had set out to complete a bridge linking the founders’ blueprint for limited government with a modern means to maximize individual freedom amid what Goldwaterites saw as the rubble of liberal statism.

The Goldwater crusade collapsed with his electoral defeat on Nov. 3, 1964. Skeptics concluded that the Goldwater brigades had started a bridge to nowhere.

Crane, like Goldwater, stuck with the bridge, as did other ardent Goldwaterites such as William F. Buckley Jr., Paul Weyrich, Stan Evans, Phyllis Schlafly, William Rusher and others.

In that sense, Crane, who died Nov. 8 of cancer at age 84, helped construct the span that linked the Goldwater campaign failure, over which liberals spent decades gloating, to conservatism’s mixed successes in the Ronald Reagan era and beyond.

One reason Crane was so good at philosophical, ideological bridge-building over his 50 years in public service was that he started out as a conservative intellectual at a time when popular belief held that the left in America — liberal Democrats, democratic socialists, communists — held an exclusive franchise on intellectuals. They held the commanding heights in broadcast and print journalism and in the most prestigious and expensive universities.

Conservatism had its intellectual philosophers, and Crane read and quoted from the right’s top intellectuals, such as Russell Kirk, Friedrich Hayek, Ludwig von Mises and Milton Friedman.

That empowered Crane to spread their word though a variety of megaphones. He has his professorial lecterns in colleges

where he taught and the headmaster job in a preparatory school he started. He lectured conservative student and adult gatherings, formal and informal, all over the country. He served a two-year stint as chairman of the American Conservative Union. He created what amounted to a philosophy-policy-tactics school for lawmakers when he founded and led the first conservative caucus in the U.S. House — the Republican Study Committee. He helped create the Heritage Foundation, first headed by Edwin J. Feulner and Paul M. Weyrich, destined to become the most influential conservative ideas and policy factory of the Reagan era.

For most of his 35 years in Congress, he taught the philosophy of conservatism how to apply it successfully.

Although he was never able to fulfill his ambition to become a presidential candidate, he did take a shot at it, running in 1980 for the Republican nomination. Instead, Ronald Reagan became the nominee, and then president. Crane spent the fall of 1980 working hard for Reagan, just as he had for

Reagan’s failed 1976 nomination run.

At times, Crane’s view of where conservatism should take the United States led him to stand athwart history and say “no.” He opposed turning over control of the Panama Canal to Panama — a position Reagan also held. History overrode Crane and Reagan with a “yes.”

But when Crane said the federal government should restore Americans’ right to own gold, history — and Congress — agreed.

Some who knew him well said Crane did fully live up to his potential. For too long, Crane said “yes” to alcoholism. By the time he said “no,” it was too late and his influence had waned.

A few years later, he lost re-election after 35 years in Congress. But he already helped build the bridge from Mr. Goldwater to a modern conservative political philosophy now claiming the public allegiance of most Republicans in Congress and most aspirants to the GOP presidential nomination.

# Barry Goldwater's commitment to America's youths

By Ron Robinson and Jessica Jensen

President Reagan told us, “There is no better way to establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds.”

Barry Goldwater understood this. He knew the importance of inspiring and reaching out to young people, which is why he worked with Young Americans for Freedom throughout his career. In fact, YAF helped launch Goldwater onto the national scene by hosting a “Rally for World Liberation From Communism” with 18,500 conservatives in Madison Square Garden in 1962.

Addressing the YAF National Conference in 1974, Goldwater said: “My speaking schedule is heavily loaded with commitments to speak with college groups. They seem to want me, and I love to go. I love to go, because I want to know what the future [holds] for mankind in the years ahead. And believe me, my friends, today’s YAF leaders are tomorrow’s national leaders. I know this because I see it happening all over the nation.”

Our nation desperately needs today’s young people to understand the importance of preserving and advancing freedom, and it is up to us to ensure



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Youngsters in signature Goldwater glasses carry beagles to greet Sen. Barry Goldwater during a campaign stop in Montgomery, Alabama.

they do.

Today, more than ever, our leaders need to understand what Reagan and Goldwater did: No major movement has been able to sustain itself without an active, and usually well-funded, youth component.

Many want to reach blacks and Hispanics, arguing they have values in common with

our principles. Some brainstorm how we can reach more women. But all of those groups, to varying degrees, have resisted joining us en masse.

The surest audience that we have the best chance to win over right now is young Americans.

They are more persuadable and, once activated, can stay with us for decades. They are

already poised to join us because of failed government initiatives, a poor job market and increasing realization that their generation faces record personal and governmental debt.

History teaches us the value of harnessing the power and energy of young people to advance great social movements.

This was the backbone of the civil rights movement, which was led by a 26-year-old Martin Luther King Jr. and a 23-year-old John Lewis.

It was certainly true of the Goldwater-Reagan movement. That is why so many Reaganites and Youth for Goldwater are still active in public policy debates.

It was true of Saul Alinsky’s efforts and the McCarthy-McGovern forces. Rep. Ron Paul, Texas Republican, also built the modern-day libertarian force this way. Even the “environmental movement” harnesses the energy and idealism of our young people to build its base.

In contrast, the Bob Dole, John McCain and even Mitt Romney efforts failed to give any priority to gaining a youth following. Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert Humphrey overlooked students, and their style of politics collapsed. Even the neocons faded because they were disdainful of youth activism. Likewise, churches without active youth ministries

decline or die off.

We can change that. Young America’s Foundation, with the help of our supporters, activates and trains reinforcements — and this is the very best time in an eight-year cycle to do just that.

Now is the time to engage students in public policy debates. Barack Obama’s time in office is winding down, and many new, exciting voices are emerging.

However, we know the left will make its greatest efforts during this time.

Whether or not one leader emerges from the conservative ranks, he or she will need a youth following and a strong base of support of young people to be successful. Reagan understood that. Goldwater understood that.

They, more so than any other conservatives in the past century, inspired a generation of young people to be bold in their activism and advance freedom on their campuses and throughout their careers. In order for our movement to be successful, today’s leaders must do the same.

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 ● Ron Robinson is president of Young America’s Foundation. Jessica Jensen is the chief of staff of Young America’s Foundation.

## Goldwater: Good for a story, and good for the conscience

By Wesley Pruden  
 THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Barry Goldwater was the favorite candidate of every correspondent who appreciated a good story. I covered his 1964 presidential campaign for the old National Observer, the late, great Dow Jones newsweekly, and he never let us down. He was blunt, irreverent and unpredictable, often mocking the press caricature of him as a reckless gunslinger from the Old West. He was great copy.

Early in the campaign he stepped up to the microphones and stuck his finger through an empty frame of his iconic black eyeglasses and wiggled it at the row of reporters. (I distinctly remember that it was his index finger.) “Sometimes the photographers get a bit of glare bouncing off the glasses and it gives you a

particularly weird look,” he said, “and these glasses are for the photographers. There’s nothing there in the frames to reflect the lights.” He was a fine photographer himself and he understood technical perils of the trade, both for the photographer and for the subject.

The mockery was unimaginative and unrelenting. Fact magazine, now mercifully no longer with us, sent a questionnaire to 12,356 psychiatrists — who knew there were so many? — and asked them whether they thought Goldwater was mentally fit to be president. Only 2,417 responded, and of those 1,189 said what the publisher, Ralph Ginzburg, wanted them to say, that he was unfit. Not one of them had ever interviewed him. It was a particularly outrageous stunt, which said more about the witch doctors than about the candidate, and it accurately reflected the

tone of the ’64 campaign.

Before and after the disastrous ’64 campaign — he carried only his native Arizona and three states of the Deep South — Goldwater said some of the pithy things the reporters loved him for, whatever they might have been thinking about the politics that were just slightly ahead of his time. Once, discussing nuclear bombs and the frustration of the West with the relentless persistence of the Evil Empire, he suggested that “let’s lob one of them into the men’s room at the Kremlin.” He once called the cautious Eisenhower administration “a dime-store New Deal.” He said “sometimes I think the country would be better off if we could just saw off the Eastern seaboard and let it float out to sea.”

He said some important prescient things, too, insights that would become home truths for the conservative renaissance that

was soon to follow. “We as a nation,” he said in the ’64 campaign, “are not far from the kind of moral decay that has brought on the fall of other nations and peoples. I say it is time to put conscience back in government.”

Our paths crossed again not longer after 1964. I had flown up from Vietnam where I had gone back to the war after the presidential campaign, for a few days in Hong Kong. I noticed a small item in the South China Morning Post that Goldwater and his wife, Peggy, had been in Saigon, too, and were stopping at the Peninsula, the iconic hotel where all roads in Asia eventually cross. I left a note inviting him to breakfast. He was as cordial, blunt and irreverent as always.

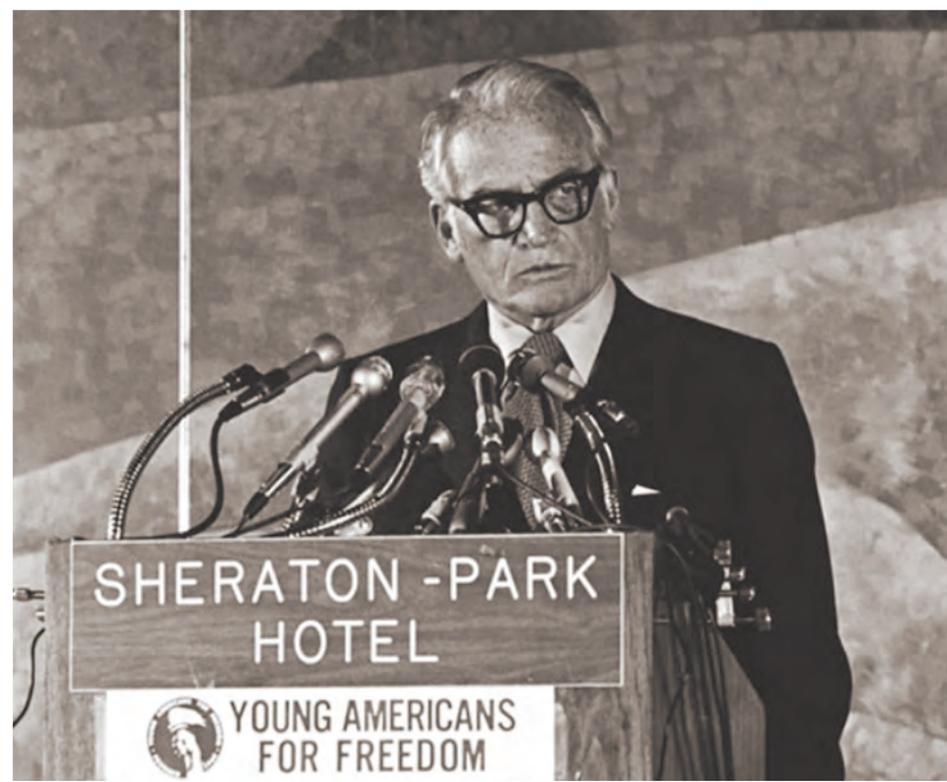
The conversation turned to airplanes, one of his very favorite topics, and World War II, when he had been a Ferry Command

pilot, ferrying supplies for the Republic of China “over the Hump,” errands over the Himalayas that took the lives of more than a few American pilots. He flew as well between America and India, via the Azores and North Africa.

“We were flying a C-47 out of Agra,” he said, “and we lost an engine on takeoff. I thought for sure we had bought the farm. But the engine spluttered back to life, and the plane forgave me, as the C-47 had so many pilots before and after me. But in those few seconds when it looked like we weren’t going to make it, and we were closing fast straight for one of the most recognizable treasures of the world, all I could think was, ‘I’m going to be remembered as the jerk who destroyed the Taj Mahal!’”

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 ● Wesley Pruden is editor emeritus of The Washington Times.

# YAF carried the torch for Barry Goldwater in 1964

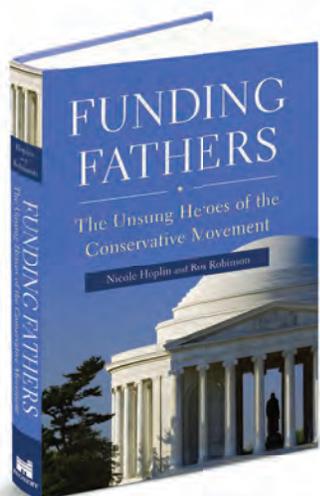


**...and 50 years later, YAF continues to introduce his philosophy and ideas to the youth of America**

*“My aim is not to pass laws, but to repeal them.”*  
— Barry Goldwater

*In our hearts, we knew he was right. We still do.*

In commemoration of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his trailblazing Presidential nomination, we invite you to discover the behind-the-scenes secrets of how Barry Goldwater's *The Conscience of a Conservative* came to be. Call 800-USA-1776 to get your free copy of the full story excerpted from *Funding Fathers: The Unsung Heroes of the Conservative Movement*. Act now for this limited time offer.



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# ‘The Conscience of a Conservative’: The little book that transformed American politics

By Alfred Regnery

Barry Goldwater’s little 115-page book, “The Conscience of a Conservative,” was published in 1960, long before running for president had occurred to the senator from Arizona, or much of anybody else. But Goldwater was already the undisputed champion of conservative ideas and policies in the Senate, and had traveled thousands of miles making speeches, campaigning for aspiring congressmen and senators, and raising money for the Republican cause. In the process he had developed an understandable and clear position on conservatism and a degree of popularity among right-wing Americans. He also knew that the literature available to conservatives lacked a concise and unadulterated statement of conservative principles.

Ghostwritten by L. Brent Bozell — a senior editor at National Review, William F. Buckley Jr.’s brother-in-law and co-author of “McCarthy and His Enemies” (1954) — it took the ideas that were, at the time, mostly discussed only by a few conservative intellectuals and presented them in a way that made them accessible to a more popular audience and laid out what conservatives believed and what their plan of action should be.

Bozell had been writing speeches for Goldwater, had a good grasp of the issues that Goldwater believed in, and was a first-class writer and thinker. He and Buckley had been debate partners and the U.S. debate champions at Yale, and if anybody in the nascent conservative movement knew how to frame an argument, it was Bozell. It is unclear whether the book was Goldwater’s idea or Bozell’s, but when Bozell finished the manuscript and presented it to Goldwater, it is said that Barry thumbed through it for 10 minutes or so, handed it back and told Bozell to go with it.

The book spelled out the conservative position on limited government, civil rights, government regulation, taxes and spending, the welfare



ASSOCIATED PRESS PHOTOGRAPHS

A demonstration for Arizona Sen. Barry Goldwater (right) is held on the final night of the Republican National Convention in San Francisco on July 16, 1964. Goldwater lost his presidential bid to incumbent Lyndon B. Johnson, who ascended to the presidency in 1963 following President John F. Kennedy’s assassination.



Former Sen. Barry Goldwater flew from his home in Arizona February 15, 1988 to endorse Vice President George H.W. Bush in the New Hampshire primary during a news conference in Nashua. Mr. Bush went on to defeat Democratic challenger Michael Dukakis and serve one term as president.

state, education and the Soviet menace. In doing so, Goldwater brought the three conservative branches into a coordinated and seamless tract — a “fusion” that ended the three-way debate over reconciling conservative ideals and practical politics that had raged for

15 years. As Goldwater said in his introduction, he wished “to bridge the gap between theory and practice.” He took the ideas that established the roots of conservatism — economics, anti-communism, limited government, the Constitution — and explained

how they could be applied to practical politics and government policy. The “challenge to conservatives today,” he said, “is quite simply to demonstrate the bearing of a proven philosophy on the problems of our own time.”

The result was an astonishing success. “The Conscience of a Conservative” became, quite simply, the conservatives’ new bible, the “underground book of the times,” as Goldwater described it 30 years later. The first printing, a small hardback, was 10,000 copies, which the publisher sold to bookstores for \$1 each. Within a month, it ranked 10th on Time magazine’s best-seller list, and two weeks later ranked 14th on The New York Times’ list. By the time the 1960 election came along, just five months later, 500,000 copies were in print. The Wall Street Journal reported that it was selling best in college bookstores, comparably to the perennial best-seller “The Catcher in the Rye.” Eventually over 4 million copies would

be printed; “The Conscience of a Conservative” became the political book of the century, probably with a greater impact than any political book since “The Communist Manifesto.” It is no exaggeration to say that “The Conscience of a Conservative” changed American conservatism from an abstract set of ideas into a practical political philosophy and, in the process, established Barry Goldwater as its most prominent spokesmen, which he would remain until the emergence of Ronald Reagan. The book probably was also responsible for recruiting more people to the conservative cause than anything else. Typical was the impact it had on Paul Laxalt who, in 1960, was practicing law in Carson City, Nevada. “One of my clients sent me a copy of ‘Conscience of a Conservative,’” said Mr. Laxalt, “and, God, I found it absolutely fabulous. There wasn’t anything around like that. And I just feasted on it.”

Mr. Laxalt told me the distribution of the book “to young people like myself, a young lawyer who had run for office one time before was significant as hell. It was our bible.” Mr. Laxalt, who was elected lieutenant governor of Nevada in 1962, was the first elected official to endorse Goldwater.

Regnery Publishing released a 33-year anniversary edition in 1990 with a new introduction by Pat Buchanan. “Into that winter of our discontent came this slim book ...,” wrote Mr. Buchanan. “[It] was our new testament; it contained the core beliefs of our political faith, it told us why we had failed, what we must do. We read it, memorized it, and quoted it. To reread it today is to recall the magic the charismatic man from the desert had for so many thousands in that Silent Generation.”

“The Conscience of a Conservative” remains in print 54 years later, and is as timely as it was in 1990 and 1960. Over the years, it changed a generation, changed the conservative movement and changed American politics forever.

# Barry Goldwater: Unwavering friend of 'Free China'

By Lyushun Shen

Barry Goldwater is rightfully an icon of the American conservative movement for decades since the 1960s, and it is a privilege and an honor to contribute to his remembrance on the 50th anniversary of his presidential campaign. What many Americans may not know, however, is the role then-Sen. Goldwater played in the U.S. relations with my country, the Republic of China (ROC, Taiwan), usually termed by the senator as "Free China." His contribution to the U.S.-Taiwan relationship made him a figure of enormous importance and won him profound respect on the other side of the Pacific as well.

Goldwater's friendship with the ROC can be dated back to when he helped train our pilots in the U.S. as an Air Force instructor during World War II. He also flew over "The Hump" in the Himalayas to deliver supplies to the wartime ROC. His affection for my country took root then and grew even stronger when he started his political career. Ever since he won his seat in the Senate in 1952, Goldwater became one of the staunchest voices in this country advocating support for the ROC government in Taiwan against the communist regime in mainland China.

The senator strongly argued that it is a core American value and in the country's best interest to stand by Taiwan as it faced an existential threat from tyrannical communists. But the real time to show such staunch support as a man of principle came when the United States switched diplomatic recognition from free China to Communist China in 1979 and abrogated its defense treaty with an ally as old as the ROC-Taiwan. To express his outrage, and as he felt the abrogation of a treaty required the advice and consent of the Senate while President Jimmy Carter did it single-handedly, Goldwater challenged the administration through a lawsuit against the president of the United States and argued all the way to the Supreme Court, where he ultimately failed. However, he also championed the passage of the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA), a landmark piece of legislation, which through bipartisan support, was signed into law in April 1979. To this day, that law provides the bedrock for U.S.-Taiwan relations.

This was just one of the many instances of Goldwater's assistance to my country. Following the diplomatic switch, the ROC government was concerned that it would lose possession of Twin Oaks, a historic estate, originally built by the founder of the National Geographic Society, that had served as the residence for nine ROC ambassadors since 1937. On December 22, 1978, just



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Barry Goldwater waves to delegates inside the Cow Palace at the 1964 Republican National Convention in San Francisco. As a senator, he strongly argued that it is a core American value and in the country's best interest to stand by Taiwan as it faced an existential threat from tyrannical communists. Goldwater's contribution to the U.S.-Taiwan relationship made him a figure of enormous importance and won him profound respect on the other side of the Pacific. He championed the passage of the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA), a landmark piece of legislation, which through bipartisan support, was signed into law in April 1979. To this day, that law provides the bedrock for U.S.-Taiwan relations.

ten days before the switch of recognition took effect, a civic organization co-chaired by Goldwater called the "Friends of Free China Association" purchased the Twin Oaks Estate for a token price in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of the soon-to-be recognized communist government. Also due to the senator's help, among other things, the TRA was passed with a provision rendering legal basis for the ROC's continued ownership of its properties. Accordingly, the Friends of Free China Association returned the property to the ROC government in 1982. Thanks to Goldwater and our other American friends, today the Twin Oaks Estate hosts many American dignitaries and the general public through events such as the annual Republic of China National Day celebration.

Over the years, Goldwater visited Taiwan on many occasions but never set his foot on mainland China. Following one such trip to Taiwan in May 1982, he issued a press release in June addressing

rumors that he had been personally invited to visit mainland China. The announcement was true to the senator's character:

"For one solid week, I have heard and read of reports that Communist China has invited me to visit Peking. I have not personally received such an invitation, and if I did, I would decline it," Goldwater declared. "I have great affection for the Chinese people, their culture, their skills, and their potential. But until there is one free China, I will not visit the mainland."

The legacy of Barry Goldwater as a friend and ally of the free China can be seen through acts of such a great magnitude. It can also, however, be seen through the personal touch he impressed on others. Goldwater often left people with a story or two to pass on, and I happen to have one myself.

As a junior officer for congressional liaison at the Taiwan mission in the early 1980s, I once hosted a dinner party for Goldwater's staff at a well-known,

newly-opened Chinese restaurant in downtown Washington. When the group of guests arrived, they also brought a delightful surprise: Goldwater was with them and declared himself a self-invited guest. We had a wonderful night in which the senator showed his caring and personable attitude toward us, the younger generation, as an amicable grandfather. Junior officers do not have the privilege to invite senators, but they may be bestowed upon with such an honor that will leave a long-lasting and encouraging effect throughout their career.

Goldwater consistently demonstrated the true meaning of his phonetic Chinese name, Kao-Hua-Teh: Kao, meaning "tall;" Hua, meaning "grand;" Teh, meaning "virtuous." Tall, grand, virtuous — one for his shadow, one for his vision and one for his character.

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● Lyushun Shen is the Taiwan Representative (TECRO) in the United States.

# The bones and sinews of the conservative movement are Goldwater's legacy

By Richard A. Viguerie

**B**arry Goldwater was responsible for recruiting and inspiring many of the people who built the infrastructure and organizations that to this day form the bones and sinews of the conservative movement.

After the death of Sen. Bob Taft in 1953, Goldwater quickly became the most consequential figure in the Republican Party and in conservative politics.

Part of Goldwater's appeal was undoubtedly his larger-than-life personality. He was an Air Force pilot and a plain-talking entrepreneur. In his trademark black glasses and rugged good looks, he was the very definition of a man of the New West. Although not a tall man, Goldwater seemed to stand head and shoulders above every other Republican political figure of the late 1950s and early 1960s.

His plain-spoken, sometimes profane, commentary on the failures and follies of the progressive Republicans and liberal Democrats of his era reflected what millions of conservative Americans believed was wrong with the government, popular culture and politics.

The importance of Goldwater's willingness to publicly criticize the Republican establishment cannot be overstated.

In 1960, he referred to the domestic program of Republican President Dwight D. Eisenhower, the revered liberator of Europe, as "a dime store New Deal," and in so doing he empowered conservatives to begin to publicly fight the Republican establishment and to demand that the GOP actually stand for and campaign on conservative principles.

Goldwater's fight, I might add, has been taken up today by members of the tea party movement and other limited-government constitutional conservatives. They draw their inspiration from the same principled demand that the Republican Party actually campaign and govern according to its conservative platform and principles. This honesty in politics is now, as it was then, annoying and troubling to the ruling class within the Republican establishment.

In 1960, with the help of L. Brent Bozell, Jr., Goldwater published the groundbreaking "The Conscience of a Conservative." The book was intended, Goldwater said, "to awaken the American people to a realization of how far we had moved from the old constitutional concepts toward the new welfare state." The book quickly went through 20 printings and sold 3.5 million copies, and it is still in print.

"The Conscience of a Conservative" was our new testament," Pat Buchanan

later said. "It contained the core beliefs of our political faith, it told us why we had failed, what we must do. We read it, memorized it, quoted it. ... For those of us wandering in the arid desert of Eisenhower Republicanism, it hit like a rifle shot."

The book's strong statement of the dangers of, and opposition to, world communism helped define the conservative movement as the natural political home of first- and second-generation Eastern Europeans, Cubans and Asians who had fled communist revolutions in their homelands, and it confirmed Barry Goldwater as the premier spokesman for rolling back the communist tide.

It also inspired a new generation of young conservatives, including me, to become involved in the movement.

After deferring to Richard Nixon and taking himself out of the running for the 1960 Republican presidential nomination (where he still received 10 votes on the first ballot) Goldwater traveled the country as chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee selling his new brand of conservatism.

That experience put him in contact with grass-roots Republicans all over the country. After Nixon's defeat, and more than two years before the 1964 election, "Draft Goldwater for President" committees were formed across the country.

Goldwater conservatism, the marriage of anti-communist "national defense conservatives" and economic conservatives, led to a redefinition of conservatism away from the anti-interventionist ideas of William Howard Taft and led to a generational shift in the Republican Party.

In the haze that the liberal establishment media created in their celebration of the election of John F. Kennedy as the beginning of "Camelot," it is easy to lose sight of the fact that the election of Kennedy coincided with the rise of a conservative movement in the United States and in the Republican Party.

In 1960, Young Americans for Freedom was founded and "The Conscience of a Conservative" was published. In 1961, conservative Republican John Tower was elected in a special election to fill Lyndon B. Johnson's vacant Senate seat.

On March 7, 1962, while I served as executive secretary, Young Americans for Freedom held a huge rally at Madison Square Garden in New York City with Barry Goldwater as one of the headliners and chief draws. I would nominate the Madison Square Garden rally as the day the modern conservative movement had its public debut.

"A Conservative Rally for World Liberation from Communism" drew a

sellout crowd of 18,500 mostly young people to liberalism's East Coast citadel and gave national exposure to the rally's featured speakers, especially conservative Republican senators Barry Goldwater, Strom Thurmond and John Tower.

Before that day, what we in the conservative movement were doing was mostly out of the public eye. But when thousands were lined up around Madison Square Garden and the speeches and sellout crowd were front-page, "above the fold" news the next day in *The New York Times*, the conservative movement leapt onto the national political stage — and it was a movement largely inspired by Goldwater and the new brand of conservatism he shared with intellectuals such as William F. Buckley, Jr., M. Stanton Evans, Russell Kirk, Frank S. Meyer, William F. Rusher and L. Brent Bozell Jr.

Far from being intimidated by the media's love affair with Kennedy, or swept away in the glamour and liberal celebrity worship surrounding "Camelot," conservatives were an energized and growing force rallying for the ideals of freedom, liberty and limited government.

And Barry Goldwater was our chief spokesman and inspiration.

Goldwater was enthusiastic about the prospects of running against President Kennedy and drawing a sharp contrast to Kennedy's policies. What's more, Goldwater understood that the problem was as much the establishment Republican Party leadership as it was the Democrats.

In 1961, F. Clifton White organized a movement to nominate a Republican conservative for president. Traveling around the country, White exhorted conservatives to seize control of their local Republican Party organizations and elect conservative delegates to the Republican National Convention. It was much the same message I preached in my recent book "Takeover."

The movement White orchestrated gave conservatives more influence over the inner workings of the Republican Party than they had during Taft's 1952 defeat and helped persuade Goldwater to run for president.

This scared the devil out of the progressive-dominated Republican establishment, which was all for Eisenhower's "dime store New Deal." This ideal had long embraced me-tooism and ceded the national agenda to the Democrats.

New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, Pennsylvania Gov. William Scranton and Michigan Gov. George Romney all lined up against Goldwater in a furious "Stop Goldwater" movement that attacked him during the Republican primaries,

through the Republican National Convention in San Francisco and straight through to his epic defeat on Election Day 1964.

In the wake of Kennedy's assassination, Goldwater briefly considered dropping his campaign. He recognized that the American people would be unlikely to opt for three presidents in 14 months, but he was persuaded to continue by his grass-roots supporters, a desire to wrest control of the Republican Party away from the establishment's Eastern liberals and for what Bill Middendorf called the "noble reason" of building the conservative movement.

In that sense, Goldwater's 1964 campaign succeeded far beyond expectation.

In his epic defeat, Goldwater cleared the way for one of his strongest supporters, actor Ronald Reagan, to make an electrifying television speech, "A Time for Choosing." That speech refreshed conservatism's appeal and led to former Democrat Reagan entering Republican politics to become governor of California and eventually America's first conservative president of the modern era.

Although conservatives were in a darkness of biblical proportions after Goldwater's defeat, we didn't give up. We started organizations to advance conservative ideas. We took note of Reagan's optimistic assessment of the election that, although Goldwater lost, we attracted 27 million conservative voters who shared our values.

To communicate with those 27 million newly identified conservative voters, I began copying by hand (as was legal in those days) a list of Goldwater campaign donors. Less than two months after Barry Goldwater's defeat, I founded the Viguerie Co., America's first conservative direct mail company.

Through direct mail, we created an alternative media that bypassed the left's monopoly on the country's microphones and editorial pages and allowed conservative candidates and organizations to communicate with the growing bloc of conservative voters free of any liberal filters.

Today, the members of the "Stop Goldwater" movement are largely forgotten and "Rockefeller Republican" is a term of derision. But "The Conscience of a Conservative" is still in print, and the organizations founded by the people that Barry Goldwater inspired, including the Viguerie Co., remain vigorous and growing.

● Richard A. Viguerie is the founder of the Viguerie Co., chairman of American Target Advertising and author of "Takeover: The 100-Year War for the Soul of the GOP and How Conservatives Can Finally Win It."

## Fifty Years Ago in 1964 ...



Barry Goldwater

This American patriot sparked a conservative movement ...



Ronald Reagan

This American patriot turned it into a Revolution ...



And these American patriots carried that vision forward to the 2014 election and beyond!



Richard Viguerie

And this man was privileged to have a “front row seat” at every phase. Right after the 1964 election, **Richard Viguerie**—America’s “Funding Father” of the

conservative movement—obtained the names and addresses of 12,500 “Goldwater for President” donors on 3 x 5 cards. These “true believers” would form the base for the future of the conservative movement, and the cause of liberty in America. Within one year, that list grew 1,000 percent to 125,000 names.

As the list continued to increase, conservatives could finally bypass the liberal mainstream media and connect directly with millions of patriotic Americans on a “personal level” over issues they cared passionately about.

Viguerie’s growing agency and lists became a factor in the major reshaping of America’s political landscape – starting with the 1980 Reagan Revolution, followed by the 1994 conservative sweep of Congress, then the 2010 “shellacking” of the Obama administration and the Reid/Pelosi Congress, to the historic blowout against the radical Obama-Democrat agenda in November 2014.

Cliff White, campaign manager for Draft Goldwater campaign in 1964, as well as Ronald Reagan’s campaign manager in 1968, co-authored a book, *Why Reagan Won*. In it he states: “In every election from 1966 onward, the Viguerie Company and its score of imitators...brought information to millions of Americans; information that quite often the people could not obtain from newspapers or television or mass-circulation magazines.”

Today, with over \$7 Billion dollars raised since 1965, Viguerie Political Lists has the world’s largest donor list of its kind—no one else comes close—with TEN MILLION right-of-center donors to Republican, Conservative, and Charitable organizations. Index cards have been replaced by a powerful database of names and addresses, enhanced with phone numbers, emails, giving history and demographic profiles.

But the most important information Viguerie has on these conservative Americans is the issues they are passionate about: **illegal immigration, border security, taxes, Obamacare, military & veterans, education, 2nd Amendment, life, and concerns of conservative seniors, Catholics, Protestants and Tea Party activists.**

Viguerie Political Lists salutes **Barry Goldwater** for sparking the conservative

movement ... **Ronald Reagan** for turning that movement into a Revolution ... and the **millions of conservative and tea party activists** working tirelessly ever since to restore liberty for future generations.



“Mr. Viguerie became king of political direct mail and provided conservatives with an essential tool to raise money, communicate ideas, and motivate people.”

– *The Washington Times*

“Viguerie... may have understood the true value of a name before anyone else in contemporary politics.”

– *The New York Times Magazine*

“Viguerie made it all possible” for conservatives.

– *AFL-CIO News*

“Viguerie has been called ‘the conservatives’ Voice of America.’”

– *The Washington Post*



American Target Advertising, Inc.  
Over 7 billion dollars raised from 9 million donors



# A time for choosing: 'You and I have a rendezvous with destiny'

By RONALD REAGAN

40TH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

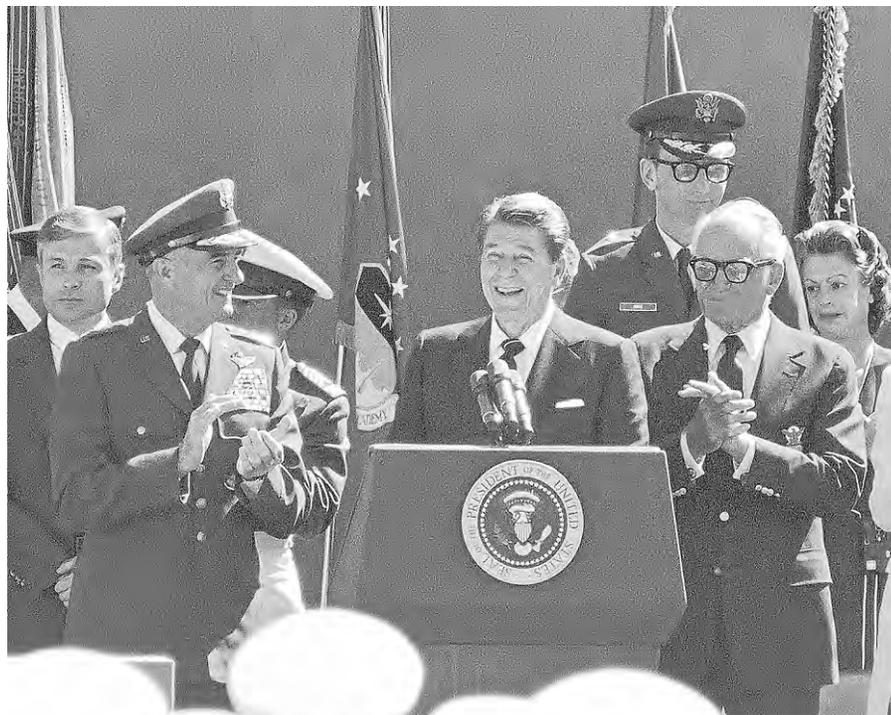
*Excerpts from the speech delivered by Ronald Reagan on Oct. 27, 1964, in support of Barry Goldwater's candidacy for president. It affectionately has become known as "The Speech" and is widely credited for catapulting Mr. Reagan and his vision for conservatism onto the national stage.*

I have spent most of my life as a Democrat. I recently have seen fit to follow another course. I believe that the issues confronting us cross party lines. Now, one side in this campaign has been telling us that the issues of this election are the maintenance of peace and prosperity. The line has been used, "We've never had it so good."

But I have an uncomfortable feeling that this prosperity isn't something on which we can base our hopes for the future. No nation in history has ever survived a tax burden that reached a third of its national income. Today, 37 cents out of every dollar earned in this country is the tax collector's share, and yet our government continues to spend \$17 million a day more than the government takes in. We haven't balanced our budget 28 out of the last 34 years. We've raised our debt limit three times in the last 12 months, and now our national debt is one and a half times bigger than all the combined debts of all the nations of the world. We have \$15 billion in gold in our Treasury; we don't own an ounce. Foreign dollar claims are \$273 billion. And we've just had announced that the dollar of 1939 will now purchase 45 cents in its total value.

As for the peace that we would preserve, I wonder who among us would like to approach the wife or mother whose husband or son has died in South Vietnam and ask them if they think this is a peace that should be maintained indefinitely. Do they mean peace, or do they mean we just want to be left in peace? There can be no real peace while one American is dying someplace in the world for the rest of us. We're at war with the most dangerous enemy that has ever faced mankind in his long climb from the swamp to the stars, and it's been said if we lose that war, and in so doing lose this way of freedom of ours, history will record with the greatest astonishment that those who had the most to lose did the least to prevent its happening. Well, I think it's time we ask ourselves if we still know the freedoms that were intended for us by the Founding Fathers.

Not too long ago, two friends of mine were talking to a Cuban refugee, a businessman who had escaped from Castro, and in the midst of his story one of my friends turned to the other and said, "We don't know how lucky we are." And the Cuban stopped and said, "How lucky you



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Sen. Barry Goldwater was at the side of President Reagan on May 30, 1984, after Reagan addressed the graduating class at the U.S. Air Force Academy. At Reagan's left is Lt. General Winfield Scott Jr., superintendent of the academy. The men believed in a strong national defense to defend freedom and to fight the chains of communism.

are? I had someplace to escape to." And in that sentence he told us the entire story. If we lose freedom here, there's no place to escape to. This is the last stand on earth.

And this idea that government is beholden to the people, that it has no other source of power except the sovereign people, is still the newest and the most unique idea in all the long history of man's relation to man.

This is the issue of this election: Whether we believe in our capacity for self-government or whether we abandon the American Revolution and confess that a little intellectual elite in a far-distant capitol can plan our lives for us better than we can plan them ourselves.

You and I are told increasingly we have to choose between a left or right. Well I'd like to suggest there is no such thing as a left or right. There's only an up or down: [up] man's old — old-aged dream, the ultimate in individual freedom consistent with law and order, or down to the ant heap of totalitarianism. And regardless of their sincerity, their humanitarian motives, those who would trade our freedom for security have embarked on this downward course.

In this vote-harvesting time, they use terms like the "Great Society," or as we were told a few days ago by the president, we must accept a greater government activity in the affairs of the people. But they've been a little more explicit in the past and

among themselves; and all of the things I now will quote have appeared in print. These are not Republican accusations. For example, they have voices that say, "The Cold War will end through our acceptance of a not undemocratic socialism." Another voice says, "The profit motive has become outmoded. It must be replaced by the incentives of the welfare state." Or, "Our traditional system of individual freedom is incapable of solving the complex problems of the 20th century." Sen. Fulbright has said at Stanford University that the Constitution is outmoded. He referred to the president as "our moral teacher and our leader," and he says he is "hobbled in his task by the restrictions of power imposed on him by this antiquated document." He must "be freed," so that he "can do for us" what he knows "is best." And Sen. Clark of Pennsylvania, another articulate spokesman, defines liberalism as "meeting the material needs of the masses through the full power of centralized government."

Well, I, for one, resent it when a representative of the people refers to you and me, the free men and women of this country, as "the masses." This is a term we haven't applied to ourselves in America. But beyond that, "the full power of centralized government" — this was the very thing the Founding Fathers sought to minimize. They knew that governments don't control things. A government can't control the economy without controlling people. And they know when a government sets out to

do that, it must use force and coercion to achieve its purpose. They also knew, those Founding Fathers, that outside of its legitimate functions, government does nothing as well or as economically as the private sector of the economy.

■ ■ ■

They've just declared Rice County, Kansas, a depressed area. Rice County, Kansas, has 200 oil wells, and the 14,000 people there have over \$30 million on deposit in personal savings in their banks. And when the government tells you you're depressed, lie down and be depressed.

We have so many people who can't see a fat man standing beside a thin one without coming to the conclusion the fat man got that way by taking advantage of the thin one. So they're going to solve all the problems of human misery through government and government planning. Well, now, if government planning and welfare had the answer — and they've had almost 30 years of it — shouldn't we expect government to read the score to us once in a while? Shouldn't they be telling us about the decline each year in the number of people needing help? The reduction in the need for public housing?

But the reverse is true. Each year the need grows greater; the program grows greater. We were told four years ago that 17 million people went to bed hungry each night. Well, that was probably true. They were all on a diet. But now we're told that 9.3 million families in this country are poverty-stricken on the basis of earning less than \$3,000 a year. Welfare spending [is] 10 times greater than in the dark depths of the Depression. We're spending \$45 billion on welfare. Now do a little arithmetic, and you'll find that if we divided the \$45 billion up equally among those 9 million poor families, we'd be able to give each family \$4,600 a year. And this added to their present income should eliminate poverty. Direct aid to the poor, however, is running only about \$600 per family. It would seem that someplace there must be some overhead.

■ ■ ■

A young man, 21 years of age, working at an average salary, his Social Security contribution would, in the open market, buy him an insurance policy that would guarantee \$220 a month at age 65. The government promises \$127. He could live it up until he's 31 and then take out a policy that would pay more than Social Security. Now are we so lacking in business sense that we can't put this program on a sound basis, so that people who do require those payments will find they can get them when

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# REAGAN

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they're due — that the cupboard isn't bare?

Barry Goldwater thinks we can.

At the same time, can't we introduce voluntary features that would permit a citizen who can do better on his own to be excused upon presentation of evidence that he had made provision for the non-earning years? Should we not allow a widow with children to work, and not lose the benefits supposedly paid for by her deceased husband? Shouldn't you and I be allowed to declare who our beneficiaries will be under this program, which we cannot do? I think we're for telling our senior citizens that no one in this country should be denied medical care because of a lack of funds. But I think we're against forcing all citizens, regardless of need, into a compulsory government program, especially when we have such examples, as was announced last week, when France admitted that their Medicare program is now bankrupt. They've come to the end of the road.

In addition, was Barry Goldwater so irresponsible when he suggested that our government give up its program of deliberate, planned inflation, so that when you do get your Social Security pension, a dollar will buy a dollar's worth, and not 45 cents worth?

■ ■ ■

I think we're for an international organization, where the nations of the world can seek peace. But I think we're against subordinating American interests to an organization that has become so structurally unsound that today you can muster a two-thirds vote on the floor of the General Assembly among nations that represent less than 10 percent of the world's population. I think we're against the hypocrisy of assailing our allies because here and there they cling to a colony, while we engage in a conspiracy of silence and never open our mouths about the millions of people enslaved in the Soviet colonies in the satellite nations.

I think we're for aiding our allies by sharing of our material blessings with those nations which share in our fundamental beliefs, but we're against doling out money government to government, creating bureaucracy, if not socialism, all over the world. We set out to help 19 countries. We're helping 107. We've spent

\$146 billion. With that money, we bought a \$2 million yacht for Haile Selassie. We bought dress suits for Greek undertakers, extra wives for Kenya[n] government officials. We bought 1,000 TV sets for a place where they have no electricity. In the last six years, 52 nations have bought \$7 billion worth of our gold, and all 52 are receiving foreign aid from this country.

No government ever voluntarily reduces itself in size. So governments' programs, once launched, never disappear.

Actually, a government bureau is the nearest thing to eternal life we'll ever see on this earth.

■ ■ ■

Last Feb. 19 at the University of Minnesota, Norman Thomas, six-time candidate for president on the Socialist Party ticket, said, "If Barry Goldwater became president, he would stop the advance of socialism in the United States." I think that's exactly what he will do.

But as a former Democrat, I can tell you Norman Thomas isn't the only man who has drawn this parallel to socialism with the present administration, because back in 1936, Mr. Democrat himself, Al Smith, the great American, came before the American people and charged that the leadership of his party was taking the party of Jefferson, Jackson and Cleveland down the road under the banners of Marx, Lenin and Stalin. And he walked away from his party, and he never returned till the day he died — because to this day, the leadership of that party has been taking that party, that honorable party, down the road in the image of the labor Socialist Party of England.

Now it doesn't require expropriation or confiscation of private property or business to impose socialism on a people. What does it mean whether you hold the deed to or the title to your business or property if the government holds the power of life and death over that business or property? And such machinery already exists. The government can find some charge to bring against any concern it chooses to prosecute. Every businessman has his own tale of harassment. Somewhere a perversion has taken place. Our natural, unalienable rights are now considered to be a dispensation of government, and freedom has never been so fragile, so close to slipping from our grasp as it is at this moment.

Our Democratic opponents seem unwilling to debate these



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President Reagan greeted the senator from Arizona in the White House Rose Garden on Feb. 17, 1981, during a ceremony to start National Patriotism Week. It was a speech in 1964 for Goldwater and his belief in America that catapulted Reagan onto the national political stage.

issues. They want to make you and I believe that this is a contest between two men — that we're to choose just between two personalities.

Well what of this man that they would destroy — and in destroying, they would destroy that which he represents, the ideas that you and I hold dear? Is he the brash and shallow and trigger-happy man they say he is? Well I've been privileged to know him "when." I knew him long before he ever dreamed of trying for high office, and I can tell you personally I've never known a man in my life I believed so incapable of doing a dishonest or dishonorable thing.

This is a man who, in his own business before he entered politics, instituted a profit-sharing plan before unions had ever thought of it. He put in health and medical insurance for all his employees. He took 50 percent of the profits before taxes and set up a retirement program, a pension plan for all his employees. He sent monthly checks for life to an employee who was ill and couldn't work. He provides nursing care for the children of mothers who work in the stores. When Mexico was ravaged by the floods in the Rio Grande, he climbed in his airplane and flew medicine and supplies down there.

■ ■ ■

Those who would trade our freedom for the soup kitchen of the welfare state have told us they have a utopian solution of peace without victory. They call their policy "accommodation." And they say if we'll only avoid

any direct confrontation with the enemy, he'll forget his evil ways and learn to love us. All who oppose them are indicted as warmongers. They say we offer simple answers to complex problems. Well, perhaps there is a simple answer — not an easy answer — but simple: If you and I have the courage to tell our elected officials that we want our national policy based on what we know in our hearts is morally right.

We cannot buy our security, our freedom from the threat of the bomb by committing an immorality so great as saying to a billion human beings now enslaved behind the Iron Curtain, "Give up your dreams of freedom because to save our own skins, we're willing to make a deal with your slave masters." Alexander Hamilton said, "A nation which can prefer disgrace to danger is prepared for a master, and deserves one." Now let's set the record straight. There's no argument over the choice between peace and war, but there's only one guaranteed way you can have peace — and you can have it in the next second — surrender.

Admittedly, there's a risk in any course we follow other than this, but every lesson of history tells us that the greater risk lies in appeasement, and this is the specter our well-meaning liberal friends refuse to face — that their policy of accommodation is appeasement, and it gives no choice between peace and war, only between fight or surrender. If we continue to accommodate, continue to back and retreat, eventually we have to face the

final demand — the ultimatum. And what then — when Nikita Khrushchev has told his people he knows what our answer will be? He has told them that we're retreating under the pressure of the Cold War, and someday when the time comes to deliver the final ultimatum, our surrender will be voluntary, because by that time we will have been weakened from within spiritually, morally and economically. He believes this because from our side he's heard voices pleading for "peace at any price" or "better Red than dead," or as one commentator put it, he'd rather "live on his knees than die on his feet." And therein lies the road to war, because those voices don't speak for the rest of us.

■ ■ ■

You and I know and do not believe that life is so dear and peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery. If nothing in life is worth dying for, when did this begin — just in the face of this enemy? Or should Moses have told the children of Israel to live in slavery under the pharaohs? Should Christ have refused the cross? Should the patriots at Concord Bridge have thrown down their guns and refused to fire the shot heard 'round the world? The martyrs of history were not fools, and our honored dead who gave their lives to stop the advance of the Nazis didn't die in vain. Where, then, is the road to peace? Well it's a simple answer after all.

You and I have the courage to say to our enemies, "There is a price we will not pay. There is a point beyond which they must not advance." And this — this is the meaning in the phrase of Barry Goldwater's "peace through strength." Winston Churchill said, "The destiny of man is not measured by material computations. When great forces are on the move in the world, we learn we're spirits — not animals." And he said, "There's something going on in time and space, and beyond time and space, which, whether we like it or not, spells duty."

You and I have a rendezvous with destiny.

We'll preserve for our children this, the last best hope of man on earth, or we'll sentence them to take the last step into a thousand years of darkness.

We will keep in mind and remember that Barry Goldwater has faith in us. He has faith that you and I have the ability and the dignity and the right to make our own decisions and determine our own destiny.

# Memories of a New York conservative

## 1964 'Go with Goldwater' rally bore fruit in the Reagan presidency

By Michael R. Long

Back in 1964, “conservative” was a dirty word in New York Republican circles. The party was under the thumb of the original RINO (Republican in name only) Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, who believed he was destined to be elected president in 1964.

To achieve that end, Rockefeller made it clear that he would control the New York delegation to the convention and that no opposition would be tolerated. There was, however, one fly in the GOP ointment: the newly created Conservative Party of New York.

Founded in 1962 by J. Daniel Mahoney and his brother-in-law, Kieran O’Doherty, the Conservative Party’s purpose was to counter the Rockefeller domination of New York’s Republican organization and to serve political ideals first.

Mahoney, O’Doherty and a band of principled people went door to door in 1961 to collect tens of thousand of signatures on petitions required by law to establish a new party. And despite an army of highly paid Rockefeller lawyers charged with the task of stopping them, the party withstood court challenges and made its debut on the 1962 ballot.

Rockefeller, striving for a huge re-election victory that year to bolster his presidential ambitions, was disappointed by the results. His little-known Conservative Party opponent, David Jaquith, racked up an astonishing 141,877 votes. Political pundits agreed that Jaquith’s candidacy was responsible for tarnishing “Rocky”’s vote-getting ability, and that his presidential juggernaut had hit a bump in the road — if not a brick wall.

In 1964, Conservative Party members had no intention of sitting on the sidelines and became activists in the Goldwater movement. Their first move was to participate in the National Goldwater Rally, scheduled to be held on May 12, 1964, at 8 p.m. in Madison Square Garden. A strong showing in Rockefeller’s backyard would send a strong message of hope to conservative Republicans throughout New York.

As a 24-year-old gung-ho Goldwater supporter, I paid \$2 for my ticket and made sure I got there when the Garden doors opened at 6:30 p.m. Coming out of the subway station, I was shocked to see the size of the crowd lined up to attend the rally. Tickets to fill the 18,000-seat Garden were sold out, and another 15,000 stood outside to greet Goldwater and to listen to speeches via

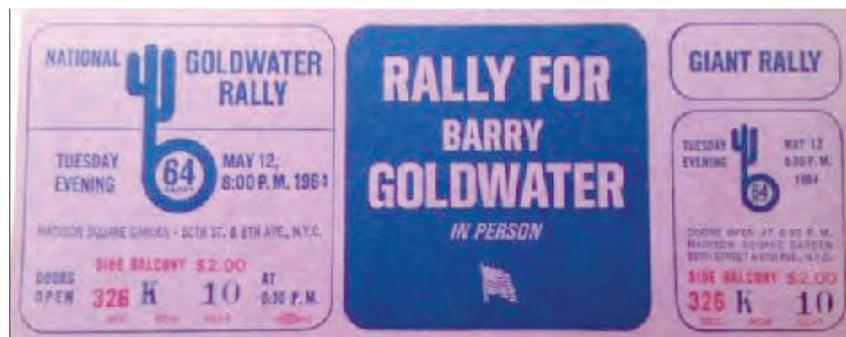


ASSOCIATED PRESS PHOTOGRAPHS

Sen. Barry Goldwater, then the GOP presidential nominee, and his vice presidential running mate, Rep. William E. Miller of New York, appear together on Capitol Hill, Aug. 14, 1964. In the fall election, the Conservative Party took the lead in promoting Goldwater after word went out that the state GOP was not to lift a finger for its presidential nominee. Although Goldwater lost New York by nearly 3 million votes on Election Day in 1964, he had a lasting impact on the state’s fledgling conservative movement.



Ronald Reagan leads an impromptu rally among fans of Sen. Barry Goldwater outside San Francisco’s Cow Palace on July 15, 1964, shortly before Goldwater was to be proposed as the Republican Party’s presidential candidate. One sign boosts Rep. William E. Miller of New York for the other half of the ticket.



loudspeakers on 50th Street and 8th Avenue.

That jam-packed rally was one of the great experiences of my lifetime. It got my adrenaline cooking, and my voice became hoarse from all the cheering.

A “National Goldwater Rally Song Sheet” was handed out that contained the text of a tune titled “Go with Goldwater.” The entire assembly shouted “Go with Goldwater! You know where Goldwater stands. Clap your hands. Let’s go with Goldwater’s plans. ... Clap your hands and go with Goldwater. Barry’s the man for our land!”

William F. Buckley Jr. and several other prominent conservatives delivered warm-up speeches, and when Goldwater entered the arena, the crowd went crazy. The rally was a triumph for Goldwater and inspired me to go out and do battle in the capital of American liberalism — New York City.

To further aid Goldwater, Conservative Party leaders put out a report exposing Rockefeller’s fiscal performance as a “fraud on the voters of N.Y. and the nation” and published a 20-page “how to” manual for Republicans prepared to enter the June 2 GOP primary as Goldwater delegates. Ten slates qualified, and there were Goldwater victories in Erie, Nassau and Queens counties.

In the fall election, the Conservative Party took the lead in promoting Goldwater after word went out that the state GOP was not to lift a finger for its presidential nominee. People like me, who were energized at the Goldwater rally, manned hundreds of campaign storefronts throughout the state and distributed tens of thousands of paperback copies of Goldwater’s “Conscience of a Conservative” and John Stormer’s “None Dare Call It Treason.”

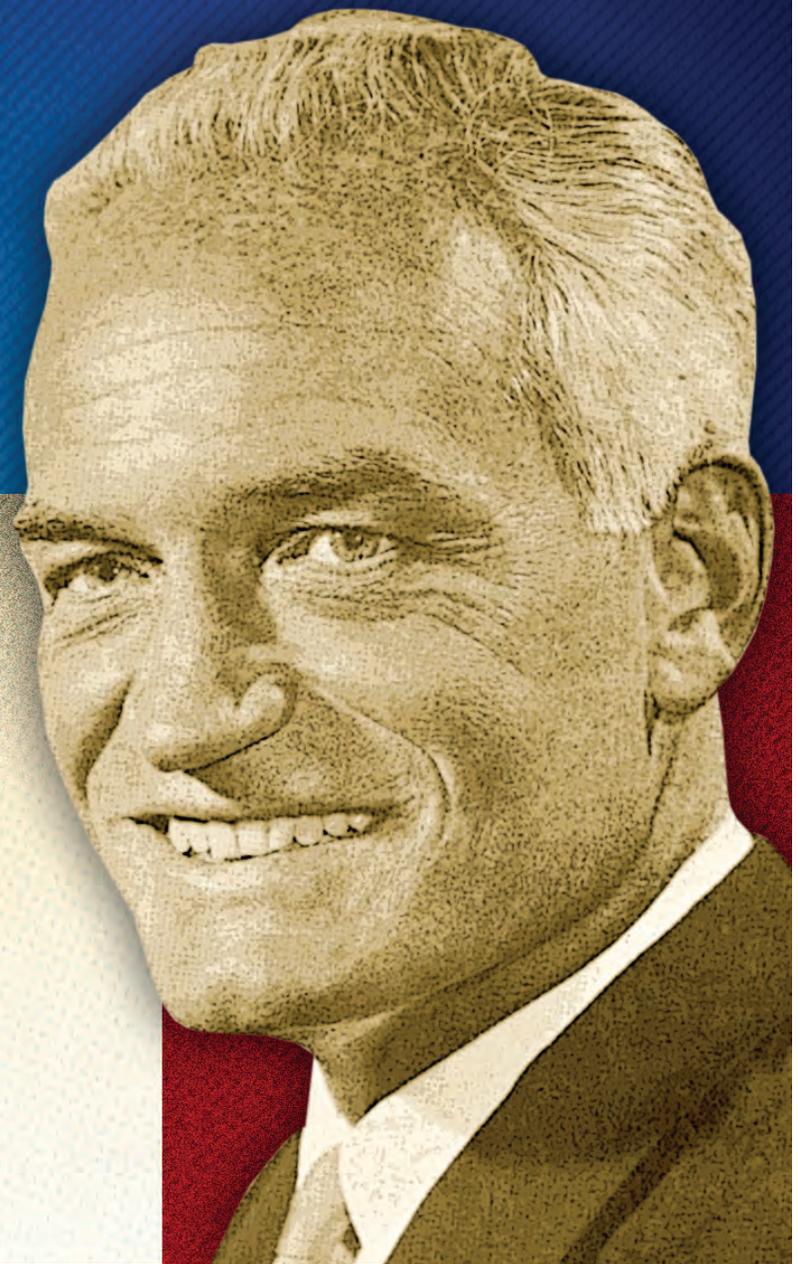
Although Goldwater lost New York by nearly 3 million votes on Election Day, he had a lasting impact on the state’s fledgling conservative movement. Goldwater volunteers joined a cause that one year later garnered 341,000 votes for Buckley, the Conservative Party’s New York City mayoral candidate, and in 1970 helped deliver the 2.4 million votes that elected the party’s standard-bearer, James L. Buckley, to the U.S. Senate.

Those successes permitted Goldwater’s heir, Ronald Reagan, to proclaim that the Conservative Party had “established itself as a preeminent force in New York politics and an important part of our political history.”

Michael R. Long is state chairman of the Conservative Party of New York State.

**“The good Lord raised this mighty republic to be a home for the brave and to flourish as the land of the free, not to stagnate in the swampland of collectivism, not to cringe before the bully of communism.”**

**“We must, and we shall, set the tide running again in the cause of freedom.”**



**He said it. He meant it.  
We need to keep embracing it.**



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# The man who ignited a revolution

By Lee Edwards

**W**ho was Barry Goldwater, universally known as “Mr. Conservative,” and how did his ’64 presidential campaign ignite a conservative revolution?

He was an unlikely revolutionary.

He was a college dropout whose 1960 book, “The Conscience of a Conservative,” sold more than 3.5 million copies. It was once required reading for History 169b at Harvard.

He was a man of contradictions:

He was inspiring and infuriating. He said of his ’64 presidential race: “I know I am going to lose, but I am going to lose my way.”

He was courageous and cantankerous, saying, “I did not come to Washington to pass laws but to repeal them.”

He was profane and profound. A classic axiom of his was: “Any government big enough to give you everything you want is big enough to take away everything you have.”

He delighted in saying the unexpected. “Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice.” He was vilified for saying it, but let us reflect: Was Patrick Henry an extremist because he declared “Give me liberty or give me death”? Were the brave Americans who fought and died in World War II to defeat Nazism and Imperial Japan extremists? Was Christ an extremist because he chose to die on the cross?

Barry Goldwater challenged conventional wisdom, asking: Why can’t we have a voluntary option for our Social Security system, which is headed for bankruptcy?

He declared that welfare ought to be “a private concern ... promoted by individuals and families, by churches, private hospitals, religious service organizations, community charities and other institutions.”

The Constitution was his guide, the Declaration of Independence his inspiration.

He was a man of enormous charm and self-deprecating humor, especially about his supposedly “old-fashioned” conservatism. He once called a press conference to announce that a Hollywood movie would



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Sen. Barry Goldwater meets U.S. Air Force personnel during a visit to an air base north of Saigon, Vietnam, in January 1967. Goldwater’s no-nonsense style and unfiltered manner set the ground for an eventual Republican takeover of the South and the ascension of Ronald Reagan to the governorship of California and, later, to two landslide presidential victories in 1980 and 1984.

be made about his life — by 18th Century Fox.

He affected American politics more than any other losing presidential candidate in modern times.

1. He raised, for the first time in a national campaign, basic issues such as Social Security, government subsidies, welfare reform, privatization and victory over communism.

2. He inspired thousands of young people to get into politics and public policy. Among those entering the fray on the policy side were Ed Feulner of the Heritage Foundation, the Cato Institute’s Ed Crane, commentator and presidential candidate Pat Buchanan, direct mail guru Richard Viguerie, publisher Al Regnery, Fund for American Studies Chairman Randal Teague — even Washington Times Editorial Page Editor David Keene, who previously headed both the American Conservative Union and the National Rifle Association. Politicians who took up the conservative torch included the late Phil Crane, as well as many other members of Congress.



Sen. Barry Goldwater, Arizona Republican, announces his candidacy for the U.S. presidency in Phoenix on Jan. 3, 1964. Although hidden from the audience’s view, Goldwater notably wears a cast on his right foot.

3. He was the first to use direct mail and TV in national political fundraising.

4. He broke the Democrats’ iron grip on the Solid South, enabling the GOP to become a

national party.

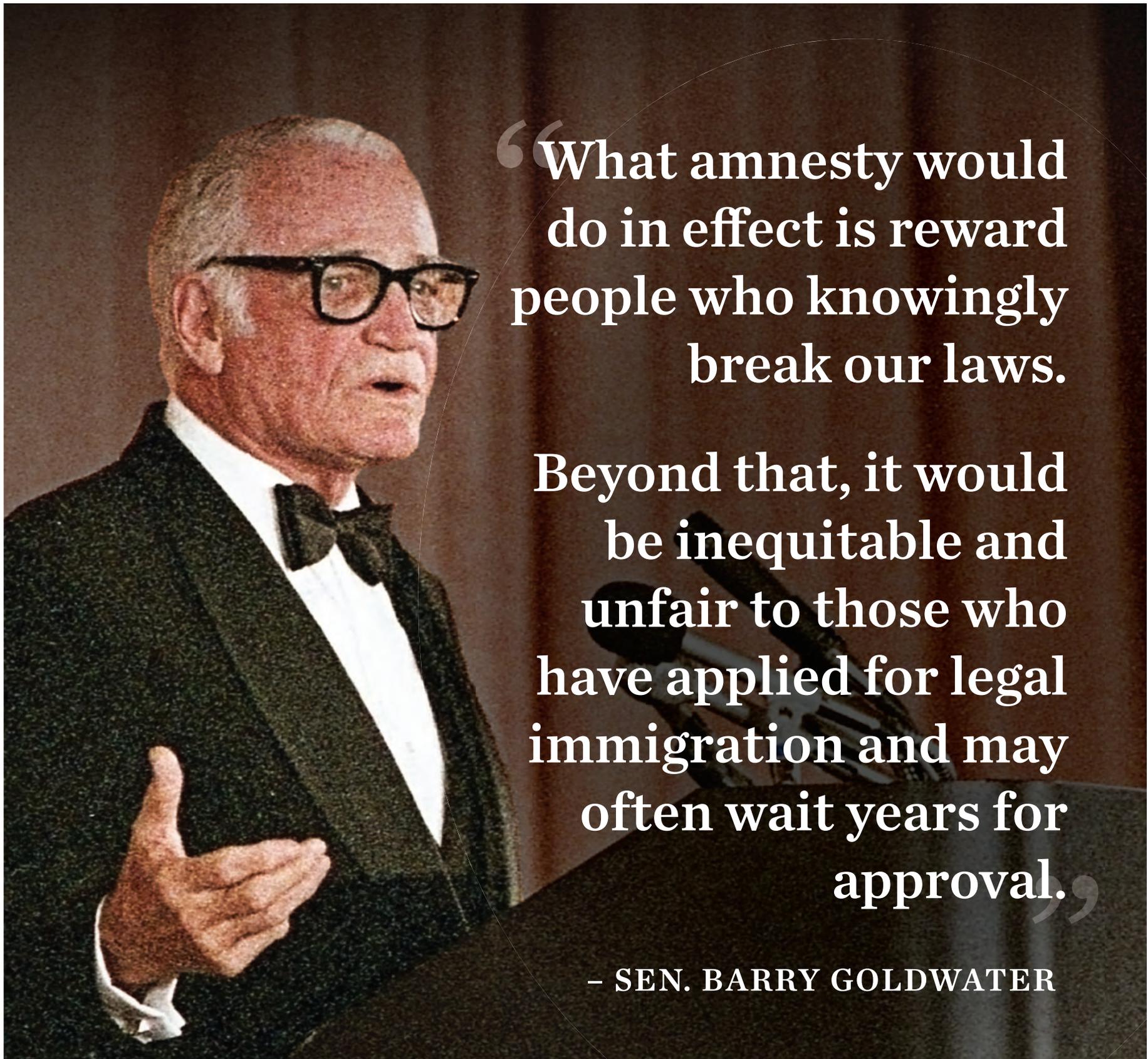
5. He persuaded 27.5 million Americans to vote conservative despite an unprecedented anti-campaign run for President Johnson and the Democrats.

The dirty tricks played included having the FBI bug Goldwater’s campaign plane and the CIA planting a spy in Goldwater’s campaign headquarters. Those 27.5 million voters became the cornerstone for Reagan’s 1980 and 1984 landslide victories.

6. He allowed Ronald Reagan to give his famous TV address, “A Time for Choosing” — a speech, by the way, that Goldwater’s top advisers tried to kill. Because of the phenomenal public response to “A Time for Choosing,” a group of prominent Republicans approached Reagan and literally begged him to run for governor of California.

Barry Goldwater laid the foundation for a political revolution and led a generation of conservatives to understand that theirs was a winning cause as well as a just cause.

.....  
*A scholar in the Heritage Foundation’s B. Kenneth Simon Center for Principles and Politics, Lee Edwards holds the title of Distinguished Fellow in Conservative Thought.*



“What amnesty would do in effect is reward people who knowingly break our laws.

Beyond that, it would be inequitable and unfair to those who have applied for legal immigration and may often wait years for approval.”

– SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER

IN YOUR HEART, YOU KNOW HE'S ***STILL*** RIGHT

# Goldwater's call to arms: 'The tide has been running against freedom'

*The following are excerpts of Sen. Barry Goldwater's presidential nomination acceptance speech in 1964.*

I accept your nomination with a deep sense of humility. I accept, too, the responsibility that goes with it, and I seek your continued help and your continued guidance. My fellow Republicans, our cause is too great for any man to feel worthy of it. Our task would be too great for any man, did he not have with him the heart and the hands of this great Republican Party, and I promise you tonight that every fiber of my being is consecrated to our cause; that nothing shall be lacking from the struggle that can be brought to it by enthusiasm, by devotion and plain hard work. In this world, no person, no party can guarantee anything, but what we can do and what we shall do is to deserve victory, and victory will be ours.

The good Lord raised this mighty republic to be a home for the brave and to flourish as the land of the free, not to stagnate in the swampland of collectivism, not to cringe before the bully of communism.

Now, my fellow Americans, the tide has been running against freedom. Our people have followed false prophets.

We must, and we shall, return to proven ways, not because they are old, but because they are true. We must, and we shall, set the tide running again in the cause of freedom. And this party, with its every action, every word, every breath and every heartbeat, has but a single resolve, and that is freedom — freedom made orderly for this nation by our constitutional government; freedom under a government limited by laws of nature and of nature's God; freedom — balanced so that liberty lacking order will not become the slavery of the prison cell; balanced so that liberty lacking order will not become the license of the mob and of the jungle.

Now, we Americans understand freedom. We have earned it, we have lived for it, and we have died for it. This nation and its people are freedom's model in a searching world. We can be freedom's missionaries in a doubting world. But, ladies and gentlemen, first we must renew freedom's mission in our own hearts and in our own homes.

Rather than useful jobs in our country, people have been offered bureaucratic "make work." Rather than moral

leadership, they have been given bread and circuses, spectacles and, yes, they have even been given scandals. Tonight there is violence in our streets, corruption in our highest offices, aimlessness among our youth, anxiety among our elders, and there is a virtual despair among the many who look beyond material success for the inner meaning of their lives. Where examples of morality should be set, the opposite is seen. Small men, seeking great wealth or power, have too often and too long turned even the highest levels of public service into mere personal opportunity.

Now, certainly, simple honesty is not too much to demand of men in government. We find it in most. Republicans demand it from everyone. They demand it from everyone no matter how exalted or protected his position might be. The growing menace in our country tonight, to personal safety, to life, to limb and property, in homes, in churches, on the playgrounds, and places of business, particularly in our great cities, is the mounting concern, or should be, of every thoughtful citizen in the United States.

Security from domestic violence, no less than from foreign aggression, is

the most elementary and fundamental purpose of any government, and a government that cannot fulfill that purpose is one that cannot long command the loyalty of its citizens. History shows us — demonstrates that nothing — nothing prepares the way for tyranny more than the failure of public officials to keep the streets from bullies and marauders.

■■■

Those who seek absolute power, even though they seek it to do what they regard as good, are simply demanding the right to enforce their own version of heaven on earth. And let me remind you, they are the very ones who always create the most hellish tyrannies. Absolute power does corrupt, and those who seek it must be suspect and must be opposed. Their mistaken course stems from false notions of equality, ladies and gentlemen. Equality, rightly understood, as our Founding Fathers understood it, leads to liberty and to the emancipation of creative differences. Wrongly understood, as it has been so tragically in our time, it leads first to conformity and then

» see **GOLDWATER** | D17



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Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater said government starts in the cities, counties and states — not at the national level.

# GOLDWATER

From page D16

to despotism.

Fellow Republicans, it is the cause of Republicanism to resist concentrations of power, private or public, which enforce such conformity and inflict such despotism. It is the cause of Republicanism to ensure that power remains in the hands of the people. And, so help us God, that is exactly what a Republican president will do with the help of a Republican Congress.

It is further the cause of Republicanism to restore a clear understanding of the tyranny of man over man in the world at large. It is our cause to dispel the foggy thinking which avoids hard decisions in the illusion that a world of conflict will



Goldwater returned to the Republican National Convention four years after his own campaign to rally delegates in Miami Beach, where Richard Nixon accepted the party's presidential nomination.

somehow mysteriously resolve itself into a world of harmony, if we just don't rock the boat or irritate the forces of aggression — and this is hogwash.

It is further the cause of Republicanism to remind ourselves, and the world, that only the strong can remain free, that only the strong can keep the peace.

■ ■ ■

Today in our beloved country, we have an administration which seems eager to deal with communism in every coin known — from gold to wheat, from consulates to confidence, and even human freedom itself.

The Republican cause demands that we brand communism as a principal

disturber of peace in the world today. Indeed, we should brand it as the only significant disturber of the peace, and we must make clear that until its goals of conquest are absolutely renounced and its rejections with all nations tempered, communism and the governments it now controls are enemies of every man on earth who is or wants to be free.

We here in America can keep the peace only if we remain vigilant and only if we remain strong. Only if we keep our eyes open and keep our guard up can we prevent war. And I want to make this abundantly clear: I don't intend to let peace or freedom be torn from our grasp because of lack of strength or lack of will — and that I promise you, Americans.

■ ■ ■

I know this freedom is not the fruit of every soil. I know that our own freedom was achieved through centuries, by unremitting efforts by brave and wise men. I know that the road to freedom is a long and a challenging road. I know also that some men may walk away from it, that some men resist challenge, accepting the false security of governmental paternalism.

And I pledge that the America I envision in the years ahead will extend its hand in health, in teaching and in cultivation, so that all new nations will be at least encouraged to go our way, so that they will not wander down the dark alleys of tyranny or to the dead-end streets of collectivism. My fellow Republicans, we do no man a service by hiding freedom's light under a bushel of mistaken humility.

I seek an America proud of its past, proud of its ways, proud of its dreams, and determined actively to proclaim them. But our example to the world must, like charity, begin at home.

In our vision of a good and decent future, free and peaceful, there must be room for deliberation of the energy and talent of the individual — otherwise, our vision is blind at the outset.

We must assure a society here which, while never abandoning the needy or forsaking the helpless, nurtures incentives and opportunity for the creative and the productive. We must know the whole good is the product of many single contributions.

I cherish a day when our children once again will restore as heroes the sort of men and women who — unafraid and undaunted — pursue the truth, strive to cure disease, subdue and make fruitful our natural environment and produce the inventive engines of production, science and technology.

■ ■ ■

We Republicans see in our constitutional form of government the great framework which assures the orderly but dynamic fulfillment of the whole man, and we see the whole man as the great reason for instituting orderly government in the first place.



ASSOCIATED PRESS PHOTOGRAPHS

Sen. Barry Goldwater, Arizona Republican, consulted with Sen. John F. Kennedy, Massachusetts Democrat, who was floor manager for a labor control bill in 1958. Goldwater called for plugging more loopholes to tighten union controls. Despite their ideological differences the conservative leader and the future president were friends.

We see, in private property and in economy based upon and fostering private property, the one way to make government a durable ally of the whole man, rather than his determined enemy. We see in the sanctity of private property the only durable foundation for constitutional government in a free society. And beyond that, we see, in cherished diversity of ways, diversity of thoughts, of motives and accomplishments. We do not seek to lead anyone's life for him — we seek only to secure his rights and to guarantee him opportunity to strive, with government performing only those needed and constitutionally sanctioned tasks which cannot otherwise be performed.

We Republicans seek a government that attends to its inherent responsibilities of maintaining a stable monetary and fiscal climate, encouraging a free and a competitive economy and enforcing law and order. Thus do we seek inventiveness, diversity and creativity within a stable order, for we Republicans define government's role where needed at many, many levels, preferably through the one closest to the people involved.

Our towns and our cities, then our counties, then our states, then our regional contacts — and only then, the national government. That, let me remind you, is the ladder of liberty, built by decentralized power. On it also we must have balance between the branches of government at every level.

Balance, diversity, creativity — these

are the elements of Republican equation. Republicans agree, Republicans agree heartily to disagree on many, many of their applications, but we have never disagreed on the basic fundamental issues of why you and I are Republicans.

■ ■ ■

I would remind you that extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice. And let me remind you also that moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue.

The beauty of the very system we Republicans are pledged to restore and revitalize, the beauty of this Federal system of ours is in its reconciliation of diversity with unity. We must not see malice in honest differences of opinion, and no matter how great, so long as they are not inconsistent with the pledges we have given to each other in and through our Constitution. Our Republican cause is not to level out the world or make its people conform in computer-regimented sameness. Our Republican cause is to free our people and light the way for liberty throughout the world.

Ours is a very human cause for very humane goals.

This party, its good people and its unquestionable devotion to freedom will not fulfill the purposes of this campaign which we launch here now until our cause has won the day, inspired the world, and shown the way to a tomorrow worthy of all our yesteryears.

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# Why Barry Goldwater still matters today

By Matt Schlapp

I never had the opportunity to meet Barry Goldwater, but I feel like I knew him.

Like so many young conservatives, I also never had the chance to talk to William F. Buckley or Ronald Reagan. The modern American conservative movement is now just old enough that new leaders and activists will have to learn about Goldwater, Buckley and Reagan through books and increasingly rare sessions with the war horses who were right there when it all began. And it all began with that 1964 campaign.

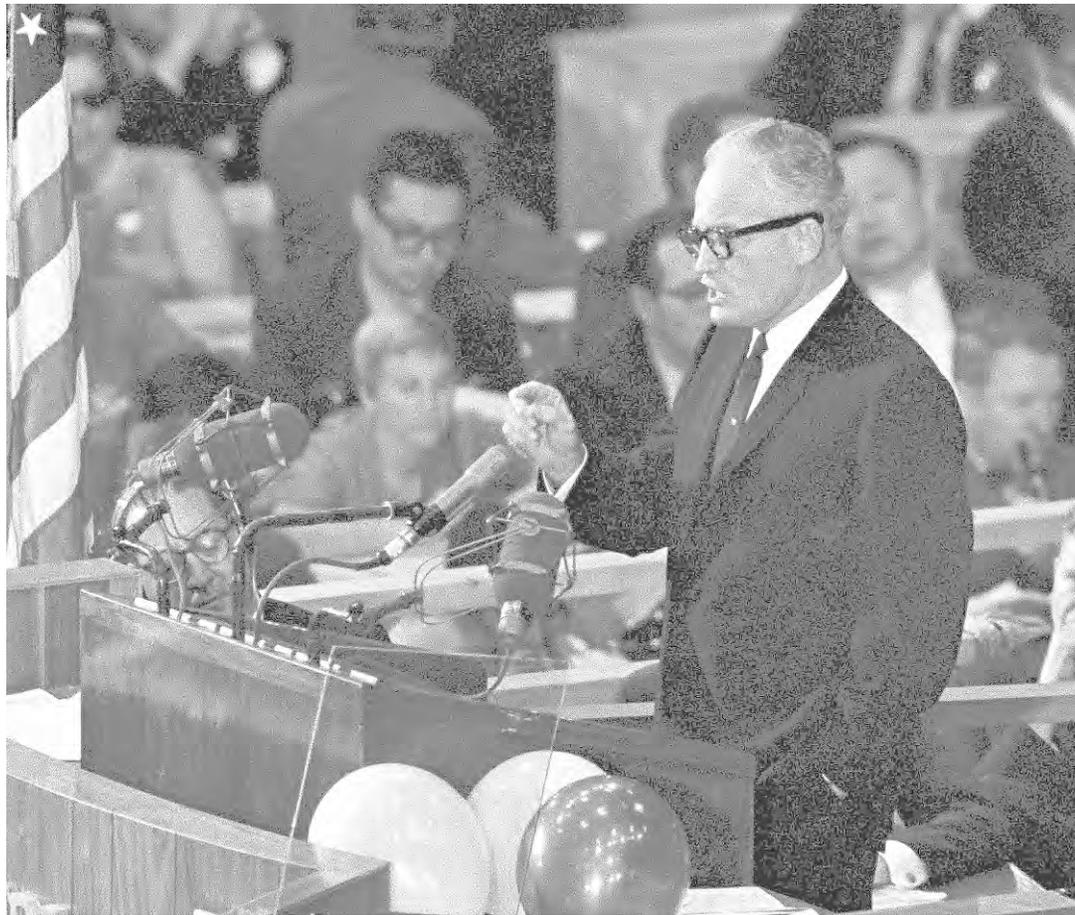
If one were asked to build a monument to modern American conservative champions, it would be hard not to start out with these three conservative revolutionaries. Buckley was clearly the cerebral, well-connected pen of the revolution. His weapon was his intellect and his ability to affect the culture through his columns, the *National Review* and his weekly TV show, "Firing Line." Reagan was the eventual political victor who became the personification of the revolution — and its namesake. But there is no denying that Goldwater was the ultimate risk-taker. He was the barbarian at the establishment gate. He was willing to take on all the powers to make a difference and try to change everything. Goldwater was the sword of the revolution; he lost the bloody battle but set us up to win the war.

It is the Reagan revolution that endures today, but without Goldwater it would have been harder, if not impossible, for Reagan. First of all, Reagan was impacted by Goldwater's thinking and public rhetoric as he matured from naive New Deal enthusiast to eventual champion of free market and limited-government Republicanism. It is also undeniable that even the charming Reagan, who clearly liked being liked, realized that in order to effectively lead in politics, you had to demonstrate grit by picking a worthy fight.

When Goldwater joined the field for the Republican nomination in 1964, his candidacy was about making a point as much as it was an attempt to wrest the nomination from the liberals in the party. Something strange happened as Goldwater

started making his points: He started winning and eventually defeated Nelson Rockefeller and all his money and all his well-bred big-city friends. One can still imagine how the Rockefeller wing moved from mocking Goldwater to fearing him. Goldwater must have reveled in that. Reagan took the same path during his three attempts at the GOP nomination.

Conservatives of my generation often talk about the need for a new Reagan. By this, I think they mean a bold leader who can explain why conservative principles and policies will work, who will stand up for America and protect her from evil enemies bent on her destruction and someone who lived a life and had a career separate from politics but was pulled into the fray out of concern and duty. Reagan seemed to appear on the national stage just when we needed him, and he either changed the country or brought it back to what it once was. In either case, it is hard to imagine the world and America without the God-blessed presidency of Ronald



ASSOCIATED PRESS PHOTOGRAPHS

Sen. Barry Goldwater accepts the Republican presidential nomination in San Francisco on July 16, 1964, with a blast at the Democrats and a promise that "together we will win" in the November election.



Sen. Barry Goldwater greets an enthusiastic Indianapolis crowd in October 1964. As a sharp-tongued, uncompromising defender of conservatism, Goldwater began the philosophical reshaping of the Republican Party with his fierce but futile presidential campaign.

Reagan. Perhaps we do not deserve another like him, or perhaps a leader like Reagan is so unique due to abilities and events that we will not see another like him for a long time.

However, there are undeniably different leaders for different times.

Fifty years ago, a silver-haired, sharp-tongued man of the West changed American politics forever. He knew what he thought and understood what was holding America back. He could be a vicious political opponent and still be a constant friend, and he had strong personal relationships with Democrats and liberals. He believed big government is bad but that the national government had to spend what it took to make sure that America could always protect itself. He believed in scientific innovation and the need to reform many aspects of human interaction, especially government operations. Finally, he was so dedicated to the Constitution, and each word therein, that he would sometimes agree with liberals during Senate debates, not because he liked their philosophy but because he felt bound to strictly adhere to what

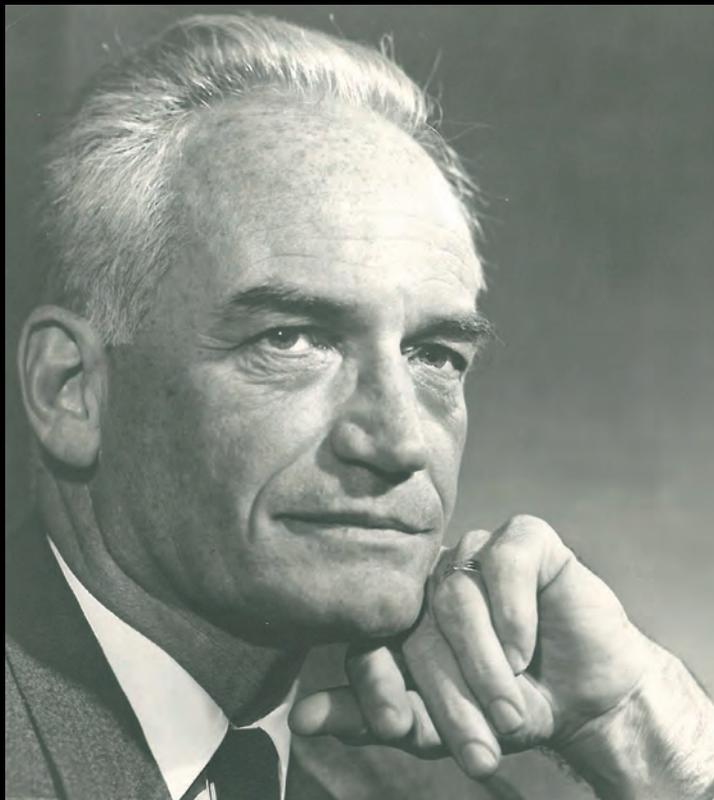
the Constitution guided him to do and to not do.

I will admit, when I read the headlines about the Islamic State, or the arrogance of legislative fiats from unelected judges, I pray, because this great nation deserves another Reagan. After eight years of Obama socialism and constitutional confrontation, the Goldwater approach could just finally fit the times.

Perhaps the Republicans should consider a leader who can explain with uncanny conviction why conservatism works; a leader who is not afraid to be colorful or regular; a leader who will not spin the American people; a leader who is bighearted, broad-minded, but constitutionally bound; a leader who honors those who serve in the armed forces. Perhaps in the field of candidates in 2016 there will be such a candidate.

If the Goldwater suits and black-rimmed glasses of the 1960s can be hip again, I think the values and principles of the man himself deserve an electoral second look.

• *Matt Schlapp is chairman of the American Conservative Union and former White House political director to George W. Bush.*

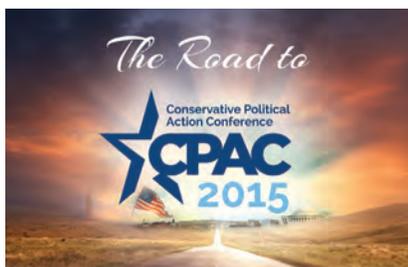


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