



The Phyllis Schlafly Report



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AUGUST 1968

THURMOND'S ROLE IN MIAMI

The press was filled for months with speculation about the importance of the favorite sons and the big eastern delegations attending the Republican National Convention. We read an endless stream of articles on how Shafer, Rhodes, Romney, Case, etc., would swing the Convention to the man they finally decided upon.

The pundits missed the target. At the Miami Convention, the eastern liberals were left standing on the sidelines. It was none other than Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina who turned out to be the most powerful man at the Republican National Convention. He had by far the largest number of Convention Delegates personally loyal to him. This was not because he dispenses money or patronage, but because Delegates have a genuine admiration for his stalwart courage and integrity. As one Delegate said, "Senator Thurmond has been our leader for 20 years, and I will do whatever he asks."

Senator Thurmond decided to vote for Richard Nixon after satisfying himself that Nixon would be fair to all branches of the country and the Party, including those who believe in constitutional and conservative principles. Thurmond's vote was decisive and assured Nixon's first-ballot victory.

When the liberals woke up to what had happened, they immediately began yelping that it was intolerable that Thurmond have a "veto" over the Vice Presidency. Of course, the liberals themselves had vetoed Strom Thurmond for the Vice Presidency. Liberals always work to impose second-class citizenship on conservatives, and they are never bothered by the inconsistency of their position.

Since the liberals had vetoed a southern conservative for Vice President, it was only fair that a northern liberal (such as Lindsay or Romney) likewise be rejected. Agnew was a good compromise from a border state who should be acceptable to all Republicans.

But the liberals simply cannot be appeased. They want every office. When Governor Romney told his Michigan caucus that they could *not* vote for Agnew, Romney gave as his reason: "Agnew has gone *too far* on law and order!" Most Republicans believe that it is impossible to go too far on law and order.

Senator Thurmond is the reason why the 1968 campaign will be oriented toward law and order instead of the fallacies of the Kerner Report which excuses the rioters and blames the law-abiding.

WILL FORTAS BE CONFIRMED?

The fight to reject LBJ's nomination of Abe Fortas as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court is led by Republican Senators Robert Griffin and Strom Thurmond. They started with about 20 Senators on their side, and they now have about 40, as the evidence against Fortas has mounted.

What has hurt Fortas the most is the evidence that, as a lawyer, he had represented purveyors of pornography. Representatives for the Citizens for Decent Literature testified at the hearings on Fortas that the Supreme Court had upheld long-standing laws against obscenity — until Fortas joined the Court. Then, he cast the deciding vote "which released the greatest deluge of hard-core pornography ever witnessed by any nation."

Worse still, in one Supreme Court case, Fortas voted to acquit a corporate publisher of pornography owned by William Hamling whom Fortas had represented before he went on the Court. Hamling once bragged to an FBI agent that he had hired Abe Fortas as a lawyer because Fortas "could fix anything no matter who was in power." Hamling said that he had also paid Fortas \$11,000 to get a valuable second-class mailing permit for his lewd magazine.

Fortas' past connections with pornographers, plus his recent 23 Supreme Court decisions in favor of pornographers, plus his decision in the Eugene Robel case holding that our Government cannot prevent Communists from working in defense plants, disqualify him to be Supreme Court Chief Justice and head of our Federal courts.

NOW is the time to phone, wire or write all *Senators* and ask them to vote against Fortas. If your Senator is a candidate this year, ask him to examine the evidence and make sure that he does not vote to promote someone responsible for legalizing hard-core pornography and Communists working in defense plants — or the voters will remember this on election day.

The Republican members of the Senate Judiciary Committee now considering the Fortas nomination are: Senators Everett Dirksen, Roman Hruska, Hiram Fong, Hugh Scott, and Strom Thurmond.

A TALE OF TWO CONVENTIONS

At the Convention of the National Federation of Republican Women in May 1967, the liberals in New York, Pennsylvania and Michigan were busy bussing in payrollers to vote from clubs which should have been disqualified for non-payment of dues. Because of their geographic proximity to Washington, D. C., and with the help of their friends who controlled the gavel, the credentials committee, and the voting machines, they were successful in forcing their will on Republican women by a narrow margin.

Fifteen months later, at the Republican National Convention in Miami Beach, it was a different story. What happened in August 1968 proves that, in a fair and honest convention, the liberals are plainly exposed as a small minority of the Republican Party. The following excerpts from the editorial page of the *Chicago Tribune* describe the collapse of the liberal trio who were riding so high last year.

Wrecks in the Roadside Ditch

A lot of fancy 1968 political models are in the ditch by the side of the road after the delaying action against Richard Nixon's nomination petered out early this morning. The fancy dans at the wheel took some long chances in threading in and out of the convention traffic in the hope of getting a couple of car lengths' advantage. They all wound up in the ditch.

Gov. George Romney was put in nomination for the Presidency—George, "brain-washed" in Viet Nam, double-crossed by Rockefeller, a dropout in the New Hampshire primary, but still hopeful, despite it all. He was pitched thru the windshield.

Gov. Raymond Shafer of Pennsylvania, who made the nominating speech for Rockefeller, was abandoned by a third of his delegation. He, too, landed off the road.

Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller can now go back to New York and start paying off the bills. The full-page ads, the TV slots on prime time, the private polls intended to show that he was first in the hearts of his countrymen, the expensive hired talent that worked out the "holding" strategy which came unstuck on the first ballot—all of these expired in a drawn-out sigh at 1:49 this morning. The "hot" line went cold and the big wind of these last weeks was dissipated over the ocean—a hurricane that failed to materialize.

"EAGLES" MEET IN MIAMI

Several hundred "Eagles" from all over the United States met in Miami Beach in early August as Delegates, Alternates, and visitors to the Republican National Convention. They exchanged views and made plans on the Republican Party, candidates, platform, and rules, and provided each other with mutual inspiration and encouragement at that decision-making gathering. They held useful caucuses on the floor of the Convention Hall where it was easiest to locate Delegates from other states.

The "Eagles" had a fine Hospitality Room which provided a base where messages could be received and refreshments offered at nearly every hour. We give our grateful thanks to the many friends who sent "care" packages from all over the country, including crates of California grapes and nectarines, homemade cookies, elegant candies, cheeses and other goodies, posters and pictures for the bulletin board, and donations to help with expenses. Fresh Florida orange juice flowed day and evening at this central meeting place for conservative Republicans.

The gathering of the "Eagles" in Miami Beach was a worthwhile and productive endeavor. We kept the lines of communication open between conservative Republicans so that they could make their influence felt at the Republican National Convention. We can be proud of the strong force they exerted in Miami Beach.

Phyllis Testifies Before Platform Committee

Three witnesses testified before the Republican Platform Committee in Miami Beach on the subject of our nuclear defense: Phyllis Schlafly, Major General Dale O. Smith (who gave a Statement on behalf of himself and General Curtis E. LeMay), and Dr. Stefan Possony of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University. The three Statements complemented each other and were cordially received by the Platform Committee. We will have the texts of these important Statements available at a later date.

TV REMINDER

Phyllis Schlafly has three excellent TV programs on defense and disarmament which may be borrowed free by any donor to the Eagle Trust Fund. Filmed especially for television, they have already been shown on about 25 stations. They are equally good as a program for your club. Order from the Eagle Trust Fund and specify date of showing.

TV-1 (1 hour) "Why the McNamara Policies Endanger America"

TV-2 (15 minutes) "Credibility Gap at the Pentagon"

TV-3 (15 minutes) "The Nuclear Threat We Face Today"

REMEMBER THE PUEBLO!

Captured January 23. For 7 long months, the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has done nothing effective to obtain the release of its 82 crewmen or their ship. Order "Remember the Pueblo" bumper strips at 25c each from Remember the Pueblo Committee, Box 9796, San Diego, Cal. 92109.

UROC SCOREBOARD

United Republicans of California is a conservative Republican action organization *which endorses in the primary*. In the June 1968 California primary, UROC endorsed in 24 Congressional Districts, 14 State Senatorial Districts, and 43 Assembly Districts. Here is UROC's impressive scoreboard of victorious candidates.

CONGRESSIONAL Districts	24 of 24
STATE SENATE Districts	12 of 14
ASSEMBLY Districts	37 of 43

WHY REAGAN WAS NOT NOMINATED

The question most frequently asked today by fans of Governor Ronald Reagan is: Why did the Republican Convention Delegates pick Nixon over Reagan? To the Reagan fans, their candidate has all the advantages of personality, TV image, "can-win" psychology, and articulate conservatism. Why did the Republican Delegates reject him in favor of Richard Nixon?

The first answer to this question is that Nixon had the advantage of a first-rate campaign organization. He proved that he has the ability to assemble a capable staff to work effectively and efficiently to get the job done — surely a prime requirement of a President. Nixon started early, worked hard, and left no stone unturned in his contacts with Delegates.

Here is the second reason for Nixon's success, as submitted to the *Phyllis Schlafly Report* by a close observer of the entire campaign. But let it be stated emphatically here that nothing in this article is to be construed as critical of Ronald Reagan — a great American, a wonderful patriot, a leader of stature and courage, who conducted himself throughout with dignity and integrity.

* * * * *

"The Presidential campaign for Reagan was managed by Clifton White, a professional politician best known for his activity during the Goldwater campaign of 1964. White charted a course which was 100% wrong, and the entire Reagan campaign became a prisoner of White's false premises.

"Here are the six deadly errors of the White strategy which should be carefully studied by conservatives if they are to profit from experience.

"1st Error: 'Nixon and Rockefeller will deadlock at the Convention. After three to five ballots, the Delegates will voluntarily turn to Reagan.' This figment of White's imagination was false and foolish from the beginning. There hasn't been a deadlock in a Republican Convention for nearly 50 years. In our era of instant communication, a deadlock is practically impossible. Yet, the 'deadlock' myth became such dogma that those working in Reagan's behalf showed more interest in how Delegates would

vote on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th ballots than on the first.

"In the Republican Convention of 1952, the campaign of General Douglas MacArthur was based on the strategy of the 'deadlock.' He was the most glamorous Presidential candidate of our lifetime. He had the most distinguished career in the service of his country of any man in this century. He was handsome, a splendid speaker, and had the ability to inspire the American people. His campaign was bankrolled by the then richest man in the United States. The strategy was that, after Taft and Eisenhower deadlocked at the Convention, the Delegates would swing to MacArthur. It sounded plausible. But it didn't happen that way, and every practical politician knew in advance that it wouldn't.

"2nd Error: 'Nixon would never get more than 600 votes in the Convention and would be stopped there, after which it would be a *brokered* Convention.' It is hard to see how this naive assumption could be believed by any knowledgeable observer of modern politics. Nixon could not be stopped after he reached 550 Delegates. After that point, the temptation to delegations becomes irresistible to get the credit for putting the nominee over the top. The U. S. Presidency has many rewards to offer wavering delegations. Furthermore, in a *brokered* Convention, the deal-makers hold all the trumps — not the idealists.

"3rd Error: 'The 1968 Republican Convention would be substantially as conservative as the 1964 Convention, and Delegates could be relied upon to vote for the most conservative candidate.' By January 1968, it was apparent that this was false, but the myth remained. The 1968 Convention included fewer than half as many dedicated conservatives. A survey showed that only one 1968 Delegate out of five served also in the 1964 Convention.

"4th Error: 'Nixon Delegates were really *soft* Delegates just waiting for the opportunity to move openly into the Reagan column.' This was true of some southern Delegates, but certainly not true of most Delegates. The big majority of Nixon Delegates were 'hard' Delegates who sincerely

wanted Nixon. Every poll taken showed Reagan far behind Nixon -- which was the penalty of the doing-nothing strategy.

"5th Error: 'Reagan should not be a declared candidate prior to the opening of the Convention because the press would start cutting him up prematurely.' Reagan's candidacy was to be a big secret until the week of the Convention when White would snap his fingers and Delegates would spontaneously appear from the woodwork. Anyone who believed this simply must not understand how Delegates are elected. Delegates pledges are made long before the Convention opens and only a few are subject to change after arrival. When Delegate commitments were made in February, March, April and May, Reagan's representatives were not around, and Nixon picked up the chips.

"Politics cannot operate in a vacuum. As a practical matter, a Delegate cannot support a non-candidate, especially one whom only a minority of Republicans has ever seen. From County Coroner to U. S. President, there is no substitute for a candidate putting out his hand to the voters and saying, 'I am John Doe, candidate for _____. I ask you to vote for me.'

6th Error: 'Reagan-for-President groups and statewide organizations should not be permitted to form because they would destroy the illusion of Reagan's non-candidacy.' Grassroots Republicans were effectively stopped from organizing and working for Reagan for President. When competent Republicans offered to organize states and secure Delegates for Reagan, they were given the brushoff and told that this did not fit into the 1968 strategy. In some areas, dedicated Reagan supporters were forbidden to run for Delegate against Nixon or Rockefeller Delegates.

"When enthusiastic Reagan boosters went ahead with the same kind of grassroots operation which was so successful in nominating Barry Goldwater in 1964, they were publicly dis-

Why Reagan Was Not Nominated

(continued)

avowed and embarrassed. When Reagan supporters in Oregon offered to start working for him long before the Oregon primary, they were discouraged from doing so. Only a couple of states out of 50 had 'approved' Reagan organizations, and these were deliberately kept in very low gear and under-financed.

"It appears clear that the real purpose of this 6th error was to keep complete control of the Reagan campaign in White's hands and not let any part of it slip into the hands of the volunteers.

Paralysis of Conservatives

"Reagan supporters should have recognized the errors in these six assumptions — but they accepted White's strategy almost without question. The few who did not, found themselves bucking against a stone wall. Conservatives up and down the line told their friends: Don't muddy the waters by doing anything because everything is being taken care of at the top level. The laborers in the vineyard accepted this word from on high because of White's reputation as one of those responsible for aiding Goldwater's nomination. Up until the roll call on Wednesday, Reagan supporters had supreme confidence that White would pull a rabbit out of the hat.

"In the later stages of the pre-Convention effort, the White command made one mistake after another. The headquarters at the Deauville Hotel in Miami Beach was simply not of a caliber suitable for a serious Presidential candidate. White's count of Delegates was grossly inaccurate. Those who came to volunteer their services were given the cold shoulder. Adequate office equipment and printing facilities were woefully lacking.

"The other Presidential candidates had state chairmen working full time to persuade Delegates. They made many excellent mailings to Delegates, and put out daily Convention newsletters. Some were separately written and printed for individual states. Reagan had almost no effective communication with the Delegates because White never developed any means for Reagan to reach them by either personal contact or printed

matter. White sent a personal letter to Delegates telling them about himself, *but failed even to mention Ronald Reagan.*

"The Reagan Presidential campaign offers the following lessons: (1) that volunteers can sometimes do a better job than professionals; and (2) that it is a mistake for one man to determine the entire campaign strategy, because he just might be 100% wrong.

"White advertises himself in his book *Suite 3505* as 'probably the most talked about political professional in the country today' and as 'the GOP's premier technician.' No doubt he will continue to be talked about, but candidates who want to win elections will have to find a new 'premier.' Many believe that Reagan *could* have won in Miami if his campaign had been managed correctly for the preceding six months."

* * * * *

The volunteers who worked for Ronald Reagan should feel proud of their candidate and rewarded by the knowledge that every ounce of their effort was worthwhile because it provided an eloquent voice of conservatism within the Party, and a needed antidote to the Rockefeller liberalism. The choice that Governor Reagan offered to the Delegates is the principal reason why a border-state stalwart of law and order was nominated for the Vice Presidency, rather than a northern liberal.

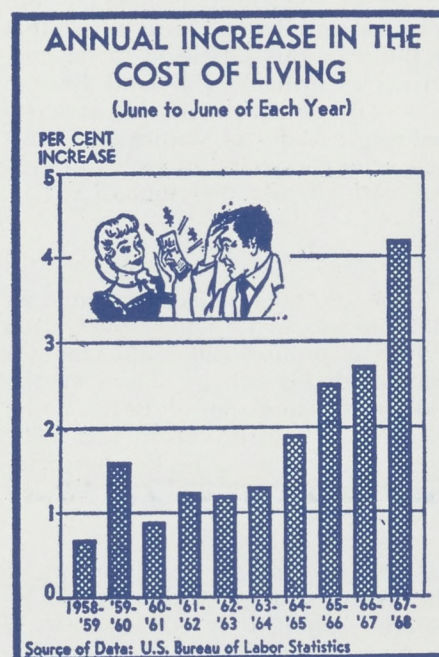


MAX RAFFERTY

One of the most popular Republicans among the thousands who gathered at Miami Beach in August was Dr. Max Rafferty, the Republican nominee for the Senate who defeated Kuchel in the California primary in May.

One of Rafferty's campaign speeches was entitled "Americans: Not Guilty!" It is becoming a mild sensation among conservatives all over the nation. In his colorful language, Rafferty says just what many of us have been thinking, but could not express so well.

You can order copies of this speech to distribute at the following prices: 1 copy 50c; 3 copies \$1; 25 copies \$5; 100 copies \$15. This is a beautiful printing job and we guarantee you will be pleased. Send your order to Rafferty Committee, 924 East Belmont, Fresno, California 93701.



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