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25th Anniversary of *A Choice Not An Echo*

It is unlikely that any nominee for President who was NOT elected ever had the lasting influence on American politics that Barry Goldwater did. That's why he was honored, with sentiment and shouting, at a United Republican Fund dinner in Chicago commemorating the 25th anniversary of his nomination at the Republican National Convention in San Francisco in July 1964.

Unlike other defeated presidential nominees, Barry Goldwater will never be just a footnote in the history books. He is the man who gave political focus to the conservative movement that has flowered in the eighties.

In 1964, the liberal establishment ridiculed him as a reactionary behind the times. We now recognize that he was a man ahead of his times because Ronald Reagan was one of the happy consequences of the Goldwater presidential campaign.

In the early 1960s, Barry Goldwater's book, *The Conscience of a Conservative*, defined what conservatives were for in practical political terms and proclaimed that conservatives have a conscience. That book established him as the authentic spokesman for conservatism.

In 1964 a little paperback called *A Choice Not An Echo*, written by Phyllis Schlafly, defined what conservatives were against, namely control of Republican National Conventions by the New York eastern liberal establishment, which always supported big federal spending, foreign giveaways, and an America Last foreign policy. The book identified the dragons which conservatives would have to slay if they were ever to elect a President.

The book's second achievement was to take the words first spoken by Barry Goldwater, "a choice not an echo," and popularize them as the 1964 campaign slogan. Slogans are important in politics and political movements. Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected to his third and fourth terms on the slogan "Don't change horses in the middle of the stream." Dwight Eisenhower was elected in 1952 on the powerful slogan "Corruption, Communism, and Korea." George Bush was elected in a landslide in 1988 on the improbable slogan "Read my lips."

The slogan "a choice not an echo" crystallized the demand by the fledgling conservative movement that the Republicans nominate a candidate for President who was decisively

different from the Democrats' candidate on the fundamental issues of federal spending and foreign policy.

In 1964, conservatives had their ideology, which had been fostered by conservative intellectuals and publications of limited circulation, and conservatives had their candidate in Goldwater. But no crop is harvested without the laborers in the vineyard.

The three million copies of *A Choice Not An Echo* which were sold during 1964 (without benefit of a single paid advertisement or author's appearance on radio or television talk shows) built an army of conservative activists who would walk the last mile for their ideology and their candidate. That little paperback motivated hundreds of thousands of volunteers and converted new recruits to the conservative cause.

The book armed conservatives with the shield of righteousness so that they could withstand the outrageous media assaults of the 1964 campaign (such as the false accusations and negative TV spots labelling Goldwater a trigger-happy warmonger) and the years of political defeats and humiliation that followed. In the late 1960s and 1970s, the prevailing political theology was the notion that American voters would never be able to elect any real conservative as President.

A Choice Not An Echo also taught conservatives the continuing lesson of the importance of control of the Republican National Convention. The eastern liberal establishment never again regained control of Republican National Conventions, and Republican Party Platforms have grown more conservative every four years.

At the Republican National Convention in San Francisco in 1964, Nelson Rockefeller taunted the Goldwater delegates by telling them they were outside of the "mainstream" of American politics. In the 1980s under Ronald Reagan, the mainstream moved over and embraced conservatism. Conservatives didn't change at all — America changed!

In 1964 it was good to be a liberal and it took political courage to call yourself a conservative, which was then something of an epithet. It was political suicide to be a member of the John Birch Society.

Look how far conservatives have come in 25 years! Today, being called a liberal is a dreadful negative. The L word is a Scarlet Letter that no politician wants to be branded with, and

it is political suicide to be a card-carrying member of the American Civil Liberties Union.

In 1964, in our hearts we conservatives knew we were right. The twin elections of Ronald Reagan and last year's election of George Bush were massive public vindication of the conservative movement Barry Goldwater started. The free market philosophy he espoused is on the march, not only from America to Margaret Thatcher's England, but from Budapest to Tiananmen Square.

The Birthing of the Conservative Movement

It's hard to overestimate the importance of Barry Goldwater to the conservative movement. There wouldn't have been a Reagan-Bush era if there hadn't been a Barry Goldwater two decades earlier.

Barry Goldwater had not sought the heavy mantle of leadership. He was really drafted by a movement that wanted to follow a leader who stood by his convictions and who refused to compromise with or accommodate the liberals.

In 1959, Dean Clarence Manion, the nationally known constitutional lawyer and former Dean of the Notre Dame Law School, conceived the idea that a book could launch as the leader of the then-fragile conservative movement a little known Senator from Arizona (then considered an unlikely residence for a politician with national ambitions) named Barry Goldwater. It was Dean Manion's idea to title the book *The Conscience of a Conservative*. Prior to that time, few suspected that a conservative had a conscience.

Dean Manion also had the business and political acumen to devise a way to finance and market the book. He arranged with a small Kentucky printer to print the hardback book for \$1; a second dollar was used for distribution costs; and the third dollar of the \$3 retail price went into a campaign fund called Americans for Goldwater.

When Barry Goldwater's name was placed in nomination at the 1960 Republican National Convention in Chicago, his floor demonstration was spontaneously enthusiastic and genuine. In a dramatic moment of political history, Barry appeared on the platform and told his followers that 1960 was not our year. He urged us to go home, build our political strength, and come back in four years when conservatives would have enough delegates to nominate our candidate.

The eastern liberal establishment had dominated Republican National Conventions and forced the nominations of their hand-picked candidates every four years from 1936 through 1960. They were not about to give up easily in 1964 to a western conservative whom they did not control.

Following an "anybody but Goldwater" strategy, the liberal Republican kingmakers fielded every candidate they could find to oppose Goldwater. After Nelson Rockefeller lost the crucial California primary, the would-be kingmakers trotted out their last desperate hope, Pennsylvania Governor William Scranton. When grassroots Republicans at the San Francisco Convention showed their independence and nominated Goldwater, the liberal establishment set out on the 20th century's most vicious media campaign to smear and destroy Goldwater and all who supported him. You've heard complaints that the Bush-Dukakis race in 1988 involved "negative" campaigning, but it was a powder-puff contest compared

to 1964.

Writing in the anti-Goldwater *Los Angeles Times*, an anti-Goldwater columnist gave a truthful description of what happened: "An attack upon Goldwater of a ferocity never remotely approached in any of the eight national party conventions previously attended by this columnist was then opened. They, the 'moderns,' loosed upon Goldwater a storm of accusation and innuendo. Scranton camp followers spread shocking tales suggesting that Goldwater was perhaps in league with neo-Nazis in Germany — and this about a man whose own father was Jewish. Scranton himself attacked Goldwater in tones plainly implying that Goldwater was not only wrong but actually evil."

The pollsters cooperated with their contrived surveys of public opinion. The Lou Harris poll falsely described the Goldwater position as favoring "Go to war over Cuba," "Using A-bombs in Asia," and "Against Social Security."

The media, the Lyndon Johnson campaigners, the leftwing smearmongers, and the liberal Republican kingmakers whose candidates had been rejected by the Republican National Convention, worked in tandem to carry on an orchestrated smear of Barry Goldwater. They gave him the false image of a loose-cannon warmonger. The orchestrated media assault exceeded Watergate in decibels of intensity, and far exceeded the Iran-Contra binge.

Barry Goldwater, as the 1964 Republican Presidential nominee, offered the American voters for the first time in 30 years "a choice, not an echo." Goldwater articulated a platform of foreign, defense, and domestic policies that were totally different from those of Lyndon Johnson, whose Presidency gave us the tragic Vietnam War, the dismantling of our strategic superiority by Robert McNamara, and the bloated, failed spending programs of the so-called "Great Society."

Unfortunately, the majority of American voters were bamboozled by vicious media lies. They rejected the "choice" and elected the "echo" of the past, Lyndon Johnson.

It was truly remarkable that, despite the unprecedented avalanche of invective, 27 million Americans staunchly voted for Barry Goldwater anyway. That was the painful birthing of the politically-active conservative movement.

The reason why the 27 million so staunchly stood their ground was that they had a commitment based on knowledge gained from reading books and attending lectures and seminars. Conservatives in 1964 were not fair-weather friends who had been swayed by 20-second sound bites and 30-second TV spots.

A Choice Not An Echo was not the only book distributed by the millions in 1964 by volunteers in massive, nationwide door-to-door campaigning. The others were *None Dare Call It Treason* by John Stormer (a documented history of Communist influences in America), *A Texan Looks At Lyndon* by Evetts Haley (a documented biography of LBJ's rise to political power), and *The Gravediggers* by Phyllis Schlafly (a documented expose of Defense Secretary Robert McNamara's dismantling of our once great strategic superiority).

The legacy of Barry Goldwater is the way the 27 million, who braved the vitriol of Big Media in 1964, lived to grow into the 54 million majority that validated the Reagan Revolution in 1984 and 1988.

Exposing The Secret Kingmakers

The following article is reprinted from The Phyllis Schlafly Report of February 1971, Vol. 4, No. 7. The article explains why it was printed in 1971 and recalls an important piece of U.S. history which was first available to the American public in the 1964 book A Choice Not An Echo.

When my first book, *A Choice Not An Echo*, came out in 1964, many readers said that the most important part of the book was Chapter 14 entitled "Who Are the Secret Kingmakers?" This chapter did, indeed, contain a sensational story about the secret meetings of very powerful and influential men. This chapter was a piece of authentic history — never before reported anywhere, never challenged afterwards. It told the true story of a secret meeting of a group called the Bilderbergers on St. Simon's Island, Georgia, at the King and Prince Hotel, February 14-18, 1957, and of how the most elaborate precautions were taken to prevent Americans from knowing who attended this secret meeting or what transpired there.

Despite these attempts at secrecy, I was able to do an original investigation and research and to report in specific detail on how the meeting was conducted, who paid for it, what they ate and drank, how the public was excluded, how the news was suppressed by the press, and the names of those who attended.

A Choice Not An Echo showed that this St. Simon's meeting of the Bilderbergers holds several important lessons for Americans today. It proves that there do in fact exist secret groups of persons high in finance, government and the press who meet secretly to make important plans they do not reveal to the public. It shows that these secret meetings are heavily weighted in favor of the liberal foreign viewpoint and loaded with Americans who have important financial and business contacts and investments abroad — to the exclusion of persons with a pro-American viewpoint.

The Bilderbergers is only one of these secret groups. The Federal Reserve Act was drafted at a secret meeting held in 1910 at Jekyll Island, very near St. Simon's Island. The dominant figure at the Jekyll Island meeting was Senator Nelson Aldrich, uncle of Governor Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller.

A Choice Not An Echo also showed how these groups are dominated by men who are profiting financially from unlimited foreign giveaways, deficit financing, and higher and higher federal budgets.

For pocketbook reasons, they are extremely anxious to prevent any curtailment of federal spending and foreign giveaways, which waste funds badly needed for strategic defense.

Every subscriber to *The Phyllis Schlafly Report* should have a copy of *A Choice Not An Echo*, which sold three million copies in 1964 without benefit of a single advertisement. Go back and reread Chapter 14 today. The most interesting thing to look for as you reread it is the names of the men who attended that secret meeting on St. Simon's Island. Many of them were unknown to the American public in 1957, but within a few years they rose to the most powerful positions in our Government.

For example, among the participants who attended the St. Simon's meeting and whom I listed in *A Choice Not An Echo* were McGeorge Bundy, Dean Rusk, Paul Nitze and George Ball — all unknown to the public at the time of the 1957 meeting. Four years later in the Kennedy Administration, Bundy was dictating U.S.

foreign policy. Seven years later in the Lyndon Johnson Administration, Rusk was dictating U.S. foreign policy, Nitze was dictating U.S. military policy, and Ball was dictating U.S. foreign economic policy.

The fascinating question for those who want to know how things happen is: What hidden hands selected those obscure men (a college dean, a foundation administrator, a stock broker, and a Washington lawyer), gathered them at a secret meeting for which the most elaborate police methods were used to hide the news from the American people, and then guided their rapid advance into the highest and most powerful positions in America?

Now, in 1971, there is a fascinating postscript to Chapter 14 of *A Choice Not An Echo*. Recently, I dug out my original list of participants at that 1957 St. Simon's meeting, and to my great surprise, I discovered an additional big name on the list: Henry Kissinger, who was at that time Director of a Special Studies Project for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. I omitted him from *A Choice Not An Echo* because his name meant nothing to me then. But now it is no exaggeration to say that he is the most powerful man in our Government next to the President.

The New York Times described how President Nixon has given Kissinger the "authority to operate virtually as a super-Cabinet officer managing the sprawling foreign-affairs community." *The New York Times* reported that "the President has invested Mr. Kissinger with immense authority." He "sits in on virtually every meeting with other officials or foreign statesmen. Almost daily — frequently three or four times a day — he sees Mr. Nixon alone...Hardly a proposal of consequence of foreign affairs reaches the President without Mr. Kissinger's covering memo giving his analysis of the problem, the proposals of other agencies and his recommendation."

Did the same secret kingmakers propel Kissinger to the top who pushed Bundy, Rusk, Nitze and Ball? Or was it purely coincidence? More important, are their policies all the same regardless of which party the voters elect? These are questions for all of us to ponder.

1989 Postscript: Henry Kissinger controlled U.S. foreign and defense policies during the Nixon and Ford Administrations, 1969-1976. When Ronald Reagan became President in 1981, he kept Henry Kissinger out of power. However, strange to relate, Paul Nitze re-emerged as a top adviser to the Reagan Administration on arms control and U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations. When President Reagan gave an exclusive dinner for Soviet boss Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow on May 31, 1988, Paul Nitze turned up as one of the handful of Americans who attended.

The Bush Administration reinstated the influence of Henry Kissinger. Kissinger's top two associates in Kissinger Associates (his consulting firm which receives enormous fees from multi-national corporations and foreign governments) are now top officials of the Bush Administration. Lawrence Eagleburger went from his job as president of Kissinger Associates to become the number-two man in the U.S. Department of State, and Brent Scowcroft went from his job as vice president of Kissinger Associates to become President Bush's National Security Adviser. The clients of Kissinger Associates are the kind of corporations and governments that are big promoters of subsidized trade, credits, low-interest loans, and sales of strategic materials to Communist and Third World countries.

Don't Count On Business To Be Conservative

During the Bush Inaugural festivities, some of the media tried to make a big story out of the large sums of money that a few big corporations had donated to underwrite the costly Inaugural events (most of which, incidentally, were free to the public and put on at no cost to the taxpayers). The impression given by these news stories reinforced the old stereotypes that business = Republican, and that rich = conservative.

Actually, those stereotypes have been false for as long as memory runneth. George Bush could not have been elected by a constituency that was all or even largely "business," "Republican," or "rich." His electoral majority was rolled up by the millions of ordinary working Americans who are fed up with Uncle Sam picking their pockets and with Willie Hortons prowling their neighborhoods.

Although the American people voted decisively last November to trounce liberalism, the left continues to exert tremendous power and influence. The major reasons for this are that wealthy Political Action Committees give twice as much money to Democrats as to Republicans, wealthy universities finance the radical activist faculty and student groups, wealthy foundations finance the leftwing intellectuals and social activists, and wealthy corporations finance the chic left. Leftist causes financed from these sources range all the way from big government spending to foreign giveaways to feminist follies.

This peculiar predilection of the corporations has been documented for the second straight year by the Capital Research Center. This Washington-based group monitors trends in philanthropy and recently released its annual listing of U.S. corporations that are financing anti-business lobbying and advocacy groups. This useful volume is called *Patterns of Corporate Philanthropy: Public Affairs Giving and the Forbes 250*. It is a compendium of useful information about how money interfaces with public policymaking.

Topping the list of corporations that donate to groups working against the private enterprise system are the Minneapolis-based retail chain Dayton Hudson Corporation, the Coca-Cola Company of Atlanta, General Mills of Minneapolis, the Pillsbury Company of Minneapolis, and Chemical Banking Corporation of New York. Following close behind in this annual "Index of Corporate Misgiving" are Aetna Life & Casualty of Hartford, Atlantic Richfield Company of Los Angeles, American Telephone and Telegraph Company of New York, J. P. Morgan & Company of New York, and Citicorp of New York.

Capital Research Center retained two scholars, Dr. Roger E. Meiners and Dr. David N. Laband, to assemble the records on the so-called charitable grants made by the corporations listed in the Forbes 250. Overall, 60 percent of the funds donated by big business went to liberal or leftist groups.

Then the scholars developed a profile on the recipient organizations, many of which aggressively advocate more government regulation of business, argue for increased business taxes, and use the courts to harass corporations. Generally, they view modern technology as the cause of problems rather than as their solution.

Some of these leftist, anti-business recipients include the Center for Community Change, the Children's Defense Fund, Food Research and Action Center, Feminist Press, Green-

peace, Joint Center for Political Studies, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law, Ms. Foundation for Women, National Council of La Raza, NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund, Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH, Women's Equity Action League, and the American Friends Service Committee.

The Children's Defense Fund, for example, is a leftwing lobby group that is leading the current drive to bring about federal financing and regulation of daycare and the increased institutionalization of preschool children, hardly an objective that business should be promoting. Yet, the Children's Defense Fund received five-figure donations from J. P. Morgan, ARCO, General Mills, St. Paul Companies, and Xerox.

The president of Capital Research Center, Willa Ann Johnson, noted that "a careful review of their activities shows contempt, and sometimes open hostility, toward the American enterprise system which makes social progress possible." William E. Simon, author of the best-seller *A Time for Truth*, commented in the preface that, "What is going on here is that the leaders of the American free enterprise system are financing the destruction of their own system and ultimately of our free society."

The weekly Washington newspaper *Human Events* in its issue of July 15, 1989 reported further on business and media support of the Children's Defense Fund, the \$6-million-a-year 90-employee organization which is the chief lobbyist for the liberal Dodd ABC Daycare bill. CDF received grants of money from the Aetna Life and Casualty Foundation, the American Express Foundation, the AT&T Foundation, the General Mills Foundation, the Cummings Engine Foundation, General Motors, Mobil Oil, Xerox, Zayre, Sears, and IBM.

Do you wonder why federally-financed daycare gets such extravagant support on television and in magazines and newspapers? Media grants to the CDF came from Time, Inc., the Discovery cable channel, the MCA Foundation, Warner Communications, two local Washington television stations WJLA and WUSA, the Washington Post Company, the New York Times Foundation, the Boston Globe Foundation, and Jane Pauley (co-host of NBC's Today Show). An annual grant of \$10,000 from the Reader's Digest Fund was given to CDF in 1986, 1987 and 1988.

If you wonder why the deck seems to be stacked in the media in favor of federal baby-sitting, it's because it is. If you wonder why there are more lobbyists walking the halls of Capitol Hill promoting federal baby-sitting, it's because corporations have hired them.

Phyllis Schlafly was elected a Delegate to the Republican National Conventions of 1956, 1964, 1968, 1984, and 1988, and elected an Alternate Delegate in 1960 and 1980. She was three times elected president of the Illinois Federation of Republican Women, 1960-1964, and elected First Vice President of the National Federation of Republican Women in 1964.

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