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The "Lunatic Fringe"

-- Barry Goldwater and the Conservative Revolution of the 1960s --

Nicholas Laurence Bromley

Honors Thesis
Department of Government
Colby College

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“Well, we’ll just see about that.”

-- F. Clifton White --

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During the waning years of the Eisenhower administration, the President wrote a letter to his brother, Edgar, in which he presented a portrait of how he viewed the present state of American society. A Republican, Eisenhower extolled the virtues of a moderate and central government whose role in society was decidedly limited. He wrote of the merits of the private sector, as well as the need to contain Communism aggressively in order to prevent its spread. However, Eisenhower also wrote of the New Deal reforms and the necessity of their “preservation.”¹ While he was not necessarily keen on expanding the role of the welfare state, Eisenhower nonetheless saw the inextricable link between society and government programs such as welfare and social security. And he warned that should any political party “attempt to abolish [these programs], you would not hear of that party again in our political history.”² He closed by deriding the “tiny splinter group” of reactionary conservatives who wished to abolish the New Deal reforms and propel the country back into the Gilded Age, the era prior to Franklin D. Roosevelt and the great societal reforms.³ “Their number is negligible,” Eisenhower scoffed, “...and they are stupid.”⁴

Several years later, in 1962, California would witness a particularly impassioned battle for the Republican nomination for Governor between its “favorite son,” former Vice President Richard Nixon, and a political newcomer, staunch conservative Joseph Shell.⁵ Shell was a member of the extreme right-wing organization known as the John Birch Society, a group that advocated, among other similarly reactionary proposals, the complete revocation of the New Deal reforms.

¹ Dwight D. Eisenhower. Letter to Edgar N. Eisenhower. 8 Nov. 1954. The Presidential Papers of Dwight Eisenhower. Dwight D. Eisenhower Memorial Commission. <<http://eisenhowermemorial.org/presidential%2Dpapers/first%2Dterm/documents/1147.cfm>>

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Mary C. Brennan. *Turning Right in the Sixties: The Conservative Capture of the GOP*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995. p.54.

Although Nixon would eventually win the primary by a comfortable margin, he was irked by the growth of what he referred to as the “lunatic fringe” within the Republican Party, and vowed to eradicate the “anchor of the reactionary right” before it inflicted permanent damage.⁶

The group Eisenhower and Nixon admonished was a series of thinkers and ideologists I refer to as Movement Conservatives. In a way, they were not truly ideological conservatives -- and certainly not Republican -- in that they did not wish to preserve the status quo. Typical Republican leaders of the 1950s, such as Eisenhower, Nixon, and Nelson Rockefeller, wholly accepted the New Deal reforms and embraced, albeit at times grudgingly, their ingrained role in society. Instead, Movement Conservatives wished not only to curb the growth of government programs, but even more to eliminate them entirely. As late as the 1960s, this meager band found its nucleus in publications such as William F. Buckley's *National Review*, and, to a smaller extent, radical organizations like the John Birch Society. But for all intents and purposes, Movement Conservatism was merely a pipe dream; the liberal dominance was so great, and the conservative influence so discredited, that a return to the pre-New Deal order seemed unfeasible.

On July 22nd, 2009, Deirdre Scozzafava was nominated by the New York State Republican Committee to assume the 23rd congressional district seat vacated by John M. McHugh, who resigned after having accepted the position of Secretary of the Army. Scozzafava, however, angered conservatives within the GOP for what they perceived to be her overly liberal platform. As the election neared, a slew of party heavyweights including the former governor of Alaska Sarah Palin made national headlines by endorsing Conservative Party candidate Doug Hoffman. Pressured by slipping poll numbers and a Republican Party increasingly hostile towards her moderate platform, Scozzafava withdrew from the race three days prior to the election. The Democratic candidate, Bill Owens, would ultimately triumph, marking the first time in a century that a Republican

⁶ Ibid. pp.54-55.

failed to represent New York's 23rd congressional district.⁷ In the aftermath of what had become an embarrassing episode for the GOP, the Republican National Committee unanimously petitioned its chairman, Michael Steele, to adopt a "litmus test" of conservative values through which future candidates hoping to run under the party line would be evaluated.⁸

My question is a simple one. What happened? How did conservatives, who had become effectively ostracized by their party following the Great Depression and the societal reforms of the New Deal, regain leverage within the GOP? My hypothesis is two-fold. First, I contend that a small group of conservative activists led by F. Clifton White, in spite of a dearth of resources and manpower, managed to infiltrate Republican infrastructure and "hijack" the delegate-selection process. The distinctly conservative and recalcitrant disposition of the Goldwater delegates demonstrates that these activists succeeded. Second, I argue that in addition to temporarily overpowering the national convention in 1964, conservatives thereafter retained control of the party insofar as subsequent GOP candidates were obliged to garner the support of conservative pockets of the country in order to win the presidential nomination. The resulting rightward shift of the Republican Party following the 1960s is a direct corollary of the conservative takeover outlined in this study.

My argument is divided into six sections. I begin with a qualitative analysis of the various factions comprising the Republican Party in an effort to distinguish Movement Conservatives from their left-leaning counterparts. The following chapter will examine to what extent leaders and followers within the GOP differed on the issues. I intend to prove that while midcentury Republican voters had become nearly as liberal as Democrats, Republican leaders (county chairmen, delegates, etc.) remained conservative. Armed with this understanding, we can better appreciate why the conservative movement was able to gain momentum.

⁷ *New York Times*, "Upstate Republican, Pushed Out, Backs Democratic Rival." November 1st, 2009.

⁸ *Washington Times*, "GOP Leaders Adopt Litmus Test of Values for Candidates." Jan. 30th, 2010.

Next, I will determine what it meant to be “in control” of the Republican Party in 1964, a status I argue was contingent on controlling the delegate-selection process. Given the decentralized nature of these processes, particularly with respect to the GOP, party leaders only attempted to influence the largest counties, or, in other words, those regions that lay claim to the most delegates. The ensuing chapter posits that conservative activists were able to flood precinct caucuses in counties spurned by the party establishment in rural regions. Additionally, in spite of limited resources and manpower, conservatives managed to exploit loopholes in hardened party infrastructure and essentially “hijack” the delegate-selection process.

By controlling this machinery, conservatives succeeded in nominating staunch conservative Barry Goldwater for President in 1964, despite the fact that Goldwater’s ideology stood contrary to what the GOP had up until then embodied. With an understanding of how conservatives captured the nomination process, we will next examine the delegates themselves. I argue that the highly conservative nature of the delegates at the 1964 Republican National Convention lends credence to my claim that activists took control of the party between 1962 and 1964. Finally, I conclude by noting that while Goldwater would lose by an ignominious margin to the incumbent, Lyndon Johnson, conservatives would nevertheless retain control of the party. This was attributable to external factors, including national delegate-selection rules that favored regions that conservatives had infiltrated, and, most importantly, due to the nature by which conservatives initially gained control.

From 1936 until 1964, the Republican Party refrained from directly challenging the societal welfare reforms of the New Deal. While in 1934 the party had demonized Roosevelt's alphabet soup programs as “socialist,” and “un-American,” they became the first party since 1866 that failed to bolster its congressional strength in a succeeding midterm election after having lost the presidency.¹ As a result, the so-called “party of Hoover” attempted to move toward the center, away from the policies and ideologies that had been so thoroughly discredited with the Great Depression. In 1936, for instance, desperately trying to emphasize their newfound progressive policies, Republicans nominated Alf Landon of Kansas to challenge the incumbent, Franklin D. Roosevelt.² But unlike his counterparts of only several years prior, Landon endeavored to latch himself onto the momentum of the New Deal reforms. “As civilization becomes more complex,” he declared in a speech, “government must increase.”³ Republicans pledged to protect the rights of collective bargaining, and even endorsed state minimum wage laws.⁴

The Eastern Establishment

By the time Dwight Eisenhower entered office in 1952, due predominantly to his personal reputation rather than to his political affiliation, the Republican Party was a vastly different organization. It was dominated by left-leaning politicians such as Nelson Rockefeller, George Romney, Richard Nixon, Thomas E. Dewey, and Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., most of whom hailed from the Northeast. This core group of left-leaning leaders and organizers, known as the “Eastern Estab-

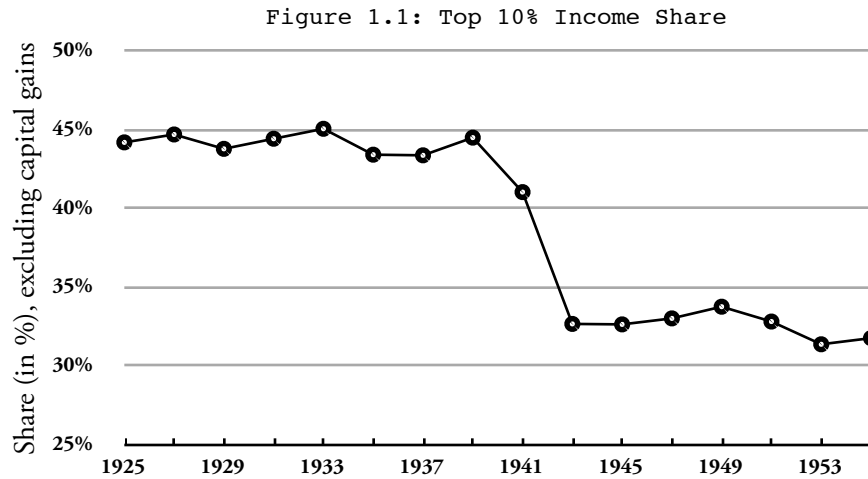
¹ Frank Annunziata. “The Revolt against the Welfare State: Goldwater Conservatism and the Election of 1964.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, vol. 10, no. 2 (1980): p.254.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

lishment,” firmly held control of the party machinery. Like Landon in 1936, and later Wendell Willkie in 1940, they understood that New Deal programs like social security and welfare had become so engrained in society that to advocate their elimination would spell out certain disaster for the party. In essence, a consensus had grown among the Establishment that government was no longer best when it governed least. The income tax, which the party had vilified only twenty years prior, steadily rose with the tacit blessing of Republicans throughout the Truman administration. And as a result, the income share of the top 1% of Americans steadily declined, as depicted by Figure 1.1.



source: Piketty and Saez, “Inequality in the United States,” pp.8-11.

Perhaps most telling, in 1952 Eisenhower *raised* the top marginal tax rate from 91% to 92%.⁵ While not publicly trumpeting the federal government’s new, proactive mantle within society, Eisenhower and mainstream Republicans nevertheless tacitly acknowledged the necessity of their preservation. “We cannot afford to reduce taxes, [and] reduce income,” Eisenhower once stated, “until we have in sight a program of expenditure that shows that the factors of income

⁵ Thomas Piketty and Emmanuel Saez. “Inequality in the United States, 1913-1998.” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. 118, no. 1 (2003): pp.1-39.

and outgo will be balanced.”⁶ In short, it would be naïve to say that Republicans came to embrace federal programs like social security and welfare. Rather, they grudgingly accepted them as a matter of political necessity.

A testament to eastern influence can be found within perennial presidential candidate and governor of New York, Nelson Rockefeller. Reflecting his pragmatic, realistic approach to governing, Rockefeller personified much of what the party had grown to become. As Robert Connery and Gerald Benjamin noted:

Rockefeller was not committed to any ideology. Rather, he considered himself a practical problem solver, much more interested in defining problems and finding solutions around which he could unite support sufficient to ensure their enactment in legislation than in following either a strictly liberal or strictly conservative course. Rockefeller’s programs did not consistently follow either liberal or conservative ideology.⁷

Rockefeller expanded New York’s infrastructure, increased spending on education (including a significant enlargement to the State University system), and increased funding toward environmental causes. He raised taxes eight times, increased the state’s budget from \$2.04 billion to \$8.8 billion, and even maintained healthy relationships with unions.⁸ But in spite of his liberal stance on many issues, he remained a perennial candidate for the Republican nomination for president, coming within a hair of winning in both 1960 and 1964. In the end, his downfall was not his liberal agenda but rather a convoluted personal life, most notably his messy divorce from his first wife, followed by the sudden marriage to Margaretta “Happy” Murphy, a divorcee with four children.⁹

In terms of foreign policy, Rockefeller and the liberal wing of the Republican Party were vigilant Anti-Communists. Although they generally tried to curb the growth of social spending,

⁶ David Frum. *How We Got Here: The 70s-- The Decade that Brought You Modern Life-- For Better or Worse*. New York: Basic Books, 1999. p.296.

⁷ Robert H. Connery and Gerald Benjamin. *Rockefeller of New York: Executive Power in the Statehouse*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979. p.424.

⁸ Ibid. p.189.

⁹ Frum, *How We Got Here*, pp.58-59.

these Republicans fell in line with their counterparts in the Democratic Party insofar as they were willing to increase the federal defense budget significantly in order to combat Communism. Rockefeller and his fellow moderates would later become firm advocates of the Vietnam War, and maintained aggressive containment stances against the Russians on a macro level.

Liberal Republicans were firmly committed to federal civil rights legislation, as evidenced by the roll call data for the Civil Rights Act of 1957 depicted in Table 1.1. The GOP overwhelmingly supported the measure by margins of 90% and 100% in the House and Senate, respectively. Ninety-five percent of Northeastern representatives voted for the bill.¹⁰ Although the legislation was fatally diluted due to, ironically, then Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, who was forced to abandon key provisions in order to gain the support of enough Southerners in his caucus, the Civil Rights Act of 1957 was nonetheless a major victory for President Eisenhower and the Eastern Establishment.

Table 1.1: 1957 Civil Rights Act Roll Call

<i>House of Rep.</i>	<i>Aye</i>	<i>Nay</i>
Democrat	118	107
Republican	167	19
<i>Senate</i>		
Democrat	29	18
Republican	43	0

Source: Stern, "Party Alignments and Civil Rights: Then and Now," p.414.

The fact that a politician such as Nelson Rockefeller could rise to become counted among the elites of the Republican Party was a testament to the overall indifference towards political parties in the United States at the time. This was an era when the terms "liberal" and "conservative" were not synonymous with Democrat and Republican, as they tend to be today. Table 1.2 presents data from the 70th, 85th, and 108th congresses compiled by the Russell Sage Foundation. They essentially are an intuitive technique to "rank" members of congress along the left-right

¹⁰ Civic Impulse, LLC. "Tracking the U.S. Congress." GovTrack. <<http://www.govtrack.us>> (accessed March 29, 2010).

spectrum based upon the legislation they voted for or against. “Minority Overlap” is an assessment developed by Keith Poole and Howard Rosenthal that analyzes the number of Democrats to the right of the left-most Republican (when Republicans controlled Congress) or the number of Republicans to the left of the right-most Democrat (when Democrats controlled Congress). Prior to the New Deal, members of Congress were polarized along party lines, much like they are today. But this was not the case during the 1950s.

Table 1.2: Similarity Between the Parties

<i>Congress</i>	<i>Minority Party Overlap</i>
70 th (1927–1928)	2
85 th (1957–1958)	112
108 th (2003–2004)	0

Source: Poole and Rosenthal, “A Political-Economic History of Roll Call Voting,” pp.5-29.

As we can see, the 70th Congress of 1927-29 reflected the polarized nature of the parties, while the 85th Congress during the Eisenhower administration demonstrated the decidedly loose connection between political ideology and party affiliation. These data are a direct representation of the effect that Rockefeller-breed Republicans had on the party during this time. In fact, the 1960 Republican National Platform sounded strikingly similar to that of their Democratic counterparts:

Republicans believe in a central government vigilantly alert to the needs of the people and strong enough to defend the people, to help keep the economy in balance and to make certain that life of dignity is within the reach of every American... The Republican Party stands for a strong responsive Federal Government opening and advancing economic opportunity for the American people... rising its strength to ward off inflation and depression... restraining and disciplining any who use their power against the common welfare regulating wisely when the national interest demands it.¹¹

In reality, there were few differences between Rockefeller Republicans and most centrist Democrats. Compared with today’s Republican Party -- or even that of the 1980s, for that matter -- Nelson Rockefeller could have come across as an ardent socialist. “The only justification for

¹¹ Annunziata, “The Revolt Against the Welfare State,” pp.256-257.

ownership,” he once remarked, “is that it serves the broad interests of the people. We must recognize the social responsibilities of corporations and the corporation must use its ownership of assets to reflect the best interests of the people.”¹² And perhaps reflecting this hazy divide between parties and political ideology, when both Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy first ran for Congress in 1946, the former ran as a “practical liberal,” and the latter as a “fighting conservative.”¹³ As the major parties’ domestic policies differed marginally at best, both Democrats and Republicans attempted to differentiate themselves by dueling over who was the “toughest” on Communism.

The Taft “Old Guard” Conservatives

The rise of the conservative movement in the 1960s had its roots three decades prior to the Goldwater campaign. It drew upon 19th century “robber baron” industrialism, essentially an unbridled defense of laissez-faire capitalism. Conservatives such as these thoroughly rejected the New Deal reforms, but these “malefactors of great wealth,” as Franklin Roosevelt demonized them, were suppressed after the Great Depression and the advent of programs like social security and welfare.¹⁴

While classical liberal ideology all but disappeared in American politics after the Great Depression, there remained a core group of vocal -- albeit small -- advocates of 19th century laissez-faire capitalism. Their standard-bearer was an Ohio U.S. Senator named Robert Taft, who entered the Senate in 1939 and quickly grew to become the leading critic among Republicans towards the Roosevelt Administration and the New Deal.

“Mr. Republican,” as he was referred to by his colleagues, was incensed by what he saw as the usurpation of American values by the hostile federal government.¹⁵ To him, the greatest dan-

¹² Rick Perlstein. *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus*. 2001. Reprint, New York: Nation Books, 2009. p.55.

¹³ Ibid. p.74.

¹⁴ Dan T. Carter. “The Rise of Conservatism since World War II.” *Magazine of History*, vol. 17, no. 2 (2003): p.11.

¹⁵ Geoffrey Matthews. “Robert A. Taft, The Constitution and American Foreign Policy, 1939-53.” *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 17, no. 3 (1982): p.508.

gers facing the United States were exclusively domestic. Taft saw the New Deal as having drawn Americans away from traditional values and towards a threatening, collectivist future. Echoing the isolationists of the 19th century, Taft saw no need to waste America's resources meddling in the affairs of Europeans. He feared the Second World War, not due to the rise of totalitarian regimes in Europe, but because of the implications of America's entrance into the war on civil liberties. He worried that by requiring the private sector to contribute towards the war effort, "there would be an immediate demand for arbitrary power, unlimited control of wages, prices, and agriculture, and complete confiscation of private property. We would be bound to go far towards totalitarianism. It is doubtful we would ever return."¹⁶

In the Senate, Taft became the leader of the small conservative coalition, and promptly became an influential figure on the debate floor. As he grew increasingly opposed to the steady expansion of the federal government, he conducted a series of unsuccessful attempts to win the Republican nomination for President. In 1948, while receiving significant support from the more conservative delegates, he ultimately lost to Thomas E. Dewey, the de facto leader of the "Eastern Establishment."¹⁷ The 1952 convention witnessed the Taft coalition's greatest chance at victory. With Dewey now out of the picture, Taft was easily the most prominent and experienced politician in the field.

But as demonstrated by Table 1.3, the delegates ultimately flocked to Eisenhower in spite of his dearth of political experience. As I will argue in the following chapters, the Taft candidacy was a testament to the rather paradoxical fact that while the Eastern Establishment for all intents and purposes controlled the party machinery, the individual delegates themselves remained far more conservative. It was a matter of political necessity that impelled them to compromise and nominate a moderate like Dewey, Eisenhower, or Nixon, as opposed to someone such as Taft,

¹⁶ Ibid. p.510.

¹⁷ Ibid. p.511.

who was more congruent with their ideologies. The fact that the Ohio senator nearly won the nomination in 1952 demonstrates that while the GOP overall had become more liberal, many party leaders on a micro level remained ideologically conservative.¹⁸

Table 1.3: Presidential Balloting, RNC 1952

<i>Contender</i>	<i>1st Ballot</i>	<i>2nd Ballot</i>
Dwight Eisenhower	595	845
Robert Taft	500	280
Earl Warren	81	77
Harold Stassen	20	0
Douglas MacArthur	10	4

Source: Source: Bain and Parris, *Convention Decisions and Voting Records*.

In short, the Taft conservatives who remained in office were the last remnants of the pre-New Deal industrialist mentality. While privately revered among the party establishment for their unwavering convictions, they were a toxic brand. Taft and his followers represented an era since passed, and party leaders were forced to nominate candidates who could resonate with the far more liberal electorate.

Movement Conservatism

The Movement Conservatives, on whom this paper focuses, were essentially a synthesis of the Eastern Establishment and Taft Conservatives. This special breed had its roots in two distinct impulses. The first, like the Taft Republicans, was an unambiguous defense of pre-New Deal-style laissez-faire capitalism, and, moreover, a voracious objection to federal welfare services. The graduated income tax, as well as programs like social security and welfare, they argued, undermined American values by thwarting wealth-producing entrepreneurship with crippling taxes and burdensome red tape. In economic matters, Movement Conservatives clearly fell in line with Taft Republicans. Barry Goldwater, who would become the de facto leader of this unique band of conservatives, echoed Taft's concerns:

¹⁸ Frank Munger and James Blackhurst. "Factionalism in the National Convention, 1940-1964: An Analysis of Ideological Consistency in State Delegation Voting." *Journal of Politics*, vol. 27, no. 2 (1965): pp.375-394.

It is equally disillusioning to see the Republican Party plunging headlong into the dismal state experienced by the traditional Democratic principles of Jefferson and Jackson during the days of the New Deal and Fair Deal. As a result of those economical and political misadventures, that great party has now lost its soul of freedom; its spokesmen are peddlers of the philosophy that the Constitution is outmoded, that states' rights are void, and that the only hope for the future of the United States is for our people to be federally born, federally housed, federally clothed, federally supported in their occupations and to be buried in a federal box in a federal cemetery.¹⁹

These conservatives felt that federal aid to education was unconstitutional, that all incomes should be taxed at the same rate, and that social security should be voluntary. Such programs, Goldwater wrote, debased "the individual from a dignified, industrious self-reliant spiritual being into a dependent animal creature without his knowing it. There is no avoiding this damage to character under the welfare state."²⁰ Goldwater implored Americans to return to the capitalist system that had defined the nation prior to the New Deal, "as it was written one hundred and eighty years ago, not as it is being interpreted today."²¹ Movement Conservatives bemoaned the liberal wing of the Republican Party -- the so-called Eastern Establishment -- claiming that there was nothing conservative about conservative liberalism; at the end of the day it was still liberalism and had neither the intellect nor the will to combat Marxism.²² When Goldwater was questioned as to what "kind" of Republican he was, he responded: "Well, I am not a me-too Republican... I am a Republican opposed to the superstate and to gigantic bureaucratic, centralized authority."²³

The second impulse vastly differentiated Movement Conservatives from Taft conservatives. Unlike Taft, who was entirely uninterested in foreign affairs, Movement Conservatives feared the spread of Communism abroad, and demanded that the United States assume a proactive stance to contain it. It was through Anti-Communist rhetoric that these conservatives were

¹⁹ Annunziata, "The Revolt Against the Welfare State," p.256.

²⁰ Barry Goldwater. *The Conscience of a Conservative*. Shepherdsville: Victor Publishing, 1960. p.66.

²¹ Annunziata, "The Revolt Against the Welfare State," p.258.

²² David W. Noble "Conservatism in the USA." *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 13, no. 4 (1978): p.641.

²³ Annunziata, "The Revolt Against the Welfare State," p.255.

able to ultimately achieve their political clout. “Because Joe McCarthy lived,” Goldwater once remarked, “we are a safer, freer, more vigilant nation.”²⁴ While Taft conservatives were certainly vehement Anti-Communists, they focused their ire on domestic affairs, advocating 19th century style “fortress America” isolation. Goldwater and the Movement Conservatives, however, championed a hard-line, militant offensive strategy:

Either the Communists will retain the offensive... will lay down one challenge after another; and will force us, ultimately, to surrender or accept war under the most disadvantageous circumstances. Or we will summon the will and means for taking the initiative, and wage a war of attrition against them -- and hope, thereby, to bring about the international disintegration of the Communist empire... [This] runs the risk of war, and holds forth the promise of victory.²⁵

...We cannot, for that reason, make the avoidance of a shooting war our chief objective. If we do that, we are committed to a course that has only one terminal point: surrender.²⁶

Essentially, Goldwater and Movement Conservatives attempted to link the welfare state with fears of international Communism. This warning fell upon particularly receptive ears in the late 1950s and early 1960s as the Soviet Union emerged as a nuclear super power. The launch of *Sputnik* in October 1957, coupled with Stalin’s suppression of democratic movements in Eastern Europe and Mao Tse Tung’s revolution in China, stunned and alarmed Americans. The prior revelations that American citizens had passed on defense secrets to the Russians only exacerbated these fears.²⁷

What set this particular wave apart from prior iterations of conservatives was the intellectual foundation upon which it was based. Gone were the oil barons and railroad tycoons whose chief concern of padding their trusts and crushing unions resonated weakly with an unsympathetic electorate. For these individuals, Robert Taft remained perhaps their sole standard-bearer

²⁴ Ibid. p.256.

²⁵ Goldwater, *Conscience of a Conservative*, pp.119-120.

²⁶ Ibid. pp.85-86.

²⁷ Carter, “The Rise of Conservatism Since WWII,” p.12.

in post-New Deal society. Instead, Movement Conservatives focused on establishing and refining an intellectual canon from which they could justify their goals. The crucial element was the emergence of a host of grassroots intellectual organizations -- independent of the Republican Party -- that espoused this new philosophy. This initial crop of young thinkers included minds such as William F. Buckley Jr., Milton Friedman, Friedrich Hayek, Irving Kristol, and Leo Strauss. The Austrian-born Hayek embodied their philosophy, arguing that the “flaws” of “Rooseveltian” liberalism went far deeper than the potential for Communist subversion. In his view, there was a philosophical similitude between any “collectivist” movement (like the New Deal) and European-style totalitarianism.²⁸ As he argued in his book, *The Road to Serfdom*, any attempt to control the freedom of individuals would invariably lead to a despotic society comprised of oligarchs and, aptly, serfdom.²⁹

Perhaps most critical in manufacturing this intellectual veneer was William F. Buckley and the *National Review*. Founded in 1964 and bankrolled primarily by Buckley’s father and wealthy businessmen, the magazine catapulted to the forefront of the conservative movement and soon became the de facto publication through which aspiring conservative politicians were judged. It is difficult to overstate the significance of the *National Review*. Prior to its founding, the American Right was essentially an unorganized scattering of individuals who shared interweaving philosophies, most of whom were young and, differentiating themselves from Taft conservatives, advocated the containment of Communism abroad.³⁰ Additionally, Buckley and the *National Review* helped placate the skepticism that this new intellectual right was merely another iteration of the forgotten conservative fringe.³¹

The liberal wing of the Republican Party -- and to a large extent the country as a whole -- refused to take conservatives seriously, arguing that New Deal-style liberalism was the only ac-

²⁸ Friedrich Hayek. *The Road to Serfdom*. 1944. Reprint, New York: Routledge, 2006. pp.59-74.

²⁹ Carter, “The Rise of Conservatism Since WWII,” p.12.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Noble, “Conservatism in the USA,” p.647.

ceptable American tradition. Conservatives like Buckley throughout the 1950s were, often unfairly, bunched together with extremists like Robert Welch of the John Birch Society, a borderline fascist organization that venerated McCarthyism, and once referred to Dwight Eisenhower as a “dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy.”³² The *National Review*, led by Buckley, attempted to distance itself from radicals who up until that point had been associated with the conservative brand. Buckley, while unhappy with what he perceived as an overly liberal Eisenhower administration, eventually denounced Welch’s claim and the organization itself. In so doing, the *National Review* was able to help cement the fragile alliance between traditional Taft libertarians and this newer crop of intellectual conservatives.

The Suite 3505 Committee -- later rebranded the Draft Goldwater organization -- was an indispensable tool for Movement Conservatives. Headed primarily by F. Clifton White and William Rusher, the Suite 3505 Committee possessed thousands of contacts within the fractured conservative community and, as will be elaborated on in ensuing chapters, succeeded in organizing the countless grassroots organizations and activists that had emerged throughout the late 1950s and 1960s.

In order to operationalize a Movement Conservative, it is important to define a distinct set of parameters to distinguish them from liberals, the bloc that dominated the GOP prior to 1964. First, conservatives of this stock must maintain an economic philosophy along the lines of Robert Taft, or, in other words, advocate the federal government playing a limited role in the marketplace. This view includes an unambiguous defense of laissez-faire capitalism, and the thorough rejection of New Deal programs à la Herbert Hoover. As William G. Carleton wrote:

In short, in the nineteenth century, government measures were largely concerned with putting the entrepreneurs in contact with the sources of wealth; but in the twentieth century, government measure are designed to... also give the non-entrepreneurial classes larger access to America’s economic abundance. However,

³² Carter, *The Politics of Rage*, p.296.

our new “conservatives” continue to think of free enterprise, including government aid to business, as an entrepreneurial preserve; they regard the new governmental intervention, to widen access of the non-entrepreneurial classes to American plenty, as a betrayal of free enterprise, as “socialism.”³³

Additionally, these conservatives were by and large ostracized from the Republican Party. While Movement Conservatives did not necessarily identify themselves as Republicans, they nevertheless regarded the GOP as the most effective vehicle through which to attain political clout. Movement Conservatism was thus largely divorced from the party establishment and forced to rely on grassroots efforts to achieve its goals.

It is important to identify a significant issue that represents a clear divide between liberals and Movement Conservatives. For the purposes of this paper, civil rights legislation will assume this role. Stemming from the conservative conviction that the federal government should cede most of its authority to the states, civil rights stands as an excellent cleavage point within the GOP. Because the takeover was not precipitous, but, rather, occurring subtly over the course of several years, a correspondingly conservative voting record with respect to civil rights should be evident in those regions infiltrated by conservatives.

³³ William G. Carleton “The Conservative Myth.” *Antioch Review*, vol. 27, no. 3 (1967): p.390.

The first chapter detailed the three prevailing Republican ideologies of post-New Deal America, as well as an operationalized definition of Movement Conservatism. In this section, I will briefly move away from specific accomplishments of the conservative movement to focus on the American electorate on the eve of the 1964 Republican National Convention. Whereas the ideological orientations of Movement Conservatives are relatively straightforward to categorize, the entire American voting population at the time is an entirely different beast.

It is my goal to illustrate that the American people as a whole in 1964, while certainly diverse and heterogeneous in terms of their political attitudes, nevertheless remained fairly indifferent towards the ideological distinctions among the political parties. As I briefly touched on in the preceding chapter, Republicans and Democrats were not synonymous with liberals and conservatives, as they tend to be today. Rather, proponents of every point along the ideological spectrum were equally represented in both parties. The electorate as a whole was moderate, slightly left-of-center, and by and large maintained concordant stances on the issues. Armed with this quantified understanding of the American electorate prior to 1964 and the Goldwater campaign, we can more firmly appreciate and measure the dramatic ideological shift that occurred in the ensuing decade, predominantly, I will argue in the following chapters, due to Goldwater and the Movement Conservatives.

Party Theory

To begin, it is important to lay out what I argue was the conventional understanding behind political parties prior to the 1964 presidential election. During the 1950s, political parties -- Re-

publicans in particular -- could be regarded as fractured and weak, essentially a loose confederation of local bodies coalesced at the national level, united more by superficial namesake rather than common principles. Parties during this time were largely devoid of ideology, and tended not to take stances as a unified body. As the chief goal for any party is to win elections, party leaders attempted to reach out to as many voters as possible. The notion was that because national parties were so large, they simply could not afford to espouse a singularly narrow ideology for risk of alienating large portions of the electorate.¹

Take, for instance, the 1932 election, during which Franklin Roosevelt took on the embattled incumbent, Herbert Hoover. This was a year in which unemployment stood at 23.6%, bank accounts were utterly decimated, and the country as a whole stood at the brink of financial ruin.² FDR ran on a platform of immediate and decisive action in an attempt to stimulate job creation, a “New Deal” for the public at large. Hoover, however, refused to address the dearth of problems facing the nation actively, consistently claiming that “the worst was over,” despite the fact that the economy continued to plunge. In the end, President Hoover and the Republican Party refused to acknowledge a rapidly shifting political climate, continuing to endorse policies that appealed to a negligible minority, while utterly estranging the vast majority of Americans whom such policies had adversely affected.

As a distinct minority of Americans considered themselves either “strongly Democratic” or “strongly Republican,” simply speaking, the victorious party was the one that most successfully attracted votes from the centrist and moderate blocs of the electorate, a segment that more often than not was turned off by zealots in either party. Therefore, it is assumed, the two parties would ultimately converge to the center in a brutal fight to wrangle voters into their ranks.³

¹ Vladimir Orlando Key Jr. “A Theory of Critical Elections.” *Journal of Politics*, vol. 17, no. 1 (1955): pp.3-18.

² Thomas Piketty and Emmanuel Saez. “Inequality in the United States, 1913-1998.” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. 118, no. 1 (2003): pp.1-39.

³ Herbert McClosky, Paul J. Hoffmann, and Rosemary O’Hara. “Issue Conflict and Consensus Among Party Leaders and Followers.” *American Political Science Review*, vol. 54, no. 2 (1960): pp.406-407.

To begin, I will invoke data from Herbert McClosky, Paul J. Hoffmann, and Rosemary O'Hara's landmark 1960 paper, "Issue Conflict and Consensus Among Party Leaders and Followers."⁴ In short, the authors circulated a series of questionnaires to party leaders and followers covering a wide-range of issues facing the nation between 1957 and 1958. For leaders, the authors turned to both the Democratic and Republican national conventions, as they were comprised of party activists from every part of the United States. Respondents ranged from governors, senators, national committeemen, as well as more local representatives such as precinct workers and local county officials. The follower data are comprised of rank and file members of both parties, compiled with assistance of the American Institute of Public Opinion and Gallup in January 1958.⁵ Altogether, 1,788 Democrats and 1,232 Republicans party leaders filled out the questionnaire and were included in the data.⁶

McClosky and his colleagues were primarily interested in understanding how closely each body of followers correlated ideologically with party leaders. Their hypothesis was, in short, adhering to accepted doctrine, that party affiliation is a function of ideological agreement, or in other words, a demonstrated propensity for political parties to attract followers who generally share similar views. It is difficult to overstate the degree to which their 1957 data contradicted this prevailing theory. The extensive data from their study indicate that, on the whole, the views of Republican rank and file were largely congruent with those of their Democratic counterparts and, moreover, far closer to Democratic leaders overall than Republican.

Table 2.1 provides a selection of questions from the original study, comprised of both "leader" and "follower" data from the two major parties. For leaders, McClosky et. al turned to

⁴ Ibid. pp.406-427.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid. p.408.

Republican and Democratic national conventions, which offered the broadest cross-section of ideological ascendancy within the leadership of both parties.

Table 2.1 : Comparison of Party Leaders and Followers

	<i>Leaders</i>		<i>Followers</i>	
	<i>Democrat</i>	<i>Republican</i>	<i>Democrat</i>	<i>Republican</i>
<i>Public Ownership of Natural Resources</i>				
% Favoring: Increase	57.5%	12.9%	35.3%	31.1%
Decrease	18.6%	51.9%	15.0%	19.9%
Same	23.8%	35.2%	49.7%	49.0%
	---	---	---	---
Support Ratio	0.69	0.30	0.60	0.56
<i>Public Control of Atomic Energy</i>				
% Favoring: Increase	73.2%	45.0%	64.2%	59.4%
Decrease	7.2%	15.3%	7.1%	10.0%
Same	19.6%	39.7%	28.7%	30.6%
	---	---	---	---
Support Ratio	0.83	0.65	0.79	0.75
<i>Enforcement of Anti-Monopoly Laws</i>				
% Favoring: Increase	78.0%	44.9%	53.2%	51.0%
Decrease	2.9%	9.0%	7.9%	6.6%
Same	19.1%	46.1%	38.9%	42.4%
	---	---	---	---
Support Ratio	0.88	0.68	0.73	0.72
<i>Tax on Business</i>				
% Favoring: Increase	12.6%	1.0%	24.6%	15.9%
Decrease	38.3%	71.1%	24.1%	32.6%
Same	49.1%	27.8%	51.3%	51.5%
	---	---	---	---
Support Ratio	0.37	0.15	0.5	0.42
<i>Social Security Benefits</i>				
% Favoring: Increase	60.0%	22.5%	69.4%	57.0%
Decrease	3.9%	13.1%	3.0%	3.8%
Same	36.1%	64.4%	27.5%	39.2%
	---	---	---	---
Support Ratio	0.78	0.55	0.83	0.77

Source: McClosky, Hoffmann, and O'Hara, "Issue Conflict and Consensus."

Overall, the data paint a portrait of substantial consensus between Democratic leaders and both Democratic and Republican followers, while Republican leaders were often polarized not just from Democrats, but from their own followers as well. In the words of the authors:

In short, whereas Republican leaders hold to the tenets of business ideology and remain faithful to the spirit and intellectual mood of leaders like Robert A. Taft, the rank and file Republican supporters have embraced, along with their Democratic brethren, the regulatory and social reform measures of the Roosevelt and

Truman administrations... the Democrats also enjoy the advantages over their opponents of holding views that are more widely shared throughout the country.⁷

The data reveal the surprising fact that all followers, regardless of party affiliation, were more ideologically congruent with Democratic leaders. Of the twenty-three policy issues that McClosky et. al addressed, Democratic followers differed markedly from their leaders on twelve, while Republican leaders and their followers disagreed on eighteen. Yet perhaps most importantly, Democratic leaders and Republican followers differed significantly on only eleven issues.

Table 2.2: Avg. Difference in Support Ratio Between Leaders/Followers

<i>Issues</i>	<i>Democratic Leaders vs. Republican Followers</i>	<i>Republican Leaders vs. Republican Followers</i>	<i>Democratic Followers vs. Republican Followers</i>
Public Ownership of Resources	.10	.18	.04
Government Regulation of Economy	.12	.10	.06
Equalitarianism, Human Welfare	.06	.21	.05
Tax Policy	.04	.20	.06
Foreign Policy	.07	.08	.02
	---	---	---
Avg. Difference in Support Ratio:	.08	.15	.04

Source: McClosky, Hoffmann, and O'Hara, "Issue Conflict and Consensus," p.410.

The data revealed in Table 2.2 further reinforce this claim. The statistic presented, difference in support ratio, calculates how homologous the views between varying groups were. A difference closer to zero signifies near or complete support, while progressively higher values indicate the reverse.⁸ The data reaffirm the remarkable fact that Republican followers were more ideologically in alignment with Democratic leaders than their own. In each of the five issues portrayed above, Republican followers were more inclined to support the Democratic position.

In sum, we can derive three key conclusions regarding the United States' two major political parties prior to 1964. First, the leaderships of both parties unsurprisingly demonstrated propensities for diverging most significantly among ideological issues that have historically defined party platforms. Democratic leaders, for instance, displayed the stronger urge to advocate

⁷ Ibid. p.408.

⁸ Ibid. p.409.

policies that elevated the lower and working classes, as well as social policies like welfare, a high minimum wage, and social security. The Republican leadership, on the other hand, was far less critical of wealth and business, advocating free-market policies, lower taxes, and an overall willingness to abide by Max Weber's "Protestant Work Ethic."

Second, while leaders of both parties conflicted sharply on many of the issues, their followers did so only moderately, and at times not at all. This is a particularly important finding for a number of reasons. On one hand it debased the prevailing belief that political parties attracted supporters with whom they were ideologically aligned. As it happened, Republican followers disagreed to a significant degree more with their own leaders than with those of the Democratic Party. This leads us to believe that followers, particularly Republicans, prior to 1964 chose to ignore these rather glaring dissimilarities and affiliate themselves politically based on namesake.

Finally, in spite of party leaders harboring such divergent views with respect to both themselves and their followers, they by and large did not *act* on them prior to 1964. While McClosky, Hoffmann, and O'Hara's data certainly indicate that leaders generally held vastly different outlooks on where the country should head, these standpoints rarely escaped the caucus and into the public sphere. In the words of the authors:

Finding that party leaders hold contrary beliefs does not prove that they act upon those beliefs or that the two parties are, in practice, governed by different outlooks... Until further inquiries are conducted, however, it seems reasonable to assume that the views held privately by party leaders can never be entirely suppressed but are bound to crop out in hundreds of large and small ways— in campaign speeches, discussions at party meetings, private communications to friends and sympathizers... If, in other words, the opinions of party leaders are as we have described them, there is every chance that they are expressed and acted upon to some extent.⁹

With this understanding of both the American electorate and party leadership, we can better appreciate the impact of the Goldwater campaign. As the authors alluded to, in spite of

⁹ Ibid. pp.426-427.

the Great Depression and the ensuing “Great Consensus” of the 1940s and 50s, the Republican Party leadership never truly followed along. While grudgingly nominating politicians like Nelson Rockefeller, Henry Cabot Lodge, and Dwight Eisenhower to the highest offices as a matter of political necessity, the GOP brass held their own private reservations regarding their party’s direction. Thus we see a second, more crucial divergence between the generally liberal “public face” of the GOP, and the party machinery itself. But shortly after 1960, when party leaders first laid eyes on Barry Goldwater, they saw with mouths watering a politician who not only espoused their own ideologies, but who could also potentially win an election.

The first goal of this study was to determine to what extent the Republican Party was in the stewardship of the Eastern Establishment prior to 1964. Thus far we have ascertained that under the auspices of Dwight Eisenhower, as well as prominent liberal politicians like Nelson Rockefeller, Wendell Willkie, and Thomas Dewey, the GOP had effectively evolved to the point where it was often indistinguishable from the Democratic Party. While prior to the Great Depression Republicans were opposed to nearly any attempt to expand the reach of the federal government, by the end of the Eisenhower Administration the GOP had become dominated by left-leaning politicians, many of whom were more liberal than the Democrats. In fact, the defining issue of the 1950s -- federal civil rights legislation -- came about only as a result of cooperation between progressives in both parties.

This analysis leads naturally to the question of how and why in 1964 the party of Rockefeller and Eisenhower suddenly nominated Barry Goldwater, a politician who in many ways was the antithesis of their brand. Although the answer is complex and in many cases unquantifiable, there remains a significant amount of data that can lead us to a broad understanding of *what* exactly happened, and at the very least offer a glimpse of *why* it occurred. We will begin by investigating the nuts and bolts of the Republican Party delegate-selection process during the lead-up to the 1964 election, and attempt to operationalize what it meant to be “in control” of the party. Armed with this insight, we can consult our definition of Movement Conservatism from Chapter One to determine to what extent this bloc infiltrated the Republican Party during the run-up to, as well as the aftermath of, the presidential election of 1964.

In 1983, John F. Bibby and Robert J. Huckshorn noted that “the conservative wing of the [GOP] demonstrated the permeability of the Republican nominating process.”¹ The process of which they spoke had been virtually unchanged since the turn of the century, and as a result, directly lent itself to “commandeering” by an organized and ruthless coalition.

It is important to note that the national conventions in both parties performed a far more critical role in the middle of the 20th century than they do today. In this day and age, conventions function more as a celebratory occasion for the nominee, who has not only been determined, but has also selected a running mate by the time the convention meets. In the 2008 election, for instance, the eventual Republican nominee, John McCain, had for all intents and purposes been chosen within weeks of the start of the primary season. Thus the convention for him represented a ceremony through which to showcase his running mate, Governor Sarah Palin of Alaska. But this role for conventions is a relatively recent phenomenon. For most of the United States’ history, national conventions have been defined more by intense quarreling and vote wrangling rather than by celebration.²

Until the nomination reforms of the 1976 Republican National Convention, most of the national delegates originated from local and state-wide conventions, not primaries. Therefore it was quite conceivable for the eventual nominee to have failed to receive a single primary vote. In 1964, for instance, Richard Nixon was widely considered a front runner for the Republican nomination, in spite of the fact that he had failed to enter a single primary. As we will touch upon later in this chapter, national conventions represented a large cross-section of the entire party. In attendance were left-leaning activists from the Northeast, as well as socially conservative

¹ John F. Bibby and Robert J. Huckshorn. “National Party Rules and Delegate Selection in the Republican Party.” *American Political Science Association*, vol. 16, no. 4 (1983): p.656.

² Ibid.

representatives from the South, among many others. As no one bloc was typically large enough to unilaterally muscle through its preferred candidate, this smorgasbord of coalitions was forced to come together and compromise. In the words of Aaron Wildavsky:

American national parties are loose federations of independent state parties, representing somewhat different combinations of ethnic, religious, sectional, economic, and other interests. What holds them together (particularly those who do not share the prevailing ideology) is the hope of forming a coalition sufficiently broad and inclusive to win the greatest office in the land -- the presidency. In order to accomplish this goal the parties seek to appeal to as many different people as possible. They must broaden their appeal even if this means neglecting some issues, watering down others, and reconciling divergent interests as best they can.³

Ordinarily, we expect both major parties to nominate candidates who possess the best possible chance of winning. He may not be the first choice of every delegate -- and he furthermore may not have been *anyone's* top choice -- but given the diverse, heterogeneous nature of the delegates, their eventual decision would theoretically be the most popular among the electorate as well. The same applies for running mates. Lyndon Johnson, for instance, who was decidedly disliked by the 1960 presidential nominee, John F. Kennedy, nonetheless was nominated in order to broaden the appeal ticket's appeal in the South.⁴

But who chooses the delegates? In 1964, only sixteen states held primaries, which meant that the vast majority of delegates arrived by means of state and county-wide conventions and caucuses.⁵ The formula for allocating delegates among the states was weighted in many ways to reflect the electoral college; each state was awarded six delegates at-large, in addition to three delegates per congressional district. But the formula also was devised to award specific pockets of party strength; for a state that allotted its electors to a Republican during the previous presiden-

³ Aaron Wildavsky. "The Goldwater Phenomenon: Purists, Politicians, and the Two-Party System." *The Review of Politics*, vol. 27, no. 3 (1965): p.390.

⁴ *Ibid.* p.387.

⁵ Patrick J. Kenney and Tom W. Rice. "The Relationship between Divisive Primaries and General Election Outcomes." *Midwest Political Science Association*, vol. 31, no. 1 (1987): p.36.

tial election, a bonus of 4 ½ delegates plus the number of delegates equal to 60% of that state's electoral vote was awarded.⁶

It is also important to note that the Republican National Convention reflected the GOP's historical view of government. Whereas the Democrats were moving towards a more centralized, nationally overseen delegate-selection process, Republicans maintained that states were sovereign entities, and thus those delegates whom they sent were entirely their prerogative.⁷ National rules, reflecting the party's confederate nature, were therefore lax, granting local bodies wide latitude in regards to how they chose their delegates.⁸ While Republican Party rules banned discrimination based on sex, race, religion, age, or national origin, and urged local bodies to "take positive action to achieve the broadest possible participation by everyone in party affairs," and "endeavor to have equal representation of men and women in its delegation," there existed no national review board to enforce these mandates.⁹

But perhaps the most crucial aspect of the Republican system was that there were no automatic delegates. Whereas Democrats reserved seats at their national convention for party leaders, such as governors, chairpersons, and other prominent figures, Republicans required all delegates -- no matter their stature -- to navigate the same channels as everyone else. As we examined earlier, elected leaders within the party (as well as voters) were by and large significantly more liberal than the delegates. As a result, there existed a possibility that the delegates could nominate a candidate who was more in line with their ideology, rather than those of the rank and file voters or the elected leaders.¹⁰

In sum, the GOP catered heavily to state and county-wide chapters. The party brass cared little in regards to *how* the delegates arrived at the convention, so long as they simply did. Once

⁶ Bibby and Huckshorn, "National Party Rules and Delegate Selection in the Republican Party," p.659.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid. p.660.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid. p.661.

they arrived, the national convention more often than not turned into a battle royale during which delegates representing a myriad of counties and supporting a myriad of candidates quarreled, compromised, came together, betrayed their allies, then did it all over again. As there had not been a sitting Republican president between 1932 and 1952, this twenty year period witnessed the GOP grinding away to unearth a candidate who could manage to compete against popular Democratic incumbents.¹¹

The Delegates

Who were the delegates? In short, delegates were an idiosyncratic lot who, while quite ideologically diverse, nevertheless placed the overall strength of the party above personal credos. As Aaron Wildavsky defined them:

Delegates to the national conventions may have motives that are personally their own: fame, glory, compensation for personal defects, the desire to manipulate others... the possibilities are endless. Fortunately, it is not necessary to play psychoanalyst to understand their behavior. Delegates are party activists. When they come to the convention they enter into a social system in which their roles and expectations are defined with some clarity. What counts for us is not their individual personalities, but their collective goals as party leaders in a two-party system that limits and guides their behavior.¹²

Delegates were, and still are, the soul of the party. They are the volunteers who make phone calls on election day, prepare mass mailings, go door to door, as well as a host of countless other tasks, small assignments that, in spite of their often mundane, tedious nature, are collectively vital for the continued health of the party. As we learned from McClosky, Hoffmann, and O'Hara's data, party activists were generally far more conservative than rank and file voters. However, until 1964, they consistently rebuffed the Taft wing of the GOP, which was more congruent with their ideologies, and stood by the Eastern Establishment, thus forgoing personal misgivings for the collective good of the party.

¹¹ Wildavsky, "The Goldwater Phenomenon," p.386.

¹² Ibid. pp.389-390.

These leaders were naturally interested in public affairs, and, moreover, invested in influencing them. They were also highly educated, and in 1960, some 60% had at one time or another held public office, typically at the county level.¹³ If they so chose, delegates could have nominated a conservative like Robert Taft during the 1940s and 50s, or in other words, a candidate who was ideologically on the same plane as themselves. But they did not do so, simply because the delegates -- many of whom were politicians and thus understood the necessity of compromise -- ultimately selected a nominee who would best resonate with the electorate at large. In the words of one delegate from 1964, speaking in regards to finding common ground amongst a host of differing factions:

I realize you have to live together. For example, I'm going up now to a meeting of the California Republican committee and we've got to handle a liberal candidate and an ultra-conservative. I'm going to urge them to accept the liberal because we've got to work together. We [the Republicans] are a minority party in California and we can't afford to squabble amongst ourselves. The art of politics is the art of compromise. If I can get a whole loaf, I'll take it. If not, I'll take half rather than lose it all.¹⁴

As we will examine later, the national party leadership did not attempt to control every facet of the nominating process due to the often magnanimous nature of the delegates. Resources could be devoted elsewhere with the assurance that whoever the local conventions sent as delegates would do their best to deliver a November victory.

Theoretical Considerations

Based on the loose, decentralized nature of the Republican National Convention, we can surmise that the faction that gains control of the party must first successfully navigate the nominating process. "Except perhaps in those political situations where a basic consensus is lacking or being challenged," David Truman once observed in a classic essay, "...the nominating process seems to be the most fundamental or at least the most persistently focal."¹⁵

¹³ Ibid. p.388.

¹⁴ Ibid. p.395.

¹⁵ David B. Truman "Federalism and the Party System," in Arthur W. MacMahon (ed.), *Federalism: Mature and Emergent*. New York: Doubleday, 1955. pp.118-119.

As we gathered from the previous section, the Republican nominating process was the linchpin through which various blocs or factions could seize control of the party on the national plane. At the micro level, the most power lay within county and other local conventions, and, by extension, those officials who administered them. While not individually powerful by any means, collectively these local officials and functionaries comprised the oft concealed brass tacks of the Republican Party. As V.O. Key once noted, such local machinery aided “in the determination of the character of the [national] convention as an institution.”¹⁶ Working upon their own prerogative, with little, if any, communication with national, or even state, headquarters, such officials could significantly hinder the maneuverability of national leaders. Perhaps the most significant case in point can be found within the 1964 primary season, during which party leaders attempted to nominate a moderate like Nelson Rockefeller or Richard Nixon to deliver the party brighter prospects for defeating Lyndon Johnson. They were thwarted, however, by the efforts of highly organized conservative activists who, as we will explore in the following chapter, in spite of a dearth of resources and manpower managed to influence precinct-level delegations.

There are three defined theories that attempt to explain how a certain “faction” within the GOP, such as the Eastern Establishment or the Goldwater Coalition, could maintain control of the party in spite of this loose, decentralized nominating system whereby established party leaders possessed minimal leverage. The first theory is known as the Oligarchic Model, first mapped out nearly a century ago by Robert Michels in his 1915 publication, *Political Parties*.¹⁷ Describing what he called the “iron law of oligarchy,” Michels contended that “the democratic external form which characterizes the life of political parties may readily veil from superficial observers the tendency towards aristocracy, or rather towards oligarchy, which is inherent in all party organization.”¹⁸ For our pur-

¹⁶ Vladimir Orlando Key Jr. *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups*. New York: Crowell, 1959. p.405.

¹⁷ Robert Michels *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*. New York: Hearst's International Library Co., 1915.

¹⁸ Ramashray Roy, “Factionalism and ‘Stratarchy’: The Experience of the Congress Party.” *Asian Survey*, vol. 7, no. 12 (1967): p.896.

poses, this theory maintains that national and state leaders, perceiving their vulnerability, would attempt to control by any means possible the flow of delegates from local conventions to the national stage. As we noted earlier, few states employed direct primaries, which meant that significant power was placed in the hands of party leaders on the county level. The party brass would therefore attempt to essentially “control” these officials, either by persistently relaying their interests to them or perhaps seeking to influence who was appointed into these positions in the first place.¹⁹

The second theory, known as the Decentralized Model, posits that in addition to the weaknesses of national leaders, state leaders also lacked significant maneuverability. This theory emphasizes the importance of local “machines” on a county and city-wide basis. The infamous Chicago Democratic machine, for instance, was able to capture all aspects of the party down to the lowly volunteers in order to ensure the “right” candidates were elected into office. These machines were tightly organized and highly efficient, relying on complete, centralized power. In the words of Lord Bryce:

In a Ring there is usually some one person who holds more strings in his hand than do the others... an army led by a council seldom conquers: It must have a commander-in-chief, who settles disputes, decides in emergencies, inspires fear or attachment. The head of the Ring is such a commander. He dispenses places, rewards the loyal, punishes the mutinous, concocts schemes, negotiates treaties. He generally avoids publicity, preferring the substance to the pomp of power, and is all the more dangerous because he sits, like a spider, hidden in the midst of his web. He is a Boss.²⁰

Although several systems, such as the Pendergast machine in Missouri, have managed to succeed statewide, history has demonstrated that the diverse nature of states severely restricts the ability of machine politics to function effectively beyond a county-wide basis.²¹ Nevertheless, machines have been a force within the American political landscape for generations and have corroborated the awesome power of centralized authority. In short, the Decentralized Model of

¹⁹ Richard G. Niemi and M. Kent Jennings. “Intraparty Communications and the Selection of Delegates to a National Convention.” *Western Political Quarterly*, vol. 22, no. 1 (1969): p.31.

²⁰ Viscount James Bryce. *The American Commonwealth: Volume II*. 1897. Reprint, New York: Cosimo, 2007. p.109.

²¹ Niemi and Jennings, “Intraparty Communications and the Selection of Delegates to a National Convention,” p.31.

party control contends that unlike the Oligarchical Model -- whereby national party leaders attempt to control every facet of the party -- leaders instead acquiesce to the dominion of local bodies, thus suggesting a minimum of communication between the two.

Finally, a third model, promoted primarily by Samuel J. Eldersveld, offers essentially a hybrid of the first two. He argued that “control of the party structure is inexorably concentrated in the hands of a single leadership corps. The top, elite, managerial nucleus of the structure,” cannot be maintained.²² Instead, “a possibility clearly exists that a special type of hierarchy obtains in parties-- one which... we will call *stratarchy*... a stratified devolution of responsibility for the settlement of conflict.”²³ In short, Eldersveld argued that oligarchical, centralized control is not only difficult to achieve, but unwise. Due to the finite amount of activists, limited resources, the endless need for lower-echelon support in the nation’s 3,000 counties²⁴, as well as a dearth of nomination rules and regulations, the parties simply did not possess the capability to control everything from the top down.²⁵ National party leaders, therefore, bearing in mind the difficulty in communicating effectively their interests to the myriad of local entities, attempted to appeal to those ordinances that they perceived to be most crucial in the nominating process. The degree of national control within a certain district thus depended on certain variables, such as size or personal ties within the local leadership.²⁶

Applying the Models

Table 3.1 presents data compiled by Richard G. Niemi and M. Kent Jennings, comprised of a series of interviews with 66 Republican county chairmen during the 1964 primary season.²⁷ The results are quite telling and demonstrate the remarkable paucity of communication between na-

²² Roy, “Factionalism and ‘Stratarchy,’” p.896.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Niemi and Jennings, “Intraparty Communications and the Selection of Delegates to a National Convention,” p.29.

²⁵ Roy, “Factionalism and ‘Stratarchy,’” p.897.

²⁶ Niemi and Jennings, “Intraparty Communications and the Selection of Delegates to a National Convention,” p.32.

²⁷ Ibid. pp.29-46.

tional leaders and their counterparts on the county-wide echelon. But perhaps most striking was the apparent absence of communication between candidate representatives and county chairmen. Not only were GOP leaders lobbying minimally for their preferred nominee, but neither the candidates nor their staffs regularly importuned the local conventions. Although the greatest amount of lobbying was in fact comprised of candidates' representatives "talking informally at the county convention," scarcely a quarter of county chairmen acknowledged any activity of this kind. This apparent indifference towards local delegations was further underscored by the national leaders, of whom few bothered to even contact their local chapters.²⁸

Table 3.1: Activities in the Michigan Republican County Convention (1964)

<i>Question</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
1. Were representatives of any of the presidential candidates present at the county convention, talking informally to the delegates?	23%	77%
2. Were the delegates to the state convention given any instructions?	15%	85%
3. Did anyone speak to the county convention in favor of any of the presidential candidate?	11%	89%
4. Was a vote taken to indicate the convention's preference for the presidential nomination?	6%	94%

Source: Niemi and Jennings, "Intraparty Communications and the Selection of Delegates to a National Convention," p.33.

Perhaps more implicitly, the data further paint a portrait of how the party perceived the role of its delegates. In three-tenths of local conventions, fewer than half of the delegates were even in attendance, and in the majority of cases, at least one-quarter of the delegation was absent.²⁹ Moreover, in over half of the conventions polled (58%), none of the activities mentioned in Table 3.1 ever transpired, and in another 31% only one occurred.³⁰ We can surmise, therefore, that a county convention's choice of delegates stemmed not from candidate loyalty but from intangibles within the selection process. Indeed, according to the county chairmen interviewed in Niemi and Jennings' study, there was overall "very little competition of any kind" in

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid. p.33.

³⁰ Ibid.

regards to whom the delegates would pledge their support.³¹ Seventy-seven percent of chairmen noted “little or no competition,” and only 14% recalled competition between “isolated individuals.”³² In the words of the authors, “Relatively little occurred at the conventions in the way of efforts by candidate organizations or behavior directly related to the candidates.”³³ On that account, we can infer that being in “control” of the Republican Party prior to 1964 did not necessarily imply that delegates were personally or ideologically committed to a particular faction.

At our disposal we find three differing models with respect to how national party leaders attempted to maintain control of their party. The Oligarchic Model postulates that, perceiving the apparent vulnerability in the nominating process, leaders attempted by any means possible to control the flow of delegates from state and county-wide conventions to the national stage. However, GOP rules permitted wide latitude for local entities to choose whoever they wished to attend national and state conventions, and there existed few requirements dictating how this process was to be effectuated. Furthermore, Niemi and Jennings’ study suggested that party leaders did not attempt to reach out to the vast majority of local conventions, casting doubt, therefore, on the applicability of this model.

The Decentralized Model, at the other extreme, contends that the relationship between national party leaders and their local entities was completely devoid of any communication. This model, too, however, is limited in its scope. While Niemi and Jennings’ data suggested a minimum of communication, there nonetheless remained some. Further data is necessary, therefore, to understand *which* counties were lobbied by the upper echelons of the Republican Party, and *why* this was.

Counties in the United States, unlike congressional districts, are not drawn and modified vis-à-vis population. In terms of our case study, Michigan, over a half-dozen counties contained a

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

population greater than 200,000, while another half-dozen held fewer than 10,000.³⁴ Michigan is an effective illustration, as its wide range in county population offers an accurate cross-section of the enormous disparities within the United States as a whole. Thus while most chairmen sent only a handful of delegates to national or state conventions -- not nearly enough to influence a vote in one way or another -- other chairmen possessed enough manpower to singlehandedly nominate a congressman.³⁵ It can be surmised, therefore, that those in “control” of the national party, in an attempt to ensure their preferred candidates won the nomination, reached out to the largest counties, or in other words, those that contained the most delegates.

Table 3.2: Party Contacts Favoring Selection of Romney Delegates (1964)

<i>Size of County</i>	<i>Contacted Regarding:</i>		
	<i>State Convention</i>	<i>Natl. Convention</i>	<i>Either</i>
200,000 and over	38%	62%	62%
51,000 – 200,000	46%	73%	82%
26,000 – 50,000	5%	25%	25%
11,000 – 25,000	18%	18%	27%
Fewer than 10,000	0%	0%	0%
<i>Number of Counties</i>			
<i>(In Congressional District)</i>			
1–4	50%	67%	75%
5–6	0%	39%	39%
7 or more	14%	14%	17%

Source: Niemi and Jennings, “Intraparty Communications and the Selection of Delegates to a National Convention,” p.39.

Table 3.2 offers data with respect to the relationship between county size and contacts between GOP leaders and local chairmen. As we can see, there exists an unsurprisingly strong correlation between these two variables, suggesting that the support of chairmen in large counties was more valuable than those in more rural areas. Similarly, in congressional districts comprised of the fewest, most population-dense counties, party leaders were far more likely to contact local chairmen.

For the purposes of this study, Niemi and Jennings examined to what extent supporters of George Romney contacted local delegations. Romney, then governor of Michigan, was considered a front runner for the 1964 nomination. One of the leaders of the Eastern Establish-

³⁴ Niemi and Jennings, “Intraparty Communications and the Selection of Delegates to a National Convention,” p.38.

³⁵ Ibid.

ment, Romney espoused a strong civil rights platform, advocating a proactive role for the federal government in regards to enforcing non-discriminatory policies. He established the state's first civil rights commission, and worked well with the Democratically controlled legislature to forge bipartisan solutions.³⁶ Romney was repeatedly endorsed by the party's liberal wing, particularly with respect to civil rights. Former President Eisenhower and William Scranton, for instance, were particularly receptive towards Romney's proposed amendment to Republican National Convention rules that, according to the *New York Times*, "would have condemned racial segregation and pledged all candidates to work for effective civil rights at the local and state level and in private lives."³⁷ In short, due to his distinctly liberal track record, we can firmly place Gov. Romney among the Republican Party's Eastern Establishment, and therefore a politician to whom national party leaders would attempt to throw their support.

In Niemi and Jennings' study, not a single chairman in the state's smallest counties was contacted, while nearly three-fourths of those in counties larger than 50,000 received some sort of correspondence.³⁸ Another important statistic surfaces through weighing each chairman by the number of delegates sent by his county to national and state conventions. Niemi and Jennings found that "the proportion of *delegates* whose county leader was contacted is greater than the proportion of *chairmen* who were contacted,"³⁹ or in other words, a significant portion of delegates at national and state conventions came from counties whose chairmen had been contacted by party leaders. This is a critical concept in our definition of control. According to the study, 17, 31, and 34 percent of county chairmen were contacted in regards to the state, national, or either convention, respectively.⁴⁰ And not surprisingly, those counties in which these chairmen were located contributed 28, 46, and 49 percent of all delegates.⁴¹

³⁶ Michael Dobbs. "Four Pinocchios for Romney on MLK." *Washington Post*, Dec. 23rd, 2007.

³⁷ *New York Times*, "Eisenhower Chides Senator's Forces." July 16th, 1964.

³⁸ Niemi and Jennings, "Intraparty Communications and the Selection of Delegates to a National Convention," p.39.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p.40.

These data confirm that our third definition of control, a hybrid approach that synthesizes elements of the Oligarchic and Decentralized models, is the most valid. While the vast majority of county chairmen were not contacted (discrediting the Oligarchic Model), there nonetheless remained a select crop of counties that were heavily lobbied (undermining the Decentralized Model). Party leaders, therefore, allocated their resources to those counties that they deemed most vital in nominating their preferred candidates. It is clear from Niemi and Jennings' study, illustrated most effectively by Table 3.2, that the vast majority of those counties contacted contained the largest populations.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the select few counties that *were* contacted sent by far the *most* delegates to national and state conventions. This suggests that party leaders were indeed very much concerned with maintaining their grip on the nominating machinery. But due to a finite amount of resources, leaders were forced to carefully calculate who to contact, and from the data it is abundantly clear that this decision was inextricably linked to population. The liberal party establishment thus concentrated their resources on the most delegate-rich counties while spurning rural ones, establishing in the process a vulnerability that conservatives would later exploit.

The Goldwater nomination was the culmination of an intense canvassing effort spanning nearly three years. To Aaron Wildavsky, Goldwater's victory was a "great mystery," and to Gerald Pomper, an "earthquake."¹ The prevailing Republican establishment was confounded as to how a relative newcomer to the Senate with a dearth of experience, limited resources, no support from national party leaders, and an ideology so radically divergent with both his party and his country, could somehow manage to win the nomination for President of the United States.

While firmly committed to the notion of a decentralized, confederate national party, leaders nevertheless were wary of callow coalitions riding the wave of fleeting public sentiment into positions of power within the party. To begin, it is important to grasp what kind of "movement" leaders gauged to be the most "dangerous" to existing party establishment. A "popular movement," according to Robert Salisbury, is a group coalesced around a distinct ideology or "intellectual center" that seeks to precipitate significant "changes in the structure of the socioeconomic-sociopolitical order."² They are typically comprised of a "relatively small number of faithful adherents" committed to the common goal of gaining influence within a much larger group.³ With respect to politics, these "insurgents" attempt to gain power either by establishing an independent party or by garnering influence within an existing bloc. In the case of the latter, according to Andrew Busch, "the fortunes of the movement can be inextricably intertwined with an individual candidate, though a genuine movement has substance beyond, and largely independent of, the individual who serves as its standard-bearer."⁴

¹ Andrew E. Busch "In Defense of the 'Mixed' System: The Goldwater Campaign and the Role of Popular Movements in the Pre-Reform Presidential Nomination Process." *Polity*, vol. 24, no. 4 (1992): p.527.

² *Ibid.* p.529.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* p.530.

These movements have been a fixture of American politics since the drafting of the Constitution. However, by virtue of the two-party system and the primary mechanisms through which it remains viable, movements of this kind have seldom achieved sustained political clout. William Jennings Bryan, for instance, rode the wave of public sentiment against the gold standard to win Democratic Party nomination in the 1896 presidential race. He was easily defeated, however, by Republican William McKinley, who thereafter swiftly facilitated the transition to the gold standard, precipitating the prompt disintegration of Bryan's movement.

With regards to the GOP, leaders were not necessarily fearful that an avant-garde coalition could wrestle free the reins to the party. Rather, they were concerned that an upshot, ephemeral movement invested primarily in rash public sentiment could unexpectedly commandeer the presidential nomination, thus jeopardizing the continued longevity of party.⁵ Prior to the 20th century, the nomination process was exclusively the prerogative of party insiders. Over time, however, the "mixed" primary system was developed whereby control of nominating procedures was balanced between party insiders and the general public. Although direct primaries were growing increasingly popular, by 1964 less than a third of total delegates were chosen in this manner; by far the most power still lay within conventions and central committees.⁶

But in one fell swoop, Barry Goldwater and the conservatives would seize the Republican presidential nomination in 1964 by exploiting loopholes within the delegate-selection process. Yet as opposed to a popular movement fueled by the masses, the Goldwater coalition spurned general primaries altogether -- thus divesting itself of public support -- and directly attacked the party establishment. In the words of Nicole Rae, the Goldwater insurgency transpired "not through the transformation of a closed-party delegate-selection process, but through use of that process for its own ends."⁷

⁵ Ibid. pp.529-530.

⁶ Ibid. p.528.

⁷ Nicole C. Rae. *The Decline and Fall of the Liberal Republicans from 1952 to the Present*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. p.77.

How did the Goldwater campaign achieve this? The crux of their plan lay within the fact that over two-thirds of convention delegates originated from state and countywide committees.⁸ Nearly three-quarters of these delegates would pledge their support to Goldwater, an astounding statistic considering the lukewarm relationship between the Arizona senator and the prevailing Republican establishment.⁹ In fact, Goldwater's most notable defeats and setbacks, such as in New Hampshire and Oregon, came as a consequence of direct primaries.¹⁰ Yet how could the Draft Goldwater organization -- with a 1962 budget of \$65,000, an annual income less than half that, and a full-time staff of two -- conduct a grassroots campaign that so thoroughly beguiled the internal party establishment?

The Goldwater movement benefitted from a series of idiosyncrasies within the Republican nomination process. GOP rules were weighted so that smaller states -- where Taft enjoyed his strongest support -- were overrepresented in the national convention.¹¹ As we noted in the previous chapter, each state received four at-large delegates in addition to one delegate for each congressional district that cast 2,000 votes for either Richard Nixon in 1960 or its Republican House candidate in 1962, as well as six additional delegates if the state as a whole supported Nixon or a Republican senator or governor in 1960.¹²

The failures of Robert Taft on his mind, Clifton White understood that a conservative could never penetrate the liberal bastion of the Northeast. Thus he zeroed his sights on the states from which Taft drew his support: the Deep South and West. But there was a problem. Since before the turn of the century, no successful Republican candidate had won the nomination without the support of New York, the heart of the Eastern Establishment and the largest state in the union.

⁸ Busch, "In Defense of the 'Mixed' System," p.531.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Rick Perlstein. *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus*. 2001. Reprint, New York: Nation Books, 2009. pp.179-180.

¹² Ibid.

White and the conservatives were therefore forced to hatch an intricate plan to wrangle the nomination without the support of the most populous region in the country. In the words of White:

...We had to be realistic. States like New York are for the most part private preserves of monolithic Democratic big-city machines. Liberal Republicans can occasionally loosen the machine's hold -- if they act and sound enough like liberal Democrats. But the Northeast was not conservative country... in the East, thousands of voters are not enough. You need millions, and we did not have them.¹³

Fortunately, the balance of power had shifted precisely in conservatives' favor. As we will recall from the previous chapter, the bulwark of the liberal establishment was the Northeast. Yet overall power, gauged in delegate strength, was shifting away from this stronghold and towards both the Midwest and South. In 1940, 34.9% of delegates hailed from these regions. By 1964, however, they were poised to send 43.4%.¹⁴ "This [delegate appointment] formula," noted Nicole Rae, "overrepresented small and mainly conservative western states at the expense of the liberal heartland in the metropolitan Northeast."¹⁵

Thus the conservative strategy was fairly straightforward. Realizing that midwestern and southern states would comprise nearly half of all delegates sent to the national convention, conservatives, led by Clifton White, immediately abandoned all attempts to influence delegations in the Northeast. Overall, conservatives needed 655 votes to nominate Barry Goldwater at the convention, of which 451 could come from the twenty-three states that had supported Robert Taft in 1952.¹⁶ Additionally, White gambled that at least 81 more votes could be expected from Georgia, Kentucky, South Dakota, Tennessee, Illinois, Iowa, and Ohio, based on their support for Taft as well as recent conservative inroads in the region.¹⁷

¹³ F. Clifton White and William J. Gill. *Suite 3505: The Story of the Draft Goldwater Movement*. New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1967. p.98.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p.180.

¹⁵ Rae, *The Decline and Fall of the Liberal Republicans*, p.68.

¹⁶ Frank Munger and James Blackhurst. "Factionalism in the National Convention, 1940-1964: An Analysis of Ideological Consistency in State Delegation Voting." *Journal of Politics*, vol. 27, no. 2 (1965): p.380.

¹⁷ Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, p.187.

To say that Democrats controlled the South after Reconstruction would be akin to remarking that Henry Ford sold a car or two in the early 20th century. The GOP, the party of Lincoln, had been ostracized since the Civil War to the point where nearly all elected positions in the South were effectively lifetime posts for any Democrat lucky enough to win his party's nomination. From mayors to U.S. Senators, Democrats dominated nearly every level of governance in the region. Between 1904 and 1948, Republicans received more than 30% of the South's vote for president only twice, in 1920 and 1928.¹⁸ Astonishingly, in 1957, there were only six *total* Republican congressmen south of the Mason-Dixon line.¹⁹

Desperate to forge inroads in the region, President Dwight Eisenhower informally launched "Operation Dixie" in 1953.²⁰ Contrived as a means of providing much-needed resources and manpower to a region devoid of any Republican support, Operation Dixie sought to establish new chapters as well as bolster what few party organizations that already existed. A new division within the Republican National Committee was established to provide both funding and leadership for this fledgling operation, as well as to spark grassroots canvassing efforts. Eisenhower envisioned his plan yielding results in the so-called "New South" -- urban areas bristled with white-collar professionals to whom the fiscal conservatism stressed by the GOP would resonate well.²¹ They were, as Theodore White described them, "men between thirty and forty years old, city people, well-bred, moderate segregationists, efficient, [and] more at ease at suburban cocktail parties than whiskey-belting in the courthouse chambers."²² But Eisenhower was well

¹⁸ Mark Stern. "Party Alignments and Civil Rights: Then and Now." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 3 (1995): p.414.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Daniel Galvin. "Parties as Political Institutions in American Political Development." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the MPSA Annual National Conference, Palmer House Hotel, Hilton, Chicago, IL. April 3rd, 2008. <http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p268850_index.html> p.21.

²¹ Ibid. p.22.

²² Daniel Galvin. "Building a New Republican Party: Dwight D. Eisenhower and the Stillbirth of Modern Republicanism, 1953-1960." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. May 25th, 2009. <http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p68462_index.html> p.63.

aware that it would take significant time before his plan would bear fruit. “The insistence on distant gains means something,” he remarked to the *Wall Street Journal*, “the predictions of long-term progress are based largely on continuing urbanization of the South.”²³

It is important to note that Eisenhower was willing to appeal to Southerners insofar as the effort did not contradict his “Modern Republicanism” philosophy.²⁴ Indeed it had been Eisenhower who shepherded the 1957 Civil Rights Act through Congress, an achievement that he referred to as a “matter of justice.”²⁵ Instead, Eisenhower adamantly sought to appeal to Southerners on strictly economic grounds. As the *Wall Street Journal* reported:

In their quest for votes in the South, GOP polls generally stick to historical Republican tenets on national issues. Thus Republicans in Texas see the November election as a clear-cut contest between “big spending” Democrats and the “economy-minded” Republicans. They’re also arguing for “sound money” and fewer Federal encroachments in business and in local governments. In most cases, GOP candidates try to avoid a stand on touchy race questions. When they do speak out, it’s usually a veiled attempt to lure what they hope is a growing body of moderates.²⁶

In 1956, the GOP fielded forty-nine candidates for the House of Representatives in twelve southern states. Although the operation was slowly expanding, the GOP still could only claim nine total southern seats in 1958 out of a total of 114 in the region.²⁷

Yet everything would change in 1962 when conservative William Miller replaced Thrus-ton Morton as RNC chairman. Unlike Eisenhower, who had oriented Operation Dixie toward procuring incremental influence within middle and upper class Southerners, Miller believed that a complete Republican takeover of the entire region, not simply big cities, was attainable within a matter of years.²⁸ Miller proceeded to devote nearly one-third of the entire RNC budget towards Operation Dixie, and within two years more than 87% of southern counties could claim a

²³ *Wall Street Journal*, “GOP in Dixie.” Oct. 1st, 1958.

²⁴ Galvin, “Building a New Republican Party,” p.64.

²⁵ David A. Nichols, *A Matter of Justice: Eisenhower and the Beginning of the Civil Rights Revolution*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007.

²⁶ *Wall Street Journal*, “GOP in Dixie.”

²⁷ Galvin, “Building a New Republican Party,” p.60.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p.65.

Republican chair and vice-chair.²⁹ The strategy was successful -- in 1962 the GOP picked up four seats in the House with candidates who, according to the *New York Times*, “ran on platforms of economic conservatism with subtle undertones of segregationism.”³⁰

It was clear that a new breed of Republicans was mobilizing in the South. In order to appeal to their constituency, nearly all successful candidates were forced to adopt segregationist platforms that ran contrary to the national platform. Perhaps the best case in point lies within the South Carolina Senate candidacy of William D. Workman Jr, a popular columnist and TV commentator. Heavily financed by the RNC, Workman ran a campaign invested primarily in upholding segregation, or in his words, “the right to administer [one’s] own domestic affairs... and the right to rear [one’s] children in the school atmosphere most conducive to their learning.”³¹

The strategy, as developed by Chairman Miller, was to tie Workman’s Democratic opponent, staunch segregationist Olin D. Johnston, with the racially liberal Kennedy Administration.³² This proved an effective strategy for one crucial reason: In September of 1962, the South Carolina legislature unfastened the American flag from its flagpole in favor of an enormous Confederate banner in a support of solidarity for the University of Mississippi, which had only days before been forced by the federal government to enroll its first black student, James Meredith.³³ Thousands of Oxfordians donning Confederate battle flags flocked to the institution to prevent Meredith from entering. In response, President Kennedy announced his unequivocal support for Meredith, a pledge he thereafter reinforced by sending in 23,000 federal troops on September 30th. For many Southerners, Kennedy’s actions constituted another northern “invasion,” one that only emboldened growing resentments towards the Democratic administration and its “enablers” in Congress.³⁴

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ *New York Times*, “GOP in South Sees Hope for ’64 in Vote Gains.” Nov. 9th, 1962.

³¹ Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, p.168.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid. p.169.

³⁴ Ibid.

Conservatives immediately eyed an opportunity. Barry Goldwater, for instance, asserted that “we shouldn’t turn over to the federal government the power to run the schools... I don’t like segregation. But I don’t like the Constitution being kicked around, either.”³⁵ William Workman used the incident to liken Kennedy to Hitler, and further claimed that his Democratic Senate opponent, Olin D. Johnston, had supported the “premeditated effort to crush the sovereign state of Mississippi into submission.”³⁶ While ultimately losing, Workman would collect 44% of the vote, an astounding figure considering that many prior elections failed even to feature a Republican candidate.³⁷ Overall, GOP congressional candidates across the entire South polled over two million votes in 1962, up from only 606,000 only four years prior.³⁸

These statistics demonstrate the remarkable inroads forged by Chairman Miller in only several short years. But unlike the West and Midwest, regions where conservatives actively executed grassroots crusades to infiltrate existing party establishment, there *was no* machinery in the South. Instead, the Republican strategy here was to simply tie the Kennedy Administration, and by extension all Democratic senators and representatives, to civil rights. This was a remarkably successful strategy, evidenced by the Workman campaign. Thus all it essentially took for Barry Goldwater to win southern delegates was to remark, when voting against the Civil Rights Act of 1964, that “one cannot legislate morality.”³⁹

Conservatives, funded primarily by Operation Dixie, quite literally “created” the southern Republican Party. Perhaps the best case study lies with John Grenier, an early associate of Clifton White during his tenure as president of the Young Republicans. In 1960, Grenier became chairman of Birmingham’s Young Republicans chapter, which had been newly established

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid. p.170.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Lee Edwards. *Goldwater: The Man Who Made a Revolution*. Washington D.C.: Regnery Pub., 1995. p.35.

as a means of spreading GOP support throughout the South.⁴⁰ Funded by Operation Dixie, Grenier traveled the state of Alabama five days per week founding Republican precinct offices in areas that had not seen a Republican candidate, let alone an office, in a century. Working tirelessly, Grenier was determined to ensure each county had three Republican precincts comprised of at least six members.⁴¹ But most crucially, Clifton White had instructed him to make certain that each office was staffed by conservatives. “We’ve got a sales force, just like a business,” he remarked to *Time Magazine*. “The product is conservatism.”⁴²

How did he achieve this? Take, for example, the summer of 1960, during which Grenier was tasked with organizing a rally for Richard Nixon in Birmingham. Armed with scarcely more than a handful of dimes, Grenier and the eleven volunteers he could find manned a cluster of pay-phones and began scanning drugstore phonebooks. As he would later remark:

You start with twelve people in phone booths, and you locate two or three people in each precinct, and you go on from there. I went to forty-four precinct meetings in forty days that year, and we called some of our meetings in drugstores. For three years I traveled the state five nights a week, talking to two or three people in each county to get one leader and then train him.⁴³

Grenier proceeded to singlehandedly create the Alabama Republican Party with an army consisting of over 30,000 volunteers from 64 of the state’s 67 counties.⁴⁴ By 1964, Alabama was, in the words of Theodore White, “the best-organized state in the union.”⁴⁵ During this time, Grenier had been selected by Clifton White to be the southern regional captain, tasked with the responsibility of building the Republican Party throughout the entire South. Ultimately, over 300 delegates would emerge from the South -- or in other words nearly half those needed to secure the nomination -- unconditionally committed to Barry Goldwater.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Theodore White. *The Making of the President: 1964*. New York: Signet, 1965. p.167.

⁴¹ Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, p.168.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ White, *The Making of the President: 1964*, p.167.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p.168.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

With the understanding that the South, much like it had for Robert Taft, could be considered to be under Goldwater's control, Clifton White and the conservatives set their sights on the Midwest, the linchpin through which they would seize control of the party. But this would not be an easy task. While the smaller states that constituted the region did indeed tend to be more conservative, they could not necessarily be counted on to provide lockstep support for Goldwater. This was true for two reasons. First, unlike the South with regards to civil rights legislation, there was no sole issue around which the Midwest could coalesce, meaning that conservatives would have to find other means by which they could rally support. Second, again unlike the South, there already was a Republican establishment firmly entrenched as low as the countywide level. While William Miller had been able to hand-pick conservative chairmen to man the rapidly expanding Republican infrastructure into untrodden Dixie, due to party rules he was effectively powerless to influence *existing* delegations in the Midwest. Thus the lion's share of the Goldwater coalition's grunt work would entail infiltrating firmly established Republican infrastructure, a feat that would not prove easy.

As we explored before, the nucleus of the conservative plan was to concern themselves neither with the Northeast nor with states that utilized the direct primary. In 1964, some 715 of the 1,308 delegates attending the Republican National Convention were chosen via convention or caucus -- or in other words more than enough to unilaterally nominate a candidate.⁴⁷ To begin, it is important to consider how exactly delegates are "nominated." While the exact procedures varied from state to state, the process generally involved a series of indirect elections.⁴⁸ First, precinct caucuses were held on a countywide basis to select representatives to attend the upper-echelon county conventions. From there, after another series of debate and indirect ballot-

⁴⁷ John H. Kessel *The Goldwater Coalition*. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968. p.69.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p.70.

ing, a crop of delegates were chosen to attend the congressional district conventions. This was a crucial stage in the process. Not only did congressional conventions select delegates to attend the state convention (where a state's at-large delegates were ultimately chosen to take part in the national convention), but they also were afforded the opportunity to select two national delegates themselves.⁴⁹

As John Kessel noted, "this elaborate process fit into the Goldwater strategy nicely."⁵⁰ This was true for two reasons. First, as we noted in Chapter II, party leaders and activists -- i.e. county chairmen and other officials who presided over the delegate-selection process -- were by and large far more conservative than rank and file voters. Thus while many were ambivalent with regards to Goldwater's overall chances of winning the general election, they were nonetheless seduced by the Arizona senator's staunch support of states' rights and limited government. Second, Goldwater himself -- as well as members of the Suite 3505 Committee -- had spent the better half of a decade befriending many midwestern congressional party leaders, of whom many possessed significant prerogative within these conventions.⁵¹ Among such circles, Goldwater was often regarded as a hero. After the 1960 election, the Republican Party found itself heavily in debt, a plight that Goldwater helped mitigate by making appearances at fundraising events across the country. In 1961, for instance, he made 225 appearances, and he continued this trend well into 1962.⁵² Party leaders were not unaware of his efforts; a poll among county chairmen revealed that while 35% thought Nixon was going to be the eventual nominee, 45% *wanted* Goldwater, an indicator of both the chairmen's personal and ideological ties to the Arizonian.⁵³ Similarly, a 1963 poll administered to the 1,045 delegates who had attended the 1960 Republican National

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid. pp.48-49.

⁵³ Ibid. p.70.

Convention revealed that while 673 believed Nelson Rockefeller was “likeliest to receive” the nomination, 483 personally desired Goldwater.⁵⁴

Table 4.1: Public Preference for GOP President

<i>Candidate</i>	<i>Public Support (%)</i>
Nelson Rockefeller	29.5%
Richard Nixon	28.1%
Barry Goldwater	21.1%
Henry Cabot Lodge	8.6%
George Romney	5.5%
William Scranton	4.1%

Source: Kessel, *The Goldwater Coalition*, p.43.

Table 4.1 reveals public support towards the list of candidates from which the eventual nominee was to be chosen in 1964. While Goldwater himself was fairly popular, his support was eclipsed by both Nelson Rockefeller and Richard Nixon (despite his insurances that he would not seek the nomination). Conceding that the electorate as a whole remained ambivalent toward Goldwater’s platform, conservative leaders like Clifton White understood that the only way to win the nomination was to infiltrate existing party infrastructure, from which the majority of delegates for the national convention originated. For the purposes of this section, we will examine Michigan, a state that stands as a prototypical model of the process through which conservatives attacked GOP machinery in the Midwest.

The Goldwater coalition was able to systematically exploit the prevailing Republican leadership’s failure to influence its delegations. Furthermore, nearly all lobbying on behalf of Goldwater emanated from grassroots groups organized by Clifton White, and not by party leaders. Table 4.2 presents data compiled by Richard Niemi and M. Kent Jennings with respect to the sources of communication in support of Barry Goldwater and George Romney, then governor of Michigan. While the bulk of communication favoring Goldwater emanated from grassroots efforts, the Romney camp enjoyed the majority of its support from existing party machin-

⁵⁴ White and Gill, *Suite 3505*, p.131.

ery. In short, standing in stark contrast with Romney, Goldwater received little help from prevailing Republican establishment, relying almost exclusively on grassroots support.⁵⁵

Table 4.2: Contacts Supporting Election of Goldwater and Romney Delegates

<i>Goldwater Contacts</i>	<i>Contacted Regarding:</i>		
	<i>State Convention</i>	<i>Natl. Convention</i>	<i>Either</i>
Grassroots Groups	26%	33%	37%
Other county chairmen	12%	12%	17%
Delegate aspirants	9%	15%	22%
<i>Romney Contacts</i>			
State party officers	17%	31%	34%
Other county chairmen	15%	20%	25%
Delegate aspirants	12%	20%	27%

Source: Niemi and Jennings, "Intraparty Communications and the Selection of Delegates to a National Convention," p.35, 42.

As we examined in the previous chapter, communication between Republican leaders and countywide delegations was strongly correlated with two distinct variables: a county's population and the total number of counties in its congressional district.⁵⁶ First, by communicating with only a third of county chairmen, nearly half of all delegates could theoretically be influenced, given the unequal population distribution inherent in counties.⁵⁷ The second critical variable, counties per congressional district, relates to our earlier discussion regarding the delegate nominating process. After representatives were chosen at countywide conventions, they subsequently attended congressional conventions with all other county representatives. The more counties per congressional district, not only were coalitions harder to form, but individual chairmen's prerogative was diluted given the sheer number of delegates in attendance.⁵⁸ In congressional districts comprised of only one or two counties, however, far fewer contacts between party leaders and local delegations would need to be made in order to assure the entire district's cooperation. In the words of Niemi and Jennings:

⁵⁵ Kessel, *The Goldwater Coalition*, p.43.

⁵⁶ Richard G. Niemi and M. Kent Jennings. "Intraparty Communications and the Selection of Delegates to a National Convention." *Western Political Quarterly*, vol. 22, no. 1 (1969): pp.29-46.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* p.40.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

...In districts with many counties, more contacts would be needed to accomplish a given task. In contrast to single-county districts, no chairman in multi-county districts can unilaterally speak for the entire district. This means that a number of contacts might be necessary to secure the cooperation of the district as a whole. When only a few counties make up the district, the cost of approaching all or most of the chairmen within it may still be reasonable. When a half-dozen or more chairmen are involved in district-level negotiations, the cost of trying to secure unified action may simply be more trouble than its worth.⁵⁹

Second, the possibility of inter-county conflict was exacerbated when more delegations were represented at congressional conventions. An ancillary study completed by Niemi and Jennings found a notable correlation between chairmen being contacted by party leaders and becoming national delegates (in Michigan nineteen of the thirty-six, or 53%, of statewide delegates were county chairmen)⁶⁰. This stems from the tendency for local delegations to reward their leaders with delegate status.⁶¹ When only two or three counties comprised a district, there would likely be minimal competition as to who would attend the national convention. However, in rural regions where as many as fifteen or sixteen counties constituted a district, the competition was likely to be far more heated.⁶² As Niemi and Jennings concluded, “contacting some but not all county chairmen in a district might be interpreted as an attempt... to interfere in district level decisions or as showing favoritism to certain leaders.”⁶³

Table 4.3 offers data regarding contacts favoring the selection of both Goldwater and Romney delegates. While these data pertain to Michigan, they nonetheless stand as an effective model for the Midwest as a whole. Romney supporters followed prevailing norms by predominantly contacting only those delegations from which the most delegates could be attained. The vast majority of communication involved counties with populations greater than 51,000, and, correspondingly, congressional districts comprising few overall counties. The smaller the county

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

-- and, by extension, its delegate pool -- the less likely it was for existing party machinery to urge its chairmen towards George Romney.

Table 4.3: Contacts Favoring Selection of Goldwater and Romney Delegates (1964)

<u>Goldwater Communications</u>	<u>Contacted Regarding:</u>		
	<i>State Convention</i>	<i>National Convention</i>	<i>Either</i>
<i>Size of County</i>			
200,000 and over	38%	38%	50%
51,000 - 200,000	27%	36%	45%
26,000 - 50,000	32%	37%	40%
11,000 - 25,000	36%	36%	36%
Fewer than 10,000	6%	20%	20%
 <i>Number of Counties</i> <i>(In Congressional District)</i>			
1-4	33%	42%	50%
5-6	29%	29%	39%
7 or more	22%	31%	31%
 <u>Romney Communications</u>			
<i>Size of County</i>			
200,000 and over	38%	62%	62%
51,000 - 200,000	46%	73%	82%
26,000 - 50,000	5%	25%	25%
11,000 - 25,000	18%	18%	27%
Fewer than 10,000	0%	0%	0%
 <i>Number of Counties</i> <i>(In Congressional District)</i>			
1-4	50%	67%	75%
5-6	0%	39%	39%
7 or more	14%	14%	17%

Source: Niemi and Jennings, "Intraparty Communications and the Selection of Delegates to a National Convention," p.39, 44.

The Goldwater camp, however, systematically appealed to the very counties spurned by the party establishment. While the volume of communication from party leaders supporting Romney to county delegations was largely contingent on population density, this relationship was far less conspicuous with respect to Goldwater supporters. Goldwater organizations did indeed focus resources on large delegations, but this effort was not nearly as assertive as Romney's, particularly in counties with populations exceeding 51,000. Why was this? The answer lies within the canvassing methods favored by Clifton White and the conservative leadership. White was wary of "monolithic, big-city machines," which he believed were firmly in the hands of liberal Republi-

cans.⁶⁴ Given the tight hold these machines had on party politics within cities, White concluded that attempting to infiltrate them would prove too costly. He instead focused the bulk of his organization's limited resources on the less delegate-rich, yet far more vulnerable rural counties.

As depicted by Table 4.3, contacts expressing support for Goldwater were more conspicuous than those for Romney in smaller counties. Most glaring were contacts within congressional districts comprised of seven or more counties. While Romney supporters contacted 17%, the Goldwater camp reached out to nearly a third. Similarly, in counties with populations fewer than 10,000, party leaders failed to contact a single chairman, while Goldwater backers were in contact with 20%.

Goldwater specifically targeted rural counties because, unlike the existing party establishment, conservative activists had little incentive to maintain healthy relations among local leaders. As opposed to GOP leaders, who by and large did not wish to play favorites by interfering with the often fragile relations between county delegations, Goldwater organizations could afford to. In short, existing party leaders were committed to the Republican philosophy of a decentralized, confederate system consisting of individual committees acting upon their own prerogative, while at the same time understanding that in order to maintain power, a select few of the largest delegations needed to be leveraged. Goldwater organizations, on the other hand, conceded the largest and most powerful delegations to established candidates, while simultaneously fashioning an even more powerful coalition consisting of rural representatives.⁶⁵

Capturing the West

As the legend goes, Franklin Roosevelt would impress his visitors by imploring them to draw a line across a map of the United States; he would then proceed to name each county through

⁶⁴ White and Gill, *Suite 3505*, p.98.

⁶⁵ Niemi and Jennings, "Intraparty Communications and the Selection of Delegates to a National Convention," pp.43-44.

which it passed, as well as their political eccentricities.⁶⁶ In Clifton White's shabby, woefully undersized Washington D.C. office, there also hung a map of the U.S, yet this one was suffused with penciled-in notes detailing each Republican precinct and the leaders who chaired them, as well as operatives in the region on whom White could rely.⁶⁷

One such operative was Luke Williams, a balding, round-faced, and otherwise unimposing political newcomer based in Washington State. A self-made businessman, Williams had regarded Goldwater, and the conservatism that he espoused, as a godsend. "[I wish] we really had a President who would expound this philosophy of government--" he once remarked, "instead of more and more regulation."⁶⁸ Thus when Clifton White arrived in Seattle seeking to bolster the Draft Goldwater movement in the West, Williams was ready to work.⁶⁹

A successful businessman with a plethora of contacts in Washington, Williams could both comprehend and execute White's infiltration strategy. Seattle, which alone comprised King County, consisted of 1,800 precincts, with which the existing Republican establishment had only staffed between three and four hundred chairmen. Furthermore, of Washington's 5,500 total precincts, only 2,500 could claim established leaders.⁷⁰ Eyeing these rather glaring holes in the prevailing Republican infrastructure, Williams set to work. "Once we get precinct captains named," he remarked at the time, "we know where they'd stand when it came to voting."⁷¹ The plan was straightforward. By staffing these precinct positions -- the lowest possible echelon in the Republican hierarchy -- with conservatives, Williams and White could ensure that the delegates who emerged from them would support Goldwater.

Their strategy was overwhelmingly successful for one predominant reason. Because precinct caucuses represented the lowest tier of the Republican Party, participation was correspondingly the

⁶⁶ Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, p.177.

⁶⁷ White, *The Making of the President: 1964*, p.162.

⁶⁸ Ibid. p.164.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid. p.165.

⁷¹ Ibid.

lowest as well. Occurring every two years, precinct caucuses were held everywhere from apartments to libraries to gymnasiums. Attendance varied from as many as several hundred people to as few as three or four.⁷² Theodore White estimated that overall, “only some 60,000 Washington Republicans turn[ed] out for their precinct caucuses,”⁷³ constituting an especially vulnerable channel through which conservatives could gain access. Relying on a budget of \$35,000, 5% of an estate bequeathed to the organization by a deceased doctor, and an endorsed social security check from a woman convinced Goldwater would “protect her from the Negroes,” Williams set to work.⁷⁴

Employing his extensive list of contacts and volunteers, Williams proceeded to flood virtually every precinct caucus in the state of Washington beginning in February of 1964. From there, 15,000 representatives, the bulk of which were Goldwater supporters, were sent to county conventions in March and April. In June, 877 delegates were selected to attend the congressional, and later statewide, conventions, whereupon 24 at-large delegates were chosen to represent Washington at the Republican National Convention.⁷⁵ By mid-June, the “Goldwater people,” in the words of Theodore White, “controlled the state convention lock stock and barrel.”⁷⁶ Luke Williams singlehandedly controlled over 70% of the delegates by this point; not even Edith Williams, the granddaughter of Theodore Roosevelt, could muster enough support to be a national delegate. Nor could Mort Frayn, the former Republican State Committee chairman, who was ultimately denied delegate status at his congressional caucus, which like everywhere else was literally swarming with Goldwater supporters.⁷⁷

When it was all set and done, an astounding 22 of Washington’s 24 national delegates would support Barry Goldwater.⁷⁸ But perhaps even more remarkable was this statistic: In addi-

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid. p.66.

⁷⁸ Busch, “In Defense of the ‘Mixed’ System,” p.537.

tion to controlling nearly all the state's national delegates, Luke Williams had also succeeded in staffing the some 3,000 previously neglected precinct offices with staunch conservatives. Because these leadership positions were not manned at the time, those who arrived at precinct caucuses -- of which the vast majority were Goldwater supporters -- also elected chairmen. Unsurprisingly, nearly all were filled by conservatives. While this seemingly minor fact would have no impact at the time, it was nevertheless a key element for the conservatives' continued hold on the party after the 1964 election.⁷⁹ In the words of Andrew Busch:

Not only did 22 of Washington's 24 delegates to San Francisco in 1964 vote for Barry Goldwater, but as important, conservatives remained in control of the state party machinery after the election... The Republican Party was less "Republican Party" than the "Goldwater Party."⁸⁰

We will delve deeper into how conservatives were able to maintain this power, but for now it is important to note that this pattern of infiltrating precinct caucuses occurred all throughout the West. Luke Williams was but one of hundreds, if not thousands, of contacts pooled by Clifton White, William Rusher, and the rest of the Suite 3505 Committee. They were able to achieve these remarkable victories not with a surplus of money, but with a surplus of volunteers. These activists were neither paid nor compensated in any meaningful way, other than with the eventual nomination of the man who they firmly believed could drastically reorient the direction of the country. And while Goldwater did not win, their hard work would by no means -- not by a long shot -- be in vain.

Capturing California

California posed a separate challenge. Possessing a hefty 86 delegates -- all of whom were awarded to the winner -- the Golden State would serve as much-needed insurance for the Gold-

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

water candidacy.⁸¹ However, unlike most states that conservatives had infiltrated, California employed a direct primary system, meaning that activists could not simply attain delegates by exploiting procedural loopholes. Instead, conservatives would have to win the hearts and minds of California voters, a task that would not prove easy. To achieve this, they relied on a host of auxiliary organizations, such as the Young Republicans and the Republican assembly.

In 1958, the popular Republican Governor of California, Goodwin Knight, was pressured to abandon his reelection bid to make way for the candidacy of William F. Knowland, the conservative minority leader of the United States Senate, an event that one senior Republican official would refer to as the “greatest political blunder of the generation.”⁸² While Knowland would ultimately lose in a landslide, the campaign was nevertheless of paramount importance for marshaling conservatives, who would thereafter prove decisive in Goldwater’s primary victory in California.⁸³

The impetus behind Knowland’s initial success lay with the “Right To Work” movement. The brainchild of large corporations and their conservative allies, the Right To Work platform called for making California union membership strictly voluntary.⁸⁴ Adopting the slogan “freedom vs. tyranny,” Knowland proceeded to ground his campaign solely in Proposition 18, an initiative that sought to replace existing collective bargaining laws with Right To Work.⁸⁵ While Knowland would ultimately lose handedly to his opponent, Patrick Brown,⁸⁶ the Knowland campaign became the impetus behind an unprecedented mobilization of conservative auxiliary organizations.

Much like the Goldwater movement that preceded it, the conservative movement in California did not fade away despite Knowland’s crushing loss. While Knowland himself gravi-

⁸¹ Perlstein, *Before the Storm*, p.187.

⁸² Kurt Schuparra “Freedom vs. Tyranny: The 1958 California Election and the Origins of the State’s Conservative Movement.” *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 63, no. 4 (1994): p.538.

⁸³ *Ibid.* p.539.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p.540.

⁸⁵ Schuparra, *The Triumph of the Right*, pp.28-29.

⁸⁶ Totton J. Anderson “The 1958 Election in California.” *Western Political Quarterly*, vol. 12, no. 1 (1959): p.291.

tated away from politics, choosing instead to focus his time on editing the *Oakland Tribune*, the machinery through which he had clenched the Republican nomination refused to disperse.⁸⁷ Emboldened by Knowland's astonishing early success, the ripples of discord between California Republicans had grown into surging riptides, leaving the GOP an organization divided heavily by ideology. The traditionally conservative periodical, *Human Events*, invigorated by the promise of the Knowland campaign, declared Eisenhower Republicanism "dead" in the aftermath of the 1958 campaign.⁸⁸ Meanwhile, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, a mouthpiece of Eisenhower Republicanism, derided the Knowland campaign as an "extreme" Republican group that had "decided over a year ago to take California back into the 19th century, away from the 'modern Republicanism' that the members of that group so heartily loathe."⁸⁹

Yet conservatives, who ever since the New Deal had been effectively ostracized by their own party, all at once became invigorated. Eisenhower and Rockefeller Republicanism suddenly found itself on the defensive. William F. Buckley Jr., publisher of the conservative upstart *National Review*, declared that such a philosophy was "fundamentally... a retreat from an explicit expression of the meaning of American society."⁹⁰ Conservatives, energized by the Knowland campaign, witnessed a renewed faith in their principles of limited government and individual liberty as first established by the founders.⁹¹

The John Birch Society, considered a right-wing extremist group by many, was established during the midst of the Knowland campaign by Robert Welch. While it was initially based in Minnesota, many Californians were drawn to its radical Anti-Communist tenets as the Right To Work initiative picked up steam. Welch aimed to mobilize "more man power and more resources

⁸⁷ Ibid. p.456.

⁸⁸ Schuparra, "Freedom vs. Tyranny," p.550.

⁸⁹ Ibid. p.556.

⁹⁰ Ibid. p.557.

⁹¹ Ibid.

than... [auto union leader Walter] Reuther's [AFL-CIO]."⁹² Harboring similar sentiments against socialism -- and its perceived allies in the U.S., labor unions -- numerous other right-wing organizations emerged, such as the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and the California Republican Assembly, both of which promptly received high-profile financial backers.⁹³ By the early 1960s, both Orange and Los Angeles counties had become bastions for conservatives, particularly John Birchers.⁹⁴

It would be at these crucial crossroads that conservatives would seize their window of opportunity. Under the auspices of Clifton White, William Rusher, and Congressman John Ashbrook of Ohio, conservatives pooled their contacts within California GOP offices and quietly began building a coalition of ideologically likeminded individuals who had grown disillusioned with the direction of the Republican Party.⁹⁵ Irked by moderates who, according to White, were "plotting nothing less than the election of Nelson Rockefeller as the next President of the United States," this meager, yet extraordinarily astute band set out building their movement.⁹⁶ Ashbrook in particular served as a crucial asset, as he possessed a list of contacts from his days as chairman of the Young Republicans.⁹⁷

By pooling their extensive list of contacts, many of whom had remained coalesced around the *National Review*, the "Suite 3505 Committee" was able to unite the smorgasbord of conservative organizations in California, including the Republican Assembly and the United Republicans of California, into a coalition that would later prove crucial in delivering Barry Goldwater his decisive primary victory in California. Conservative activists worked exceptionally hard to infiltrate Republican auxiliaries, most notably the Young Republicans and the Republican Assem-

⁹² Ibid. p.558.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ White and Gill, *Suite 3505*, pp.31-33.

⁹⁶ Ibid. p.32.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

bly,⁹⁸ and within three years of Knowland's failed bid for the governor's chair a significant portion of county chairmen and GOP auxiliaries were avowed conservatives.⁹⁹ By 1964, the conservative upstart organization, the United Republicans of California (UROC) had reportedly organized some 10,000 members belonging to 290 entities within each of the state's 58 counties.¹⁰⁰

Between 1962 and 1964, the conservative strategy to gain control of the California Republican Party was three-fold. First, an endorsement policy was established whereby conservatives offered funding and organizational support for those candidates who passed their "litmus test." Second, conservatives waged a fierce crusade to defeat incumbent moderate Republicans, even if doing so led to certain defeat in the general election. Third, apart from primaries, conservatives attempted to control local and statewide parties, as well as Republican auxiliary organizations, by influencing who was appointed to crucial positions.¹⁰¹

This final strategy, known as "Operation Take-Over," was extraordinarily successful. The once moderate Republican Assembly, for instance, was captured when Nolan Frizzelle defeated Vernon Davis for chairman. Soon after, on February 17th, 1963, conservative Robert Gaston of Los Angeles wrangled the chairmanship of the Young Republicans from moderate Kenneth Danir of Pasadena by a vote of 189-170.¹⁰² Under Gaston's autocratic hand, the 14,000 member organization quickly transformed into what Theodore White called "the most disciplined body of youngsters the state had ever seen."¹⁰³ Decidedly ruthless by nature, seemingly no degree of conservatism was appropriate enough for Gaston. Even William Knowland drew his suspicions: "That Knowland," he once remarked, "talks conservative when he's back here, but when he was in Washington he voted for foreign aid and the U.N."¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ Totton J. Anderson and Eugene C. Lee. "The 1964 Election in California." *Western Political Quarterly*, vol. 18, no. 2 (1965): p.456.

⁹⁹ Ibid. p.457.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. p.456.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ White, *The Making of the President: 1964*, p.147.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

The Young Republicans -- traditionally among the most potent Republican canvassing tools -- set out under Gaston's tutelage to depose party members in favor of conservatives, no matter the ultimate outcome.¹⁰⁵ They refused, for instance, to endorse three assemblymen and two congressmen "because their voting records were less than 75% acceptable."¹⁰⁶ At the same time, their conservative ally, the United Republicans of California, actively campaigned against 14 of the 28 Republican incumbent assemblymen.¹⁰⁷ Another conservative organization, the Citizens Committee of California, claimed 35,000 members and by 1964 had reportedly raised a war chest of \$500,000 solely for the purposes of "nominating a conservative candidate to every one of the 139 congressional and state partisan offices in the primary election."¹⁰⁸ Funded primarily by a consortium of 200 California businesses, United for California actively campaigned for 21 legislative nominees, of whom 19 ultimately won.¹⁰⁹

But the crux of the conservatives' plan was not necessarily to put their own candidates into office. Rather, the impetus behind their unprecedented mobilization was to wrangle control of the California Republican Party itself. The plan was rooted in little-known law that stated that "all party nominees, including incumbents, for partisan statewide offices, the Congress and the state legislature, [are] entitled to appoint members to the state central committees of the party."¹¹⁰ In other words, in spite of the eventual outcome of a given primary, each candidate was afforded the right to appoint voting members to state party offices; three for nominees and five for incumbents.¹¹¹

Thus conservative auxiliaries hatched a simple, yet brilliant plan. With their organizational prowess, conservatives managed to field candidates in each of California's 58 counties, in

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Anderson and Lee, "The 1964 Election in California," p.457.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

spite of whether or not they had a chance at winning. In return, their nominees appointed conservative members to the state central committee.¹¹² Coupled with the fact that Los Angeles and Orange counties were already dominated by conservatives, the plan came within a whisker of succeeding, even though few of their candidates prevailed in the primary, let alone the general election. In fact it was only after the state legislature changed the law in 1964, after clearly realizing that the GOP was on the verge of a hostile takeover, that conservatives were stopped just short of their goal.¹¹³ As moderate assemblyman Casper Weinberger remarked at the time: “[it was] an effort... being made by a small, narrowly based and heavily financed group to take over the official committees of the California Republican Party.”¹¹⁴ Indeed, by 1964, an Associated Press poll of fifty-six county chairmen revealed that Barry Goldwater was the most popular choice for President with the support of seventeen leaders, followed by Nixon with nine, Rockefeller with six, Lodge with four, and Scranton with three.¹¹⁵

Table 4.4: California Chairmen Presidential Preference

<i>Candidate</i>	<i>Chairmen Support (%)</i>	<i>Num.</i>
Barry Goldwater	30.4%	17
Richard Nixon	16.1%	9
Nelson Rockefeller	10.7%	6
Henry Cabot Lodge	7.1%	4
William Scranton	5.3%	3
Undecided	30.4%	17

Source: Anderson and Lee, "The 1964 Election in California," p.460.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. p.460.

While the previous chapter helps to explain from an external perspective how conservatives infiltrated the Republican Party, we have not examined the Goldwater delegates themselves. As we touched on in Chapter III, while delegates typically felt strongly about certain candidates, they were not necessarily predisposed towards one or the other. Compromise, rather than ideology, was the prevailing theme at the national convention. But the 1964 convention marked a departure from these norms, principally due to the distinct nature of Goldwater delegates. Intensely ideological, these delegates arrived at the Republican National Convention with one sole objective: reestablishing the conservative influence within the GOP. For many, the fact that Goldwater could be perceived to be a weak candidate -- given his polarizing stance on the issues and Lyndon Johnson's popularity -- was glossed over. In fact, as it will be argued in this chapter, many of these delegates were well aware that Goldwater would lose, yet they supported him anyway. "If the goal of winning the election predominated, as it had in the past," echoed Aaron Wildavsky, "the Republican Party would have been unlikely to nominate Goldwater."¹

Why was this? This chapter offers two explanations: First, the political conditions during which the Republican National Convention assembled lent itself favorably to Goldwater, including Lyndon Johnson's commanding lead in the polls, as well as a dearth of popular GOP moderates vying for the nomination. Second, the Goldwater delegates themselves were vastly different from their predecessors. While nominating Goldwater was certainly an important achievement in its own right, for many delegates it was more a favorable byproduct of having wrested control of the party from the moderates. In short, the 1964 Republican National Convention witnessed

¹ Aaron Wildavsky. "The Goldwater Phenomenon: Purists, Politicians, and the Two-Party System." *The Review of Politics*, vol. 27, no. 3 (1965): p.390.

a new breed of “purist,” Movement Conservative delegates with aspirations to thoroughly reshape the party, to the extent that a Republican victory was peripheral to ensuring that conservatives would thereafter dominate party machinery.²

Table 5.1: Regional Support for Successful GOP Candidate

Year	Candidate	Votes	% Support From:			
			South	West	Midwest	Northeast
1940	Willkie	655	21.8%	11.1%	27.6%	39.5%
1948	Dewey	434	27.7%	15.2%	15.2%	39.9%
1952	Eisenhower	595	21.3%	12.6%	18.8%	46.3%
1964	Goldwater	883	39.1%	24.1%	31.8%	5.0%

Source: Bain and Parris, *Convention Decisions and Voting Records*.

Before we begin, it is important to consider that in 1964, Goldwater drew the majority of his delegates from the South, West, and Midwest. As Table 5.1 illustrates, this stands in stark contrast to preceding GOP candidates who had relied predominantly on the Northeast, the region from which Willkie, Dewey, and Eisenhower had drawn vast pluralities of support. In short, then, we can preface this chapter by noting that even from a geographic frame of reference, the Goldwater delegates were a group unlike any that had arrived for a national convention. As this chapter will demonstrate, these differences were compounded by the Goldwater delegates’ robust conservatism and recalcitrant disposition. I hypothesize, therefore, that a qualitative examination of the Goldwater delegates lends credence to my argument that conservatives infiltrated Republican Party machinery. Instead of delegates invested in the concept of compromise and party unity, Goldwater delegates reflected the interests of Clifton White and the Suite 3505 committee, namely, the permanent consolidation of conservative values within the party.

Special Conditions

“You won’t have Nixon to kick around anymore, because, gentlemen, this is my last press conference.”³ So declared Richard Nixon during the aftermath of his demoralizing defeat to Pat

² Ibid.

³ *New York Times*, “Nixon, Bitter at his Defeat by Brown in California Denounces the Press as Biased.” Nov. 8, 1962.

Brown in the 1962 California gubernatorial election. After denouncing the press as biased, Nixon would flee the Golden State to establish a private law practice in New York, thus spurning his political career for the time being. In light of his candidacy in 1960, Nixon had up until that point been considered the front-runner for the 1964 nomination. Yet when he lost to Brown in the California gubernatorial race -- a bid that was widely perceived to be a springboard for his eventual presidential ambitions -- Nixon created a window of opportunity for Barry Goldwater and the conservatives.

After Nixon's implosion, Nelson Rockefeller became the odds-on-favorite to win the nomination, given both his popularity among the electorate and his stature within the Eastern Establishment. Yet Rockefeller would fall victim to a scandal of his own creation. In 1961, the 53-year-old Rockefeller, then governor of New York, divorced his first wife. Two years later he remarried 36 year-old Margaretta "Happy" Murphy, who the previous month had divorced *her* husband and surrendered to him custody of their four children.⁴ "Rockefeller's problem," noted pollster Lou Harris, "is his divorce and remarriage... Make no mistake about it, it is a crippling element particularly among women, and has just about destroyed his chances."⁵ The remarriage knocked nearly twenty percentage points from Rockefeller's approval rating.⁶ Although he slowly regained popularity in the ensuing year, the new Mrs. Rockefeller gave birth to a son only three days prior to the 1964 California primary, thus offering voters a seven-pound, six-ounce reminder of the scandal from which he had so nearly escaped.⁷

George Romney, another popular figure among the party's liberal wing, was considered a dark horse for the nomination. After winning the Michigan governor's race in 1960 on a platform that included a pledge not to run for President in 1964, Romney found himself in a tight

⁴ David Frum, *How We Got Here: The 70s-- The Decade that Brought You Modern Life-- For Better or Worse*. New York: Basic Books, 1999. pp.58-59.

⁵ *Ibid.* p.59.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

spot come the primary season.⁸ Although he certainly entertained presidential ambitions, Romney ultimately chose not to run for fear of public backlash, coupled with the fact that many in the Michigan press threatened not to support his bid.⁹

Finally, Goldwater benefitted, ironically, from Lyndon Johnson's overwhelming popularity. A poll in early 1964 found that 80% of the country approved of the Texan's handling of the country, a figure that would remain above 70% for the following year.¹⁰ This sobering statistic would aid Goldwater and the conservatives in two ways. First, the near certainty that Johnson would win acted as a disincentive for otherwise strong candidates to run for office. Nixon, for instance, trying desperately to shed his "loser" image, avoided a 1964 bid. And Romney, who might well have backtracked on his promise if 1964 proved promising, similarly backed out. Henry Cabot Lodge, although scoring an upset victory in the New Hampshire primary, failed to maintain his momentum and ceased his efforts soon thereafter.¹¹ Second, and perhaps most crucially, Johnson's popularity also stood as a disincentive for delegates to nominate a popular candidate, paving the way for them to instead reshape the face of the party.¹²

Purists vs. Politicians

"The delegates are for Goldwater because they agree with his philosophy of government," remarked one delegate at the 1964 Republican National Convention. "That's what you people will never understand -- we're committed to his whole approach."¹³ The 1964 convention would witness a new breed of delegates -- the purists.¹⁴ As explained in Chapter II, delegates historically arrived to "pick a winner," or in other words, attempted to nominate a candidate who could ap-

⁸ Theodore White. *The Making of the President: 1964*. New York: Signet, 1965. p.107.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ *Washington Post*, "Approval Highs and Lows." July 24th, 2007.
<http://voices.washingtonpost.com/behind-the-numbers/2007/07/approval_highs_and_lows.html>

¹¹ White, *The Making of the President: 1964*, pp.135-138.

¹² Wildavsky, "The Goldwater Phenomenon," p.391.

¹³ Ibid. p.393.

¹⁴ Ibid.

peal to the broadest amount of voters. While delegates may or may not have been predisposed towards one candidate or another, they, and the party as a whole, nevertheless understood that loyalties could, and moreover *should*, fluctuate for the greater good of the party. The concept of balloting was invested in this concept. If no candidate received the minimum number of votes to win the nomination, there followed more negotiations and a subsequent balloting round. The 1952 Republican National Convention, for instance, featured a second ballot after delegates could not gain the required number of votes for either Dwight Eisenhower or Robert Taft.

But this all changed in 1964. At the convention, political scientist Aaron Wildavsky conducted an extensive series of interviews with those in attendance in order to differentiate Goldwater delegates from the more traditional variety. In his study, Wildavsky concluded that the delegates could be divided into “politicians” and “purists,” with Goldwater supporters typically falling under the latter category.¹⁵ “While not all Goldwater supporters were purists (some twenty percent were politicians),” Wildavsky noted, “all purists were Goldwater supporters.”¹⁶ The following is a transcript of an interview with a Goldwater delegate from a rural region in Pennsylvania:¹⁷

D: What qualities should a presidential candidate have?

I: Moral integrity.

D: Should he be able to win the election?

I: No; principles are more important. I would rather be one against 20,000 and believe I was right. That’s what I admire about Goldwater. He’s like that.

D: Are most politicians like that?

I: No, unfortunately.

I: Do you think that if the party loses badly in November it ought to change its principles?

D: No. I’m willing to fight for these principles for ten years if we don’t win.

I: For 50 years?

D: Even 50 years.

I: Do you think it’s better to compromise a little to win than to lose and not compromise?

D: I had this problem in my district. After we fighters had won [the nomination for] the congressional seat the local [Republican] machine offered to make a

¹⁵ Ibid. p.394.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ I: Interviewer, D: Delegate

deal: they wouldn't oppose our candidate if we didn't oppose theirs. I refused because I didn't see how I could make a deal with the men I'd been opposing two years ago for the things they did. So I lost and I could have won easily. I've thought about it many times, because if I had agreed I could have done some good at least. But I don't believe that I should compromise one inch from what I believe deep down inside.¹⁸

This rejection of compromise most critically defined the Goldwater delegates. Whereas delegates in the past would be willing to switch allegiances if they determined the party as a whole would be better off, the "Goldwater people" were committed to, and unwilling to deviate from, a very specific ideology. This mentality closely echoed Goldwater himself, who refused to abandon his principles even when it was politically advantageous to do so, his vote against the 1964 Civil Rights Act standing as a significant case in point.

The purist Goldwater delegates stood in stark contrast to the "politicians," to whom the concept of compromise was paramount for the continued longevity of the Republican Party. The following is an interview with a California delegate who, while ideologically drawn to Goldwater, was circumspect towards the Arizona Senator's electability:

I: You seem different from many of the Goldwater supporters. How would you characterize your position in comparison with them?

D: Yes, I'm more practical. I realize you have to live together. For example, I'm going up now to a meeting of the California Republican committee and we've got to handle a liberal candidate and an ultra-conservative. I'm going to urge them to accept the liberal because we've got to work together. We [the Republicans] are a minority party in California and we can't afford to squabble amongst ourselves. The art of politics is the art of compromise. If I can get a whole loaf, I'll take it. If not, I'll take half rather than lose it all.

I: [What would Goldwater do about] social security?

D: We've had it for a long time, it's part of our system. That's something the Goldwater people don't realize. They're a new breed and sort of naïve on things like this. They think you can suddenly shift the whole range of government to the right. What they don't realize is that you can only bend a little back away from the left.

I: What if Goldwater loses by a landslide?

D: Well, then, maybe the people aren't ready for a change ... Yes, we'll have to try to change, maybe a little more towards the liberal side.¹⁹

¹⁸ Wildavsky, "The Goldwater Phenomenon," pp.394-395.

¹⁹ Ibid. pp.395-396.

This particular delegate, who had spent more than 15 years working for the GOP, personified the prototypical delegate in two ways. First, by establishing party unity and electability as the foremost priorities, delegates like these opened the door for compromise. But secondly, it is crucial to understand that this delegate was ideologically drawn to Goldwater, and, moreover, personally wished he would win the nomination. This directly relates to our definitions of party leaders and followers from Chapter II. According to McClosky et. al:

Consideration of the scores of Republican leaders and followers shows not only that [leaders] are widely separated in their outlooks but also that the leaders are uniformly more conservative than their followers. In short, whereas Republican leaders hold to the tenets of business ideology and remain faithful to the spirit and intellectual mood of leaders like Robert A. Taft, the rank and file Republican supporters have embraced, along with their Democratic brethren, the regulatory and social reform measures of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations.²⁰

Given their status as party leaders, we can ascertain from McClosky et. al's data that with respect to *ideology*, there was little difference between Wildavsky's "purists" and "politicians." The critical difference, however, was this: Purists were unwilling to compromise even when failing to do so could jeopardize the party as a whole. The above delegate, while drawn to Goldwater's conservatism, when push came to shove would ultimately support the candidate whom he believed could *win*.

"I've talked to some of the [Goldwater] delegates," remarked one citizen observing the convention, "and I don't understand them at all; they talk like they don't care if we win."²¹ While purist delegates certainly wanted Goldwater to win, they nevertheless maintained that a Republican victory was peripheral to ideological purity. "We want a clear party which will represent principles to the people," remarked one purist. "I'd rather stick by the real principles this country was built on than win. Popularity isn't important; prestige isn't important; it's the principles that matter."²² Similarly, when delegates were asked whether the ticket should be balanced with a lib-

²⁰ Herbert McClosky, Paul J. Hoffmann, and Rosemary O'Hara. "Issue Conflict and Consensus Among Party Leaders and Followers." *American Political Science Review*, vol. 54, no. 2 (1960): p.423.

²¹ Wildavsky, "The Goldwater Phenomenon," p.396.

²² *Ibid.* p.397.

eral vice-presidential ticket in order to broaden its appeal, purists were unsurprisingly antagonistic. “We don’t want a blurred image,” said one, “we’ve been a me-too party for too long. We want to take a clear position... Even if the party loses at least we have presented a clear alternative to the people.”²³ One particularly zealous delegate even hoped “to see all liberals in the East and all conservatives in the West.”²⁴

Although nominating Goldwater was certainly an achievement in its own right, purists were predominantly concerned with ensuring their party coalesced around a distinct set of issues, thereby starkly distinguishing it from the Democrats. Indeed, as Wildavsky’s interviews demonstrated, most were more than willing to sacrifice Republican prospects in the 1964 election insofar as conservatives consolidated their influence within the party. But most importantly, the presence of these “purists” -- especially in such overwhelming numbers -- reflects the fact that conservative activists succeeded in infiltrating party machinery throughout the country.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid. p.399.

The 1964 election proved disastrous for the Republican Party. The Goldwater-Miller ticket was thrashed 61% to 38.5% in the popular vote, and by an ignominious margin of 486 to 52 in the electoral college.¹ Goldwater carried only his home state of Arizona and the five Deep South states of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, and South Carolina.² To add insult to injury, the GOP lost two Senate seats, 38 House seats, one governorship, and an astounding 550 seats in state legislatures.³ Moreover, among Blacks, of whom 32% had supported Nixon in 1960, Goldwater won a paltry 6% -- a direct repercussion of his opposition to the 1964 Civil Rights Act.⁴

Nevertheless, the conservative hold on the party would persist. First, we will examine the regional makeup of the Republican National Convention between 1940 and 1968. I argue that the balance of power shifted from the Northeast -- the traditional bastion of liberals -- to the West and South, where conservatives had systematically infiltrated party machinery. These districts remained under conservative control primarily due to the means through which control had been initially achieved. Second, coupled with this shift was a change in region *ideology*. In other words, between 1960 and 1968, regions that had previously supported liberal candidates began supporting conservatives.

Finally, we will examine evidence to support our claim. Unfortunately, there exists little in the way of polling data regarding county chairmen. As a result, we will turn to indirect data in the form of congressional roll-calls to identify a shift in voting patterns before and after 1964. As

¹ Nicole C. Rae. *The Decline and Fall of the Liberal Republicans from 1952 to the Present*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. p.75.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

per our interpretation of Movement Conservatism, I have chosen voting behavior with respect to civil rights legislation, which prior to 1964 was firmly embraced by the Republican Party. After 1964, however, the party uniformly switched from an affirmative to a dissenting stance, a phenomenon that I attribute to the conservative takeover.

Region Delegate Strength

After 1964, the number of delegates to the Republican National Convention continued to shift from states controlled by the traditional establishment toward more conservative regions of the country. The explanation is two-fold. First, conservatives benefited indirectly from the delegate appointment formula devised by the RNC, which disproportionately favored states that fell under conservative dominion. Second, conservative party building in areas that previously claimed no infrastructure, most prominently in the South, further exacerbated this trend.

Table 6.1: Regional Voting Strengths at GOP Conventions

	<i>Percentage of Total Convention Vote:</i>			
<i>Year</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Midwest</i>	<i>Northeast</i>
1940	21.3%	13.6%	32.2%	32.2%
1944	20.7%	15.1%	31.5%	31.7%
1948	21.4%	15.7%	31.5%	30.3%
1952	19.0%	19.0%	29.0%	30.8%
1956	24.6%	18.0%	28.8%	26.9%
1960	24.6%	17.5%	27.9%	28.4%
1964	24.8%	18.6%	27.8%	26.6%
1968	26.7%	19.6%	26.4%	26.0%
<i>Net Gain:</i>	+5.4%	+6.0%	-5.8%	-6.2%

Source: Rae, *The Decline and Fall of the Liberal Republicans*, p.73.

Table 6.1 provides us with the delegate strength of the South, West, Midwest, and Northeast from 1940-1968. Most critically, liberals succeeding in maintaining their grip on the Republican Party due to the fact that their bastion, the Northeast, consistently sent a near or complete plurality of delegates to the national convention. Yet beginning by the late 1940s, a slow, discernible shift occurred whereby the Northeast's power declined vis-à-vis the South and

West. From claiming a high of 32.2% of delegates to the RNC in 1940, the Northeast's delegate strength weakened by 1968 to 26%, a diminution that occurred primarily external to conservatives' organizational efforts. Prior to 1962 and the efforts of conservative activists like Clifton White and William Miller, the South and West received more prominent representation not because they were growing more Republican, but because the Northeast became slightly *less* Republican.⁵

The conservative party building tactics outlined in Chapter IV exacerbated this trend. Between 1960 and 1968, regions in which conservatives actively sought to establish themselves witnessed a marked rise in delegate strength. Southern representation, for instance, jumped from 24.6% to 26.7%, and, similarly, Western representation rose from 17.5% to 19.6%. Northeastern strength, meanwhile, slipped from 28.4% to 26%.

In short, liberals could no longer depend solely on the Northeast to muscle through their candidates as they once could. Although liberals' prominence within the Northeast would not dissipate, the region's overall delegate share had diminished to the point where the collective strength of areas dominated by conservatives had grown far more powerful. While during the 1940s the South and West combined barely matched the delegate strength of the Northeast, by 1968 the South alone had grown more powerful.

Regional Candidate Strength

As the Northeast's overall delegate strength diminished substantially by 1968, there was a corresponding decrease with respect to its ideological influence. Table 6.2 offers the regional support for the successful GOP presidential candidates between 1940 and 1968. The data reveal that prior to the 1960s the Northeast consistently accounted for a plurality of delegate support for the successful nominee for president. Starting with Goldwater, however, an immediate and last-

⁵ Ibid. p.73.

ing shift occurred whereby the successful nominee received the *least* support from the Northeast. In 1940, 1948, and 1952, the Northeast accounted respectively for 39.5%, 39.9% and 46.3% of delegate support for successful nominees. Yet in 1964, the Northeast threw only 5% of its support behind Goldwater, who nonetheless succeeded in garnering the nomination with predominantly southern strength.

Table 6.2: Regional Support for Successful GOP Candidate

Year	Candidate	Votes	% Support From:			
			South	West	Midwest	Northeast
1940	Willkie	655	21.8%	11.1%	27.6%	39.5%
1948	Dewey	434	27.7%	15.2%	15.2%	39.9%
1952	Eisenhower	595	21.3%	12.6%	18.8%	46.3%
1964	Goldwater	883	39.1%	24.1%	31.8%	5.0%
1968	Nixon	692	38.1%	18.1%	26.7%	15.9%

Source: Bain and Parris, *Convention Decisions and Voting Records*.

Even during the four years preceding the disastrous Goldwater campaign, liberals failed to regain clout within party infrastructure. In 1968, the Northeast again accounted for the least significant delegate bloc at 15.9%. Although Nelson Rockefeller received over 50% of his delegate support from the Northeast, Nixon would easily win the nomination after the first ballot.⁶

In a word, the data reveal two crucial details. First, the Northeast remained a liberal bastion, evidenced by its continued support for liberal candidates like Rockefeller. Second, however, liberals could no longer unilaterally control the nomination process. The South and West, which were dominated by conservatives after 1964, consistently accounted for well over half of Nixon's support in 1968. As Gerald Pomper noted at the time:

A shift of power within the parties is clearly evident. The earlier control of the Republican Party by the "Eastern Establishment," seen in Eisenhower's reliance on the most liberal faction, was reversed by Goldwater's nomination. Nixon's nomination maintains the party's new leaning towards its more conservative wing.⁷

⁶ Ibid. p.98.

⁷ Gerald M. Pomper. "From Confusion to Clarity: Issues and American Voters, 1956-1968." *American Political Science Review*, vol. 66, no. 2 (1972): p.829.

Included in our definition of the Eastern Establishment was a firm commitment to civil rights legislation. Politicians such as Nelson Rockefeller and Dwight Eisenhower not only embraced their “party of Lincoln” image, but believed efforts to curb racial inequality represented a fulfillment of Abraham Lincoln’s legacy. Doing so was also politically advantageous, given the generally supportive attitude of civil rights in the North, as well as the recent influx of African Americans into northern cities. As there were practically no Republican representatives from the South (in 1957 there were six), the Republican national platform more often than not echoed that of their northern, liberal establishment.⁸

I hypothesize that because conservatives infiltrated the Republican Party between 1962 and 1964 -- and, more importantly, remained in control thereafter -- a marked shift with respect to civil rights voting behavior occurred as conservatives consolidated their grip on the nomination process. While the GOP previously shepherded landmark civil rights legislation, including the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1964, through the House and Senate, this behavior would abruptly reverse in the years following the Goldwater candidacy.

Couched in states’ rights language, the conservatives who literally “created” the southern Republican Party adopted staunch segregationist platforms. An effective case in point can be found in John Tower, whose 1960 Senate victory proved historic for several reasons. Not only was he the first Republican senator from Texas since Reconstruction, but he also became the first Republican from the former Confederacy to win a popular election for Senate.⁹ Contending that his Democratic opponent was aligned with the Kennedy Administration, Tower managed to edge out a victory. Once in the Senate, he solidified his conservative stance towards civil rights by voting against both the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.¹⁰ Under the

⁸ Mark Stern. “Party Alignments and Civil Rights: Then and Now.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 3 (1995): p.414.

⁹ Rick Perlstein. *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus*. 2001. Reprint, New York: Nation Books, 2009. p.86.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp.86-87.

vener of states' rights and Anti-Communism, Tower denounced the peaceful sit-ins that were occurring throughout the South, contending that such activities were susceptible to Communist subversion. Moreover, in justifying his voting record, Tower similarly claimed that civil rights legislation represented an unconstitutional encroachment on America's most sacred liberties.¹¹

As Republicans increasingly grew competitive in these districts -- and by 1966 began *winning them* -- a discernible shift in voting behavior with respect to civil rights should be evident. I hypothesize that since conservatives controlled many precinct-level operations, Republican congressmen would reflect the conservative channels through which they were nominated. Because conservatives actively expanded the party in both the South and West, and achieved modest infiltration in the Midwest, we should expect to see correspondingly conservative voting behavior from congressmen in these regions.

Table 6.3: GOP Regional Support for Civil Rights

Region	<i>Civ. Rights Act of 1964</i>			<i>Civ. Rights Act of 1966</i>			<i>Civ. Rights Act of 1968</i>		
	Reps.	Yea	Nay	Reps.	Yea	Nay	Reps.	Yea	Nay
South	15	20.0%	80.0%	21	5.0%	95.0%	32	15.6%	84.4%
West	27	70.4%	29.6%	21	14.3%	85.7%	30	26.7%	73.3%
Midwest	71	84.5%	15.5%	56	64.3%	35.7%	73	61.6%	38.4%

Source: <http://www.govtrack.us>

Table 6.3 was tabulated by dividing the total number of GOP House members who registered a vote for the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Civil Rights Act of 1966 (later rejected by the Senate) and the Civil Rights Act of 1968 (commonly referred to as the Fair Housing Act) into geographic regions represented by each congressman.¹² The results from the South, West, and Midwest are depicted. The data reveal a large discrepancy between the Civil Rights Act of 1964, passed prior to the presidential election, and the two subsequent acts of legislation. In 1964, although 80% of southern GOP congressmen voted against the bill, only 15 congressmen were represented in the entire region. In the West, Republicans forcefully supported the bill,

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Civic Impulse, LLC. "Tracking the U.S. Congress." GovTrack. <<http://www.govtrack.us>> (accessed March 29, 2010).

with over 70% of representatives voting in the affirmative. Finally, in the Midwest, the GOP again overwhelmingly supported the measure by a margin of nearly 85%.

These regions, however, infiltrated by conservatives during the run-up to, and throughout the aftermath of, the 1964 presidential election experienced a wholesale shift in voting behavior. While the South maintained its staunch opposition, by 1968 its share of congressmen more than doubled, demonstrating that its elected representatives uniformly preserved their conservative stance. But the most telling figures emerge from the West. While the total number of congressmen from this region remained fairly consistent, their ideological stance completely reversed. While some 70% of Western representatives voted for the 1964 Civil Rights Act, only 14% voted for the 1966 bill, and scarcely a quarter supported the 1968 Fair Housing Bill. These extraordinary statistics reaffirm the impact of precinct organizers such as Luke Williams between 1962 and 1966, and the overall ability of conservative leaders like Clifton White to vastly reorient party ideology with limited resources and manpower.

Finally, in the Midwest, where conservative activists attempted the far more difficult task of party infiltration as opposed to party building, the data similarly reveal striking results. In 1964, over 84% of midwestern representatives supported the civil rights bill. Yet this figure dropped precipitously by 1966 and 1968 to 64.3% and 61.6%, respectively. While not dominating party infrastructure to the degree witnessed in the South and West, conservatives nonetheless were able to significantly alter party ideology in the Midwest by maintaining their communications with rural precinct and countywide caucuses and conventions. As Barry E.M. Blunt noted at the time:

The findings ... suggest the existence of a realignment in the U.S. House of Representatives immediately following the Goldwater candidacy in 1964. This realignment occurred along issues of race as reflected in roll-call votes tapping that dimension. Prior to 1964, Republican members of the House were observed to be substantially more liberal on racial issues than their Democratic counterparts. However, in 1965 an abrupt and lasting change occurred whereby Democrats and Republicans completely switched their views in this area.¹³

¹³ Barry E.M. Blunt "The Goldwater Candidacy: Its Effects on Racial Liberalism in the House of Representatives." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, vol. 15, no. 1 (1985): p.126.

It was indeed the worst of times for the Suite 3505 Committee. Sulking in the corner of his shabby Washington DC office sat Clifton White, eyes fixated on the floor, the testy exchanges of his fellow conservatives drifting in and out of his ears pointlessly. It was the dead of winter 1961, and White had just wrapped up a telephone conversation with Barry Goldwater, who, for the third time, had emphatically refused to consider a run for President in 1964. “Clif, I’m not a candidate,” he had said. “And I’m not going to be. I have no intention of running for the presidency.”¹

Several months into building his network of conservative activists, White had grown frustrated with his organization’s woefully meager war chest and the perpetual rejection by the one man who could legitimize his movement: Barry Goldwater. Without him, conservatives lacked both direction and drive. “We have to draft Goldwater,” sulked one of White’s colleagues, Bob Hughes. “But he won’t let us draft him,” grumbled another.²

It was at that point that a flicker of madness shot through the eyes of Clifton White. Rising to his feet and regarding his associates with a maniac grin, he announced: “Then we’ll draft the son of a bitch *anyway!*”³ And thus began the relentless assault on the Republican Party by a motley crew of shrewd reactionaries. It would not be, as had always proven the case, the candidate who attracted the followers, but precisely the reverse. Movement Conservatives, benefitting from both unprecedented organization and a slew of arcane GOP procedural loopholes, would systematically infiltrate existing party infrastructure and maintain a grip that would thereafter never relinquish.

¹ Perlstein, Rick. *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus*. 2001. Reprint, New York: Nation Books, 2009. p.189.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

How did this happen? How could this “tiny splinter group” -- this “lunatic fringe” -- manage to wrangle control of the party from the Goliath that was the Eastern Establishment? I have divided my argument into six strands. First, I framed the parameters by which I “define” a Movement Conservative. I contended that Movement Conservatives were by and large ideologically homologous with their conservative predecessors. Led by Robert A. Taft, this dwindling band had witnessed its domestic policies become all but discredited by the New Deal -- both by their country and their party. Movement Conservatives thus represented a rebirth of conservative thinking. Comprised of a younger, highly educated generation, these conservatives established an intellectual canon through which they could justify their goals. Coalesced around the *National Review*, among other conservative journals, Movement Conservatives discovered adherents within college campuses, where many were drawn to the sophisticated, highbrow nature of their conservatism. It would be here that many conservative organizations would flourish, including the Young Americans for Freedom and the Young Republicans, which would later prove indispensable assets for the Suite 3505 Committee as they labored to mobilize grassroots volunteers.

Second, we briefly stepped away from Movement Conservatism to examine the American electorate as a whole. Employing extensive data compiled by Herbert McClosky, Paul J. Hoffmann, and Rosemary O’Hara, I argued that significant cleavage points were evident between party leaders and followers. This phenomenon was particularly prominent between Republican leaders and followers, of whom the former were by and large far more conservative, while the latter were more often than not ideologically akin to Democrats. I noted that on the whole, the American electorate itself, regardless of political affiliation, found common ground on nearly every one of the 23 issues examined by McClosky et. al.

Engaging the findings from Chapter II, I maintained that because the American electorate had grown habituated with the societal reforms of the New Deal, the Republican Party, in

spite of the conservatism espoused by its leaders, chose to nominate candidates with the best chance at winning. In other words, while conservative politicians like Robert Taft may have proved more attractive, their conservatism simply did not equate with an American society entrenched in New Deal liberalism. The perennial presence of liberal Republicans like Nelson Rockefeller, Thomas Dewey, and Dwight D. Eisenhower stands as a significant case in point.

The following section attempted to operationalize the meaning of “control” of the Republican Party, an achievement I argued was contingent on control of the nominating process. After outlining this indirect, decentralized procedure, I concluded that the delegate-selection process was largely devoid of public input. Moreover, stemming from the confederate ideology of the Republican Party, the national committee enjoyed extremely limited power with respect to which candidates reached the ballot. While not individually powerful by any means, the vast majority of power lay within the prerogative of lower-echelon officials and functionaries, a body that constituted the oft concealed brass tacks of the Republican Party.

I outlined three models by which party leaders attempted to control the flow of delegates to the national convention. The Oligarchic Model asserts that national and state leaders, perceiving vulnerabilities in the nominating process, attempted to control by any means possible the flow of delegates from local conventions to the national stage. At the other extreme, the Decentralized Model posits that the relationship between national party leaders and their local entities was instead completely devoid of any communication. I concluded that the most accurate model is a synthesis between the two. Data from Richard G. Niemi and M. Kent Jennings demonstrate that party leaders heavily lobbied precinct-level operations only in large counties, or, in other words, regions that harbored the most delegates. The remaining delegations, while collectively accounting for a significant bulk of all national convention representatives, were nevertheless ignored.

The following chapter outlined the conservative takeover by region. In the Midwest, where communication between party leaders and local delegations was minimal, conservatives focused on the most rural delegations, or in other words those spurned by the party establishment. I substantiate this claim with further data from Niemi and Jennings' study that reveal that Goldwater representatives, while lobbying large delegations to the same degree as party leaders, additionally solicited rural ones. Although the Midwest did not throw its entire support behind Goldwater, he was nonetheless able to garner more than enough delegates from the region to win the nomination.

In the South, conservatives benefitted from a program called "Operation Dixie," initiated by the Eisenhower Administration during the mid-1950s as a means of bolstering what little Republican infrastructure existed in the South, as well as expanding the party into areas that were for all intents and purposes exclusively Democratic. It would be RNC chairman William Miller, however, who kicked the program into overdrive by devoting to it nearly one-third of the committee's budget. Tasked with executing the scheme were conservative activists like William Grenier, who traveled Alabama tirelessly founding GOP precinct offices in regions that had for generations never even seen a Republican candidate.

In the West, conservative activists employed their extensive list of volunteers to flood precinct caucuses, where turnout was typically meager at best. Organizers like Luke Williams noted that not only were these caucuses unfrequented, but the official positions intended to oversee them often remained perpetually vacant. In Washington alone, Williams was able to staff nearly 3,000 of the state's 5,500 precinct offices with staunch conservatives. At the 1964 Republican National Convention, 22 of Washington's 24 national delegates threw their support behind Barry Goldwater.

California, however, would prove more difficult. Because the Golden State was one of the few states to employ the direct primary, infiltrating party infrastructure would have no bearing

on the nomination process. Conservative activists thus made use of a slew of grassroots organizations, such as the Young Republicans and the Republican Assembly, to rally public support. In one case, these organizations were able to muster substantial clout for the Right To Work initiative, which called for making California union membership strictly voluntary. Ultimately, conservatives were able to associate themselves with these increasingly popular initiatives, an accomplishment that bolstered Barry Goldwater's credibility during the primary season. Yet in spite of the direct primary, conservatives still infiltrated party machinery. By running their candidates in virtually every statewide primary, conservatives managed to exploit state laws that permitted all candidates to nominate members to the California Republican Committee. This strategy, known as "Operation Takeover," was so successful that the state legislature was forced to close the loophole before conservatives could win a majority.

Next, we examined the delegates at the 1964 Republican National Convention. From an external frame of reference, the bulk of Goldwater delegates hailed from regions that conservatives actively infiltrated party machinery. Underrepresented was the Northeast, which had up until that point dominated the national convention, and historically represented the bloc from which the eventual nominee would have to gain most of his support. In 1964, however, Goldwater received just 5% of his delegates from the Northeast, indicating that a radical transfiguration in the balance of power had transpired.

A qualitative analysis of the delegates further proves that a fundamental ideological shift occurred within the party. While representatives in past conventions had typically divorced personal ideology from their duty as delegates to "pick a winner," Goldwater delegates by and large believed that a Republican victory in 1964 was peripheral to ideological purity. Interviews by Aaron Wildavsky revealed that Goldwater delegates were unwilling to compromise in any respect of the word. Thus the distinctly conservative and recalcitrant nature of these delegates lends cre-

dence to my contention that conservative activists succeeded in flooding precinct caucuses, whereupon representatives sent to the national convention were firmly committed to Goldwater.

The takeover would have proved fruitless if conservatives had failed to retain control of the party subsequent to the 1964 election. Because Barry Goldwater lost by a humiliating margin, many party insiders in the ensuing months regarded his candidacy as a fluke, a mere twist of fate for a “lunatic fringe” with its stars aligned. This sentiment, however, would prove erroneous. First, conservatives benefited indirectly from the delegate appointment formula devised by the RNC, which disproportionately favored states that fell under conservative dominion. Due to the mechanics of the conservative takeover, coupled with broad trends occurring external to their efforts, conservatives profited from a shift in the balance of power within the Republican National Convention from the Northeast to the South and West. Compounded by Goldwater’s primary victory in 1964, this trend continued to intensify beyond the general election. From claiming a plurality of delegates in 1940 (32.2%), the Northeast witnessed its strength dwindle to a low of 26% by 1968, weaker than both the South and Midwest.

Second, coupled with this shift was a change in region *ideology*. In other words, between 1960 and 1968, regions that had previously supported liberal candidates began supporting conservatives. Data reveal that prior to the 1960s the Northeast consistently accounted for a plurality of delegate support for the successful Republican nominee. Starting with Goldwater, however, an immediate and lasting shift occurred whereby the successful nominee received the *least* support from the Northeast. Dwight Eisenhower, for instance, garnered nearly half of his delegate support from the Northeast, whereas Goldwater enjoyed a scant 5% in 1964, and Nixon less than 16% in 1968. In short, although the ideological purity of the Northeast failed to dissipate, not only had its strength vis-à-vis the South and West diminished, but so had its bellwether status with respect to choosing the successful nominee.

To conclude, I presented indirect civil rights data that I argue demonstrate that the conservative influence within the GOP not only constituted an immediate effect after 1964, but a permanent one. Included in my definition of Movement Conservatism from Chapter I was an opposition towards federally enforced civil rights legislation, a stance that was typically couched in states' rights language. I hypothesized, therefore, that a marked difference in civil rights voting behavior from regions infiltrated by conservatives would signify that Republican politicians were by and large reflecting the conservative channels through which they were nominated.

The data are striking. In the case of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 -- passed prior to the presidential election -- over 70% of Western GOP congressmen voted in the affirmative. With respect to the Civil Rights Acts of 1966 and 1968, however, this figure dropped precipitously to 14.3% and 26.7%, respectively. In the Midwest, a region infiltrated to a lesser extent by conservative activists, "yea" votes dropped from 84.5% in 1964 to 64.3% and 61.6% in 1966 and 1968. In short, the Republican Party, which prior to 1964 had consistently and unequivocally supported federal civil rights legislation, all at once reversed its stance, a direct corollary, I argue, of the conservative takeover of the party.

Further data is needed in the area of precinct-level strength. Unfortunately, as Gerald Pomper noted, "there is no systematic data base for precinct chairmen, and precious little even for state chairs."⁴ A subsequent study would ideally unearth polling data regarding the ideology of precinct and county-wide GOP chairmen. An increasingly conservative trend between 1962 and 1968 would indicate that the achievements of activists like Luke Williams not only aided in delivering Goldwater the nomination in 1964, but the continued dominance of the party by conservatives thereafter.

"Conservatism is based upon the idea that if you leave things alone you leave them as they are," G.K. Chesterton once wrote. "But you do not. If you leave a thing alone you leave it

⁴ Gerald M. Pomper. E-mail interview. 19 Nov. 2009.

to a torrent of change.” So believed Barry Goldwater, along with F. Clifton White and the Suite 3505 Committee, who fought so earnestly to ensure that conservative values would one day be resurrected in the United States. For them, it simply was not enough to preserve the status quo. It simply was not enough to behave, as they believed Eisenhower and the Eastern Establishment had, merely as a speed bump. These conservatives wished to spark a movement that would not only halt the country’s leftward march, but reverse it entirely. Much has occurred since 1964 and the exploits of Clifton White and Luke Williams. Astronauts have walked on the moon. The Cold War has ended. An African-American was elected into our nation’s highest office. Yet it is also a testament to the conservative resurgence that so much remains unchanged. “I offer a choice, not an echo,” as Barry Goldwater was so fond of saying. And while Goldwater would lose in a manner that elicited chortles from the Democrats and ignominy from his own party, this “negligible splinter group” through which he had somehow won the nomination -- this “lunatic fringe” -- would gradually pervade the Republican Party.

And while the leaders of today’s GOP may or may not be lunatics, they are certainly no fringe.

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