

# **THE REPUBLICAN PARTY:**

A COALITION OF THE FOUR DOMINANT TYPES OF CONSERVATIVE GROUPS IDENTIFIED IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. HOW THEY EVOLVED AND INFLUENCED THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND CURRENT POLITICS.

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Land. It laid particular emphasis on private ownership and free contract. Secondly, the law was based on the notion that anything not legally prohibited was legal. Third, the enforcement of the law was everyone's business. Such enforcement should be handled on a local basis by those hired by local governments. Lastly, law that was national needed an ultimate tribunal, independent of the executive or legislative branches to properly function.<sup>2</sup>

The second element was personal liberty, the freedom of speech, assembly, and ownership of ones assets with the right to buy and sell without government control, work for whom you please and hire and fire at will.<sup>3</sup>

Churchill defined representative government as the third element. Laws should not be passed, except by elected legislators who are responsible to the body politic.<sup>4</sup> To Churchill, these concepts were woven into the social and political fabric of the "Anglosphere." The Oxford English Dictionary defines the Anglosphere as the group of nations where English is the main native language; but many have expanded the definition to include an adherence to the fundamental customs and values that form the core of English-speaking cultures. Those include individualism, the rule of law, honoring contracts and covenants and the elevation of freedom to the first rank of political and cultural values.<sup>5</sup> Rudyard Kipling articulated this attitude with his poem:

The Stranger within my gate,  
He may be true or kind,  
But if he does not talk my talk  
I cannot feel his mind  
I see the face and eyes and mouth  
But not the soul behind<sup>6</sup>



these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; that among them are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.”<sup>9</sup>

Only one authority is given for the colonists to break away from the mother country; the laws of Nature and Nature’s God, an expression of Natural Law theory. To the Conservative, human rights and existence are given by the Creator. These rights predate birth, and are woven into the fabric of existence like gravity. Thus, it becomes immoral for the State to take away these rights. The “truths” mentioned, being self-evident, can only come from Natural Law. Most important for many Americans is this concept of innate equality, the starting point of politics. But equality for Conservatives takes a narrow focus. By being human, everyone has equal dignity and therefore an equal stake in decisions concerning the whole community, specifically the political process. People’s human rights to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, as well as all other rights, must be exercised in the framework in which equal respect is paid to the rights of others, called the Master Rule Approach.<sup>10</sup>

The original concept of Classical Natural Law theory is attributed to Thomas Aquinas. He believed that standards of morality were derived from, or entailed by, the nature of the world and the nature of human beings, which is derived from God.<sup>11</sup> Aquinas, for example, identified the rational nature of human beings as that which defines moral law. To his thinking, the rule and measure of human acts is reason, the first principle of human acts. Since human beings are by nature rational beings, it is morally appropriate that they should behave in a way that conforms to their rational nature.<sup>12</sup>

the environment, but rather innate. Biblical references provide divine reinforcement and reassurance to the prevailing social mores and folkways.<sup>16</sup>

Liberty stood at the core of Natural Law. Liberty was defined by Jefferson as an inalienable right in the Declaration of Independence. John Adams in 1763 originally defined liberty in reference to the Common Law of England as the “unalienable, indefeasible rights of men, the honor and integrity of human nature, the grandeur and glory of the public, and the universal happiness of individuals, were never more skillfully and successfully consulted as in the most excellent monument of human art, the common law of England.”<sup>17</sup>

Although some use the concept of freedom interchangeably with liberty, these concepts are not the same. Freedom tends to use explicit references to the absence of necessity, coercion or constraint in choice of action. It is also used to explain a quality of state of being exempt or released, usually from something onerous. Most people use it in the literal sense, unrestricted use and a political right. What follows below are quotes from various sources that will demonstrate the difference between the two concepts.

The development of “Anglosphere” political and social concepts can arguably be traced to the Germanic Anglo-Saxon tribes that inhabited England in pre-Norman times, thus claiming ancient origins for their beliefs and institutions. The true beginnings of such attitudes can best be rooted in the rise of Protestantism in England, especially the Puritans in southeast England, Presbyterians in Scotland and Northern Ireland and the Methodists in Wales. These three groups composed the initial immigrant surge to the new world in the sixteen hundreds and beyond.<sup>18</sup>

beliefs and how they are attempting to reassert their influence and power in the midst of dynamic change and economic dislocation in contemporary America.

For those who came to this country, the assimilation process manifested a biblical expression, a certain sense being part of a divinely chosen experience. Others, such as Jews, looked upon themselves as being the chosen people. Americans defined themselves as part of a set of ideas about liberty and government that were ordained, indeed blessed, by God. If one believed in these set of ideas, they were, by definition, chosen, just as Moses was chosen by God. This idea manifested itself in the concept of Exceptionalism.

“I was with Moses, so I will be with thee. I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee. Be strong and of good courage.” —Joshua 1:5-6

So who are the core groups or base of the Republican Party? For the sake of simplicity, one may apportion the Republican Party core into four groups; business and economic conservatives; neoconservatives; social and religious conservatives; and Tea Party-libertarian adherents. Although there are certain beliefs and traits most Republicans share, one must be careful about grouping all conservatives together as a monolithic group and this four part coding helps highlight both commonalities and distinctions.

For example, there are differences between economic and social conservatives. The economic conservative advocates fiscal responsibility and a free market but does not appear to fully embrace the cultural agenda of the social conservative. There is a measure of libertarianism within the economic conservative world view and the thought of imposing one's social views on another individual leaves them uneasy and resistant to such social enforcement.

This analysis of Republicans builds, in part, on the ideas of Chris Mooney, who published *The Republican Brain* in 2012. His prior writings included *The Republican*

describes the state of being uncomfortable with ambiguity and uncertainty and wanting these to be resolved into a firm belief. Such issues can be specific or general. Those who have a high need for closure tend to spend less time processing information and are driven by different motivations, such as the goal for factual accuracy. Thus, it is no surprise that conservatives tend to have far less of an emotional need to consider complexity and to maintain a defensive fixation on one's current beliefs. Conservatives appear to need cognitive closure, which is a state of being uncomfortable with ambiguity and uncertainty, and wanting issues to be resolved into a firm belief. Clearly, the need for closure drives an unwillingness to consider new information as well as a defensive fixation on one's current beliefs.<sup>26</sup>

The psychological concept of integrative complexity comes into play. Integrative complexity describes the tendency to view an issue from multiple perspectives and then merge those perspectives into a more nuanced position. Based on a multitude of interactions, Conservatives tend to dismiss liberal arguments that add layers of complexity to any issue without a clear, determining position on the question at hand.

Integrative complexity is politically motivated.<sup>27</sup> Being politically motivated in this context refers to the extent to which individuals demonstrate two inclinations when they consider events and issues. The first dimension, differentiation, relates to the capacity of individuals to adopt and to apply a variety of perspectives to appreciate an issue. The second dimension, integration, refers to the capacity of individuals to recognize connections and similarities across divergent perspectives. Thus, when integrative complexity is low, individuals tend to form simple and rigid attitudes and perceptions.<sup>28</sup>

science than the left because the political right is more religious. Levin, currently the editor of the conservative publication *National Affairs* and considered by many to be the most influential conservative of this era, responded:

“I don’t think it’s being religious explains why the right thinks in a certain way about science. I think it’s an attitude the right has toward cultural continuity. That makes a big difference. It’s also why the right tends to be more open toward religion. On those issues where the right has a problem with science, it usually arises when science poses some kind of threat to what conservatives see as the imperative of cultural continuity, whether it is the juncture of generations or around society’s ability to present a picture of its own past, an argument about morals and values.”<sup>33</sup>

All political groups have their core constituencies, people who share similar social, religious and economic beliefs and concerns. Republicans have four generalized groups who share general Republican policy goals but tend to emphasize different aspects of such goals for various purposes that can run contrary to their own long term interests and conflict with the goals of the larger party organizational structure.

To reiterate, for the purposes of this discussion, there are four general classifications of Republican core members. They are, in order of their relative importance and power within the party, described as follows:

1. Business and economic interests - Generally described as the owners of or managers of capital, these individuals generate a significant amount of economic activity and create wealth for investors and provide employment for workers.
2. Religious right - Individuals who are defined as belonging to the religious right tend to equate everyday life decisions in context with their religious beliefs. Heavily influenced by various conservative Protestant organizations, their world

issues as government's distribution of resources, the role of government in individual lives, limits of American power in the world and income inequality in an increasingly stratified society.

worldview, land became capital and familial labor, due to high birth rates which provided the ability to avoid the market economy, seemed an ineluctable part of a divinely created order.

This private belief found succor in the larger ecology of religious expression. The Jehovah proclaimed by John Calvin was brought to the New World by uprooted emigrants and preached from the congregational meetings of the Puritans, Presbyterians, the Reformed Churches of Germans, Huguenots and others. Calvinism's promise of a divine encounter with the deity on his terms conferred to Euro-Americans the power against capricious fate.<sup>2</sup>

By the late 1700's such mix of religion and market independence constituted the makings of a cultural rebellion among America's eastern seaboard elite. Dreading democracy, the commercial aristocracy wanted instead a "republic" providing security of property, equal rights under the law, and a carefully restricted system of representation through which enterprising elites could shape the state to the market ambitions of capital.<sup>3</sup> Contrary to the mythology of American exceptionalism, democracy was born in tension with capitalism and not as its natural and legitimizing political expression.<sup>4</sup>

A good example of this issue was the increasing democratization of state governments during the colonial era. In more open regimes, popular influence soon threatened elite interests with paper money and debt relief laws. Alarmed, a coalition of commercial and planting elites carried out the constitutional coup of 1787. Essentially, they shifted the locus of power from the unreliable states to a strong central government with special guarantees of capitalist property relations and carefully insulated it as much from popular influence as thought to be politically feasible.<sup>5</sup> The Constitution was a truly

Most businesses in the colonial era were small-scale individual enterprises that represented minimal threat to the sovereignty of the state. For those activities that required more capital, partnerships and joint stock companies were utilized. Such forms, inherited from English Common Law, were intended only for short term needs, due to various legal issues such as a lack of limited liability.<sup>9</sup> While there were a minimal number of stock corporations chartered during this time, they were non-profit, public purpose entities. Unsurprisingly, banks were the first private business type to secure private corporate charters. By 1793, the Bank of Manhattan (forerunner of J.P. Morgan Chase Bank), chartered as a waterworks company, opened the floodgates for private banking corporations.<sup>10</sup> Quoting Francois de La Rochefoucauld, historian Joyce Appleby reminds her readers that, “hypocrisy is the homage vice plays to virtue.”<sup>11</sup> By the early 1900s, tycoon John D. Rockefeller made initial investments in the Bank of Manhattan but never became a major influence in the industry. He did however install his sons into senior management positions in the bank.<sup>12</sup>

From a modest beginning capitalism and big business acquired increased standing in the emerging and expanding economic order of the United States. Lawyers, according to author Charles Sellers, were the shock troops of capitalism. He quotes Alexis de Tocqueville as saying that lawyers “form the most powerful, if not the only, counterpoise to the democratic element.”<sup>13</sup> Sellers notes that lawyers represented one-third of the membership in the first Congress, but moved into a majority after 1813.<sup>14</sup> Several other changes to American legal and political processes laid the foundation for the capitalist state; the elevation of John Marshall as the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the infringement of the common law property rights by the doctrine of eminent domain.<sup>15</sup>



appealing for economic growth, nationalism and their construction of the common good. Economic growth could increase substantially through the use of government power and the unrestricted employment of private capital. The acceptance of this philosophy doomed agrarian power over the course of the antebellum era.

Historians traditionally examine the expansion of the country's transportation infrastructure, the increase in banking capital, and the growth of cities and factories to measure this process. Yet, in a fundamental way, the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 especially changed the economic landscape in the United States. The Democratic Party, winners of a large majority of the presidential contests since Jefferson's time, pushed through the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which effectively repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820. The Compromise was designed to deal with economic disputes related to the slavery question. By the early 1850's Southerners realized that the land constraints imposed by the Missouri Compromise would limit their ability to expand their slaveholding society. In addition, the new territories tended to attract individuals who were resistant to an economic structure critical to the survival of slavery. Their opposition was generally not the abstract opposition of the abolitionists but an economic opposition to competition from slave labor.<sup>20</sup>

Into this toxic mix came Senator Stephen A. Douglas, Democrat of Illinois. For reasons many would consider cynical, (he had vast landholdings in the territories and was part of a group who wanted Federal Government economic assistance to build a rail line to the Pacific from Illinois) , Douglas enlisted his Southern brethren to assist him in rewriting the prohibition against slavery in the northern territories.<sup>21</sup> Democrats were determined to drive off the party's anti-slavery elements, repeal the Missouri

In the North, an alternative economic system was evolving. In the generation after the American Revolution, with the rapid decline of servitude, apprenticeship and the disappearance of journeymen residing in employer's houses, the contrast between free and slave labor became ever sharper.<sup>28</sup> As Eric Foner states, "The abolition of slavery in the North drew a geographical line across the country, separating free and slave states." Thus the stage was set for the development of an ideology in the North best described as the home of free labor.<sup>29</sup> Free labor provided the business person substantial flexibility and availability of labor, generally from European immigration. Given variable economic conditions, the cost of labor was not fixed and could be increased or decreased as business conditions dictated. The business owners had no continuing obligation to care for labor as was the case in the South. During the early to mid-eighteen hundreds, industrial expansion contributed to significant growth and development in the North.<sup>30</sup>

By 1854, the slavery question had become highly divisive. Morality, economics and politics became a lightning rod for conflict that eventually resulted in the Civil War. By war's end, it became apparent there were two winners, northern capitalists and the Republican Party. Both Eric Foner and Heather Cox Richardson argue that Republican economic policies envisioned a strong central government, with a national currency and banking system empowered with substantial bonding authority, authorized to impose income taxes and high tariffs. The Party initially passed homestead legislation and provided for the building of transcontinental railroads and abolished slavery. Unfortunately, the policies they subsequently advocated evolved toward an unregulated economic environment, corporate corruption and popular unrest.<sup>31</sup>

banking system and the encouragement of large business conglomerates served to rapidly increase development to such an extent that by 1900, the United States was the largest industrial power in the world.<sup>36</sup> Republicans regarded themselves as the political Party of government economic activism. They promoted the development of railroads, distribution of public lands to individuals, encouraged growth of industry through high tariffs and customs duties on goods imported from overseas.<sup>37</sup>

Historians generally have taken a dim view of this period of American history.<sup>38</sup> One historian writes that “neither party has any principles, any distinctive tenants.” Rather than promoting service to the common good, the politicians debased public office: “All has been lost, except office or the hope of it.”<sup>39</sup> By the end of the nineteenth century, the Republican Party became known as the party of big business, special privilege and corporate America.<sup>40</sup>

Post-Civil War America underwent profound social, economic and political upheaval. Big business and its bureaucratic style of management shaped the working experience of more and more Americans. The entrepreneurs who made this happen, Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, James J. Hill, became national celebrities as symbols of the rapid growth of large enterprises.<sup>41</sup> In his book *Titan*, Ron Chernow provides a disquieting view of John D. Rockefeller. Chernow describes Rockefeller’s life as being characterized by silence, mystery and evasion.<sup>42</sup> Rockefeller’s career began in the infancy of the industrial revolution, when the economy was raw and unregulated. Since the rules of the game had not yet been encoded into law, Rockefeller and his fellow industrialists had forged them in the heat of combat.<sup>43</sup> Since he had figured out every conceivable way to restrain trade, rig markets, and suppress competition, Rockefeller

made by novelist and diplomat Brand Whitlock, who was quite representative of attitudes of the time. "The Republican Party is a synonym for patriotism, another name for the nation."<sup>49</sup> Republicans condemned the Democrats then and to this day, as the proponents of disloyalty and disunion. A party mantra was that the Democrats were simply unworthy to govern and incapable of doing so effectively. They likened the Democratic Party to alcohol, killing everything that was alive and preserving everything that was dead.<sup>50</sup> Such attitudes led to the defeat of the Republican candidate James Blaine in 1884 when, a week before the election, Blaine made comments about the Democratic Party as one identified by "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion."<sup>51</sup>

On September 6, 1901, the Republican Party and the nation underwent a significant political change. As a result of President William McKinley's assassination, Vice President Theodore Roosevelt became president. His presidency is often credited as being a turning point toward Progressivism at the national level, and especially in the executive branch. Historian Lewis Gould dissents from this view, asserting that had McKinley lived, events such as lawsuits against the trusts, canal access through Panama and settlement of boundary disputes with Canada over Alaska, hallmarks of Roosevelt's progressivism, would have occurred anyway.<sup>52</sup> Gould's writings and analysis are widely respected but there appears to be little to support his claims. For a majority of Republicans in 1901, the dominance of business represented little philosophical dispute. Power in society firmly rested with corporations and banks, various anti-trust laws passed during the previous twenty years were not enforced and the federal government refused to take any real steps to reduce inequality. Hence, Roosevelt mattered, and mattered enough to provoke reaction.<sup>53</sup>

creatures of the State, and the State, not only has the right to control them, but it is duty bound to control them, whenever the need of such control is shown."<sup>59</sup> Edmund Morris' classic biography, *Theodore Rex* covers the period of Roosevelt's presidency and provides the reader with a nuanced view of Roosevelt's political skills and his ability to balance the demands of the business class and the increasingly assertive Progressive movement. During this period, the race issue continued to be a political problem. James K. Vardaman, running for governor of Mississippi, went to the limits of public invective by calling Roosevelt a "little, mean, coon-flavored miscegenationist." Vardaman, a white populist Democrat, hated the power of Senator LeRoy Percy, who kept the Ku Klux Klan out of the Mississippi Delta. Percy often expressed a paternalism toward the black labor force in the region—considered a threat to white supremacy by the white standards of the time—and was personally friendly with Roosevelt, who visited and hunted in Percy's delta.<sup>60</sup>

In order to prove his reformist credentials, Roosevelt encouraged the Justice Department to initiate legal action against Northern Securities Company, a railroad holding company with assets in the Northeast. This prompted the famous banker J.P. Morgan to descend upon Washington to meet with Roosevelt. Substantial numbers of business leaders, including Morgan, resented Washington's efforts to exercise any control over the business community. The meeting did not go well and the government eventually initiated legal action. Eventually it was heard by the Supreme Court, who ruled in favor of the Government.<sup>61</sup> The court's decision essentially affirmed government authority over private corporations. Concurrently, Roosevelt intervened in the Anthracite Coal Strike of 1902, which averted an economic crisis for those areas in the Northeast

and by curbing the worst abuses of unrestricted capitalism.<sup>64</sup> The Progressive, oftentimes referred to as the American bourgeoisie, were equally terrified of a workers revolution as the continued abuses of business interests. However, historians George Mowey and Richard Hofstadter challenged this consensus view by describing Progressives as a small group of wealthy elites who assumed their role to reclaim their social status. They described the Progressives as, in some respects, resembling European aristocrats.<sup>65</sup>

The Progressive movement was born in the Midwest and was the brainchild of Robert La Follette Sr. of Wisconsin with able assistance from Governor Albert Cummins of Iowa. Born of farmer discontent with railroads, which used their monopolistic power to set rates and drive up prices to the detriment of the farmer, Progressives agitated for additional controls on rail rates. They also lobbied for changes to party rules that would allow for direct primaries and reforms to campaign funding. They, like Roosevelt, wanted to reduce tariff rates to assist consumers and reduce railroad rates. While vocal and articulate, they did not represent majority Republican economic or social sentiment. By 1907, business interests and conservatives in the Republican Party were in open revolt over Roosevelt's reforms and government activism in general, especially his advocacy of resource conservation, regulatory policies and the inheritance tax.<sup>66</sup> Obviously, they were relieved that he would honor his pledge not to run again in 1908. However, Roosevelt was not about to let his reforms die so he utilized his significant political power to ensure the nomination of his Cabinet colleague William Howard Taft. Concurrently, the country suffered a steep recession in 1907.

Taft won a substantial victory in 1908 in his campaign against William Jennings Bryan. The victory, however, showed significant strains among the core Republican

Taft and Roosevelt factions became a fact and the Party split among conservatives and the remaining followers of Roosevelt and other Progressives. Taft was nominated for reelection and the influence of Progressives and Roosevelt followers in the Republican Party were virtually eliminated. They deserted the Republican Party and formed the “Bull Moose Movement.” The Democrats, under Woodrow Wilson, won the 1912 election and obtained working majorities in the House and Senate. In many respects, the Progressives dream of a more just society became policy platforms for the Democrats during this period.<sup>68</sup>

In the last analysis, Roosevelt’s policies represented a significant threat to the social and political status quo in the Republican Party. Roosevelt envisioned the modern welfare state with the associated limits on corporate power and an ascendant federal government. Business interests were determined to stop Roosevelt and managed to thwart his attempt to unseat Taft and attain the Republican nomination in 1912. The Party split into various factions and led to Democratic Party electoral successes in 1910 and 1912.<sup>69</sup>

World War I and its aftermath changed political conditions in the United States. All major wars tend to shift public attitudes in fundamental ways. In this case, the public became disillusioned with the war and its aftermath, particularly with the Treaty of Versailles, the League of Nations and a severe but brief depression. During the Wilson years, Republicans took up the conservative positions on regulation of business, the role of taxation and the size of government. Such attitudes have, for the most part, remained consistent through our current period.<sup>70</sup>

The American public, weary of the turmoil, turned inward and more conservative. Republicans were the beneficiaries of this trend. They regained a majority of the Senate

on the Great Depression. Warren Harding represented a unique story during the period. His administration was riddled with turpitudes of various sorts, the most infamous being the Teapot Dome scandal. Harding was in poor health and eventually succumbed to a heart attack while in office. He was succeeded by Coolidge, his Vice President. Coolidge ran for president in 1924 and won in a landslide. He had the good sense or fortune not to run in 1928 and has enjoyed a resurgence of popularity among contemporary Republicans for his frugal ways and ability to manipulate the press.<sup>75</sup> The rollicking Harding and dour Coolidge seemed a perfect expression of the political culture of the era, especially to business Republicans. They were to execute the laws and not engage in crusading “nostrums,” as Theodore Roosevelt had done. Republicans were probably able to continue winning elections in this period due to strong jobs growth and increases in personal income, as well as a lack of significant foreign policy challenges.

Herbert Hoover won the 1928 election decisively. A former Secretary of Commerce under the Harding administration, Hoover was instrumental in devising a food aid program for Europe after World War I that saved millions of people from the war’s destructive aftermath by providing goods and other supplies to ward off hunger and starvation. He was considered an able administrator and exhibited a unique ability to work with others.<sup>76</sup> Hoover enjoyed a brief period of normalcy until the history making events of October, 1929.

No economic history of the 1920’s and early 1930’s can be complete without including Andrew Mellon’s impact on government policy. Mellon came from a banking family in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania and was instrumental in the formation of companies that included ALCOA and Carborundum Corporation. Appointed Secretary of Treasury



During this period, Republicans fundamentally changed their views on the proper role of national government. From previously advocating the national government's ultimate power and authority from the Civil War era and afterward, the party increasingly championed the primacy of state's rights, small government and limited executive authority.<sup>82</sup> This philosophical change continues to serve as the benchmark Republican philosophic response to any proposed expansion of federal power. Concurrently, Republicans gained strength in the House, Senate and Statehouses during the latter part of the 1930's.<sup>83</sup>

Political decisions Roosevelt made after the 1936 election contributed to Republican resurgence. Historians particularly point to Roosevelt's decision to "pack" the Supreme Court with appointees who shared his political views. The effort, however, backfired, even among members of his own Party. Roosevelt's initiatives to reorganize the Executive branch similarly failed to secure necessary support and had to be substantially modified to obtain support for passage. Perhaps most important, Southern Democrats had become openly dissatisfied with federal policies that affected their Jim Crow laws. The Democratic Party, long controlled by its Southern base, was being transformed by the "New Deal" coalition and becoming increasingly influential in the North.<sup>84</sup> Resurgent Republican representation and the continuing conservative Southern Democratic representation in Congress contributed to de facto conservative control of the legislative branch for the following 25 years. It could be argued that the political transformation the South and North witnessed in the following decades had, as its source, the events of 1937 and 1938. Certainly Roosevelt's policies spawned a powerful anti-Roosevelt, anti-New Deal movement among business elites. Contrastingly, Ira

collapse and availability of credit was virtually nonexistent. Economic conditions for rural farmers, already weakened by worldwide overproduction, faced record drought during the 1930's. For urban workers, long unemployment lines and food kitchens drove a portion of the population to near starvation. The Republicans, still wedded to their political and economic policies of minimal governmental intrusion in the economy, were perceived by many economic groups, including businesses, as uncaring and ineffectual.

From the 1930s, to 1964, the Republican Party struggled with branding. There seemed to be no single issue around which it could unite. Some New Deal measures were hugely popular with voters, and World War II and the Cold War seemed to justify a powerful central government. Their political position incorporated an element of "me too." Vote Republican and the party would administer New Deal and Defense programs more vigorously with less waste. Hence the Willkie and Dewey campaigns in the 1940s produced many Republican votes, but the White House remained in the hands of the Democrats. Republicans garnered big vote totals, but their core voters were limited to big business and rural voters in the plains and western states—whose unique political cultures and histories explained Republican support. The ideological divides from the beginnings of the Republican Party, which strongly expressed themselves in 1912 and again in 1932—and which presaged the divisions in today's party—appeared deep and permanent. Yet, in retrospect, it is clear that the Republican Party was slowly evolving a brand: one of being the self-described arbiter of real American values. The New Deal itself provided a place to define the Republicans by who they were and who the Democrats were not.<sup>89</sup>

The big business community eagerly embraced the Christian right's evangelical support and have effectively formed alliances with small business owners, neoconservatives and various libertarian groups. Important to this alliance were the works of the Ludwig von Mises anti-statist treatise, *Omnipotent Government and Bureaucracy*, and the release of Friedrich von Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom*.<sup>92</sup> Such writings provided conservatives and business interests an authentic philosophical outlook lacking previously.

*From Bible belt to Sun Belt: Plain-Folk Religion, Grass Roots Politics, and the Rise of Evangelical Conservatism*, Darren Dochuk's excellent book on the formation of the business-religious alliance, traces the formalization of business interests with the religious right from state level politics in California in the late 1940s, to support for Barry Goldwater in 1964, to Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority. In 1979, Falwell took his message of moral and monetary conservatism to business interests, including The Business Roundtable, and formed the Moral Majority that same year.<sup>93</sup>

Dochuk introduces the Democratic and Republican parties in the late 1940's as institutions badly bruised from the New Deal years and World War II. The Democrats purged themselves of left-wing influences and shifted to the center, away from the most ambitious Democratic impulses. Meanwhile, the GOP shifted to the middle by promoting an agenda that welcomed a corporate-labor partnership and state involvement in the economy. Dwight Eisenhower's 1952 election confirmed this trend and set the tone of "modern Republicanism." In response to the centrist turn, conservatives stepped up their mission to build new grassroots associations and lobbies, hoping to push their president and party to the right.<sup>94</sup> Given Republican failures at the ballot box for twenty years, a

Republican voice stirred the party faithful, especially with business and evangelical groups.

The 1980 election of Ronald Reagan represented a watershed of sorts for American politics, securing for conservatives and business interests a powerful forum for their ideas and policies. It also provided evangelical religious elements their first legitimate national political outlet. Throughout the 1980's Republicans set the national political agenda in such areas as economic and social policy as well as the relationship of the United States with the rest of the world. In economic terms, Republicans reintroduced many of former Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon's supply side economics policies as well as setting the theoretical framework for lower taxes on the rich commonly popularized by Arthur Laffer. We continue to see the effects of these ideas, especially as it pertains to income inequality.<sup>96</sup>

In 1992, an obscure Arkansas governor named William Jefferson Clinton managed to secure the Democratic Party nomination for president. Much to the astonishment of many, he defeated Republican President George H.W. Bush and ushered in a period of virulent political discord, starting with the ascendancy of the Republicans in Congress and most particularly Newt Gingrich as House speaker. Gingrich organized Republican campaigning for the 1994 Congressional election around the "Contract with America," promising reduced taxes, less government and other Republican ideas from the 1920's. The result amounted to political stalemate for the Clinton presidency. At the heart of the Republican attacks was their strongly held belief that Democratic rule was fundamentally illegitimate, perhaps a holdover from the bloody shirt period after the Civil War.<sup>97</sup>

published an analysis of the 2012 presidential election that showed a large majority of Republican campaign contributions were derived by a limited number of contributors. For Democrats, a large majority of contributions came from individuals who gave relatively small amounts. President Obama raised more than his opponent Willard “Mitt” Romney, in this manner.<sup>99</sup>

One of the important results from the 2008 election was the birth of the Tea Party, a conservative Republican group that draws their support from small business interests, evangelical Christians and various Libertarian factions. The general profile of its adherents and specific policy positions are discussed later in this paper. But the Tea Party has significantly affected the Republican Party by highlighting the latter’s internal divisions, especially the degree to which the Tea Party appears to challenge the control of its most important core group among Republicans, the business community.

The Tea Party could be considered to be conservative pseudo-populists. Born from the same Republican heritage as other core Republican constituencies that evolved from the 1930’s upheaval, the Tea Party members wish to “purify” a party they see as all too willing to compromise basic philosophical interests in favor of “getting along” and compromising with the Democrats, whom they regard as evil and contrary to American values and institutions.<sup>100</sup> They regard Republican establishment politicians as part of the problem and are quite willing to contest elections in which such establishment figures wield power through their elective office. They abhor negotiation and compromise and tend to be quite active in their local Republican organizations. The result has been the election of a significant number of Tea Party affiliated Republicans in the House of Representatives since 2010.<sup>101</sup>

*Future*, which attempts to tie in falling real wages over the prior twenty-five to the events of 2008.

The corporate world supports and embraces such issues as immigration reform and public investments in infrastructure, but regard such actions as the government shutdown and the debt ceiling crisis as nothing more than political insanity. Conversely, most Tea Party members reject these establishment views as unwise, evil, and un-American. Thus one can observe the potential of an intra-party civil war.<sup>105</sup>

Especially in so-called safe districts, Tea-Party candidates have challenged established Republican incumbents, which have forced the party, especially in primaries and at the state-level, far to the right.<sup>106</sup> In recent election cycles, Republican politicians have quietly told backers, “Listen, I don’t want to be ridiculous, but I don’t have much of a choice, a Tea Party challenger will force me out.”<sup>107</sup>

This rightward tilt of the Grand Old Party on cultural issues appears to have created problems for well-heeled conservative businesspeople. Until recently, business interests have been reluctant or unable to make it more painful for more moderate Republican leaders to maintain ties to the business community. Business executives, who are used to giving marching orders to their funded elected officials in Congress, are quite dismayed for having to publically vent their frustration with Tea Party activities, such as shutting down the government and general intransigence regarding business backed bills and policies.<sup>108</sup> The frustration with the Tea Party has grown so intense that business interests and trade groups are considering helping wage campaigns against those Republican lawmakers they had initially worked to elect in the first place. These efforts could evolve into an open warfare with the Tea Party faction.<sup>109</sup>

The increase in corporate funded political speech since *Citizen's United* parallels the surge in political action committees (PAC's). A 1974 act permitted the establishment of PAC's which were designed to permit members of groups such as labor unions, or trade association, to donate money to political causes. There are certain limits on contributions, but such limits continue to be watered down. Business groups benefit greatly from the provision allowing PAC's.<sup>112</sup> Even if an individual's company has a PAC, pressure is frequently applied to give to the PAC of a trade organization that represents one's company. It could be argued that instead of limiting corporate influence, its original intent, PAC's have morphed into a significant loophole that has dramatically increased corporate influence in the political process. PAC's are now the primary mechanism for business contribution to the political system. Individual "voluntary" contributions are hardly so to junior and senior executives in organizations such as banking.

On April 1, 2014, the Supreme Court announced a decision on a case entitled *McCutcheon v. Federal Election Commission*. In another 5-4 decision, the Court majority remained deeply skeptical of government efforts to control participation in politics while the minority saying that such oversight was needed to ensure a functioning political system. Chief Justice John Roberts, writing for five justices in the controlling opinion, said the overall limits could not survive First Amendment scrutiny. He states "There is no right in democracy more basic than the right to participate in electing our political leaders."<sup>113</sup>

As PACs became major sources of campaign funding, political parties came to realize they were losing influence with their candidates. Congress then amended the Act of 1979 in such a way to strengthen the political party system. The amendments provided authority for the political parties to collect money- often termed soft money- for party building activities such as voter registration drives, provided the money was not used for a particular candidate. The reality is that the soft money does support individual candidates thus making limitations ineffective. The distinction between outright electioneering on the one hand and voter education or party-building on the other is often difficult to discern.<sup>116</sup>

In addition to soft money, so-called independent expenditures augment business influence in the electoral process. An independent expenditure is made by an individual or organization that is not specifically connected with a candidate's campaign but favors a particular candidate. The best example of this circumstance was the election of Lowell Weicker as Governor of Connecticut in 1990. William F. Buckley, publisher of the *National Review* personally loathed Weicker and mounted a one man campaign to deny him the governorship. His efforts failed. Weicker subsequently attained office and promptly repudiated his campaign pledge not to impose a broad based income tax. The Legislature and governor passed the income tax measure, one that heavily favored wealthy Fairfield county residents. The Legislature subsequently reversed its previous decision and a bill was referred to the governor, who rejected the measure. The net effect was that individuals who derived income from wages and salaries were taxed at a significantly higher effective rate than those who derived their income from dividends,



Especially when business interests wish to direct the legislative and policy making processes, they rely on lobbying. Direct lobbying involves meeting with representatives, senators or their staffs, or with members of the executive branch to try to inform them of their point of view and convince them to act as the company perceives is in its best interests. Lobbying is generally a third party enterprise with people specifically schooled in the art who have developed extensive contacts among government officials. Companies hire such individuals or firms, many of whom are former legislators with specific experience and influence within certain committees and with prominent politicians. Lobbying is protected under the Supreme Court's interpretation of the First Amendment (its redress clause), as well as more recent Supreme Court decisions giving corporations the same legal rights and standing as living persons.<sup>120</sup>

Lobbyists function in three specific ways:

1. To inform the government about the industry or cause and the company stance on the issues.
2. To inform those hiring the lobbyist of potential actions the government is proposing that might affect the industry or client.
3. To try to convince the legislator, staff member or administrator to make decisions favorable to the clients industry or individual company.<sup>121</sup>

The long-standing funneling of money into politics by business conservatives has persisted because it reaps big benefits. Lobbying has been an effective tool for influencing, indeed controlling, specific regulatory agencies such as the Federal Aviation Administration and the Federal Communications Commission. A recent case in point was the FAA's handling of the Boeing 787 Dreamliner case. Despite significant evidence that

Regulators, who previously were losing the political struggle with the banks, finally secured the regulatory authority they were seeking.<sup>124</sup>

The tortuous approval of the Volker Rule, which seeks to limit proprietary trading with FDIC insured deposits, is another case in which the major banks attempted to lobby for an ineffective rule that would have allowed them to continue the practice. Due again to publicity regarding illegal practices at J.P. Morgan Chase, regulators gained the upper hand and the rule, minimally modified, was entered into the Federal Register in early 2014.<sup>125</sup>

Since the emergence of industrial capitalism in the nineteenth century, business has consistently sought a political ally and largely has linked itself to the Republican Party. Business, especially big business, has been remarkably successful in securing advantages for itself, be they regulatory, environmental, or tax considerations. They have mixed hard headed analysis of their financial interests with a near-paranoid sense that business is under siege from federal and state regulations. Despite protests by Republican Party politicians, who assert that United States tax policies unfairly discriminate against U.S. domiciled large corporations, the average corporation pays tax rates substantially below the stated rate due to tax loopholes and other concessions passed by Congress over the years. Such actual rates are comparable to those in other countries. Also, top tier corporate managers have been able to secure other tax advantages such as lower rates on investment and dividend income as well as an accounting fiction called carried interest. The effective tax rate for higher income individuals is substantially lower than that of those who derive income from wages and salaries. During the last presidential campaign, Republican nominee Willard “Mitt” Romney reluctantly

The continued strength of the American economy depends on real income growth and an expanding middle class. Anything less threatens long term business interests and the American economy with diminished real growth and opportunities for its citizens. As former Labor Secretary Robert Reich demonstrated in the film *Inequality for All*, there are real reasons why the economy is suffering from high unemployment, low wage growth and a lack of opportunity for its citizens. The United States has become the most unequal developed country in the world.<sup>127</sup>

The term neoconservative was coined by Michael Harrington in 1973.

Harrington, a social democrat and author of *The Other America: Poverty in the United States*, was quite influential in Democratic circles for his critiques of race based politics and poverty. In identifying neoconservatism, Harrington was referring especially to the writings and opinions of Irving Kristol, Daniel Bell, Daniel Patrick Monahan and perhaps most importantly, Leo Strauss.<sup>7</sup> The writings of Kristol and Strauss, discussed below, are especially revealing. Both men are considered the intellectual founders of the movement.

To the neoconservative, disbelief, indeed a rejection of the enlightenment dogma that “the truth will set you free,” is a foundational principal. For Strauss, the truth might set some minds free, but there was an inherent conflict between philosophic truth and the political order as well as a belief that the popularization and vulgarization of these truths might import unease, turmoil and the release of popular passions previously held in check by tradition and religion.<sup>8</sup> Strauss trusted the sense of the common man when it was governed by tradition and a practical wisdom. In essence, he trusted the common man not one whit.

A twentieth-century German immigrant to the United States, Strauss wrote mainly as a historian of philosophy and his writings are generally commentaries on important thinkers. While his emphasis was on the writings of the ancients, his reconsideration of philosophical problems was decidedly modern.<sup>9</sup> Strauss was especially concerned about the modern philosophical grounds for political and moral norms, as well as the philosophical, theological and political consequences of what he took to be modern philosophy’s overinflated claims of the self-sufficiency of reason.<sup>10</sup> Of particular interest was his time at the University of Freiburg, where he attended lectures on Phenomenology

Like Thomas Hobbes, Strauss's intellectual mentor, Strauss believed that the inherently aggressive nature human beings shared could be constrained by a powerful nationalist state. Because mankind is intrinsically wicked, governing becomes a problem. Such governance can only be established when people are united and they can only be united against other people <sup>15</sup>

It could be argued that Strauss's arguments bear resemblance to Machiavelli's, who said that the political order can be stable only if there is an external threat. Of course, Machiavelli also said that if there were no obvious threat, one needed to be manufactured. <sup>16</sup> In this context, the neoconservative, or at least the ones who follow Strauss's logic, believe that perpetual war, not perpetual peace, should be the goal of a powerful state. Strauss was reported to use this analogy with his students taken from Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*: When the island country Lilliput was on fire, Gulliver urinated over the city, including the palace. In so doing, he saved all of Lilliput from catastrophe, but the Lilliputians were outraged and appalled by such a show of disrespect. <sup>17</sup>

This analogy could explain the neoconservative vision of the United States, in relation to the rest of the world and by extension the ruling elite with the masses: results, not means, count. Neoconservatives really have no use for liberalism and democracy but they are conquering the world in the name of these principles. Strauss and his students see foreign policy as a means to securing a national destiny rather than a narrow vision of national security.

Irving Kristol believed that the human condition placed inherent limitations on human possibilities. Original sin (a uniquely Christian concept) is one way to

The emerging intellectual center of neoconservatism was the American Enterprise Institute (AEI), at the time a small conservative “think tank” located in Washington, D. C. Headed by Bill Baroody, the Institute was concerned primarily with economics and a defense of the “free enterprise system.”<sup>23</sup> As the 1970’s and 1980’s evolved, the AEI recruited such conservative luminaries as Jeanne Kirkpatrick, Michael Novak and Ben Wattenberg. After the defeat of President Ford, newly unemployed lawyers Robert Bork, Antonin Scalia, and Laurence Silberman accepted employment with the institute. These individuals, and Kristol, became close friends as well as the intellectual and political nucleus of the neoconservatives. In 1977, Jude Wanniski joined the group. Wanniski is widely considered to have authored the economic concept entitled supply-side economics. Closely associated with Arthur Laffer, an economist who made famous the Laffer curve, both economic theories provided the Republicans an opportunity to escape their economic dead end ideas of stability, which at its core, reflected a belief in balanced budgets, and minimal governmental influence in the economy. Such policies ignored the use of fiscal tools which can be utilized for growth. The theory of supply-side economics, whatever its merits, offered Republicans a unique opportunity to change the political and economic argument the Democrats had used against them since the 1930’s (i.e. economic stability and the economic tools used to perpetuate such, generate stagnation and low social mobility, thus leading to instability and increasing economic inequality.)<sup>24</sup>

One Republican politician who took up the “supply side” political cause was Jack Kemp, a former quarterback for the Buffalo Bills football team and a Congressional representative from the Buffalo, N.Y. suburb of Lackawanna. While Kemp was no

titled "Opulence and Pauperism," which formed the basis for his book, *Memoir on Pauperism*.<sup>27</sup> In modern language, the paper would have been called Wealth and Poverty. While most of his observations were not particularly challenging, he did make one observation that was noteworthy. He concluded that public assistance to the poor and poverty has a symbiotic relationship and would grow and "nourish" each other. He observed there are two reasons at work: the need to live and the desire to improve oneself. He claimed that a large majority can only be induced to work for the former reason, but only a few for the latter. Thus, he would argue that if welfare provided a minimal standard of living, many would not be induced to go into the workforce and compete for employment.<sup>28</sup> The construction of many American aid programs, starting in the 1960's, added to the problem in that aid was available only to those homes lacking a breadwinner, especially an adult male presence. With such a built-in incentive, it should not be surprising that the number of single parent households skyrocketed during the 1960's, especially among blacks who occupied the lowest tier of economic success.

If one follows and accepts de Tocqueville's logic, it seems obvious that it is not the social system that is at fault for income disparity but rather the individual. Society's attempt to rectify what it considers a problem guarantees an increase in welfare costs without a meaningful program to remediate the problem in the first place. Perhaps John D. Rockefeller articulated this attitude at its most extreme when he was quoted as saying that "charity fosters the good for nothing at the expense of the good?"<sup>29</sup> In essence, Rockefeller cast the income inequality problem to the same reference point, currently engendering conflict between the two political parties today. If one characterizes personal economic failure as a personal issue, society has little responsibility to remedy it. If, on

significant number of academic positions in America's colleges and universities. Further, their intellectual influence in research is insignificant, especially in the biosciences.<sup>33</sup>

Republicans clearly recognize their limited influence in academia and have used their political influence to force boards and senior administrators in public universities to actively hire conservative intellectuals, especially in the social and political sciences.<sup>34</sup>

Kristol and others similarly inclined, felt the tortured connections between American liberal ideology and the conservative American imperial republic, together with the newly established academic classes in an affluent society.<sup>35</sup> He further proffers another extraordinary comment: "Above all, it raises the question of whether democratic societies can cope with the kinds of political pathologies that seem to be spontaneously generated by their very commitment to economic and social progress."<sup>36</sup> It appears he is indicating that any attempt to change the status quo by providing opportunities to those who have been adversely affected by such issues as a poor education or violence, just to name a few, run the risk of upsetting social cohesion and threaten the republic itself!

To the neoconservative, foreign policy is the one area of public life in which liberal ideology flounders most dramatically. Neoconservatives claim that Western political thought has had little to say about foreign policy and has subjected foreign affairs to domestic political contingencies.<sup>37</sup> Philosopher John Locke, a favorite of conservatives, articulated their position as follows: "What is to be done in reference to foreigners, depending on their actions and variation of designs and interests, must be left in great part to the prudence of those who have this power committed to them, to be managed by the best for their skill for the advantage of the Commonwealth."<sup>38</sup> Henry Kissinger said much the same thing when he was secretary of state during the Nixon



ambivalence- and at times hostility- toward traditional Protestant religious thought. It also opened the door to incorporating European designs on foreign states less powerful than they.

By the end of the Spanish American War, the United States had been transformed into an imperial power, which provided colonial oversight to such areas as Cuba and the Philippines. Americans, especially conservatives, gave little thought to land conquered from the Indians or Spanish as a colonial enterprise. The transformation of the American republic into an imperial power created a crisis of goals and objectives between the intellectual and the practitioners of American foreign policy.<sup>43</sup> To the conservatives, the concept of being an imperial power is not the same as being imperialist; the concept refers merely to being a great power.

Kristol believes that Manifest Destiny ended American isolation by establishing the material conditions for the emergence of the United States as a great power.<sup>44</sup> However, a good argument could be made that expansion and isolation persisted at least until the end of World War II, because expansion was opportunistic and resulted in limited overseas commitment of U. S. blood and treasure. Further, the American way of life precluded the subordination of public policy to private, individual needs and concerns. Hence, at least until 1917, the United States could have it both ways: expansion cloaked in a “don’t tread on me” isolationism. Even then, the contingencies of World War I tended to reaffirm this contradiction. The United States entry into World War I can best be described as reluctant, with little in the way of imperial ambitions. The subsequent public disillusionment with the war, the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations pushed Americans into a new period of isolation and disillusionment about

policy. With the Vietnam experience, the intellectual's opposition together with more vocal elements of the public have asserted their rights to have a voice in the formulation of such policies.

Despite such disagreements between neoconservatives and the intellectual establishment, most can agree that the United States will adhere to three basic principles: (a) The United States will attempt to establish and sustain a world order that does not represent an external threat to the interests and the national security of the country, (b) encourage other countries to organize their economic and social systems that represent or at least do not threaten American values and (c) minimization of armed conflict. How to accomplish these goals led to major disagreements between neoconservatives and the intellectual-liberal establishments.<sup>47</sup>

Perhaps the best recent example of such conflict was the Iraq War. To the neoconservative, the administration of Saddam Hussain represented an existential risk to the nation in the aftermath of the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks. Neoconservatives such as Vice President Richard Cheney and his aides, Lewis "Scooter" Libby and Paul Wolfowitz, were the architects of the administration's Iraq policy. Such policy was predicated on the belief that Saddam Hussain was harboring nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. Cheney, Libby and Wolfowitz also believed that Al Qaeda was closely associated with the Iraqi president. Subsequent evidence disproved both assertions but the American involvement in the war in Iraq provided an opening for Al Qaeda to establish a presence in the northern sections of the country. The initial decision to attack continues to impact world politics as Al Qaeda, the Islamic State and similar extremist elements in Iraq have become heavily involved in the Syrian conflict and recently have

Afghanistan wars point to a continuing influence of neoconservative view of the world. The 2013 attempt by President Obama to utilize American power in Syria, however, points to a conflicted assessment by the American people in their willingness to engage in military action on terms that would have engendered agreement in the past. Such public attitudes can quickly change, as more recent events could indicate an increase of neoconservative influence. Indeed, the American public's reassessment of threat to the homeland appears to have diminished a more isolationist perspective in the institutional foreign policy apparatus.<sup>50</sup>

To the neoconservative, freedom, free enterprise, and a free society are mutually inclusive terms. Within this context, the neoconservative movement regards Friedrich Hayek as the premier economic and social philosopher of the era, and neoconservatives explicitly reference his ideas. As the father of the Austrian school of economics, which became influential in the 1950s and beyond, Hayek has had an enormous influence within the neoconservative movement. Perhaps his books, *The Constitution of Liberty* and *The Counter-Revolution of Science* and most importantly, *The Road to Serfdom*, represent the foremost critique of large scale social engineering in economics, an intellectual refutation of both the New Deal/Great Society domestic programs and social democracy in general. Hayek spent part of his professional life at the University of Chicago. Because of his disagreements with Milton Freedman, he did not secure a teaching assignment in the economics department but worked instead in the philosophy and political science departments. His writings, together with Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged* and *The Fountainhead*, have influenced conservative economic and political thought and have served as an intellectual foundation in their social and economic disputes with liberals

Neoconservatives scorn liberal economists, such as the late John Kenneth Galbraith and Paul Krugman. Their economic concept of the “utility schedule” brings about special ridicule. In essence, the utility schedule is a foundation principle of conservative economic theory. Utility, in economic terms relates to the ability of a good or service to meet one’s needs. A utility schedule frequently refers to a socially defined utility of a certain good or service and its usefulness to society as a whole. While a Hummer and a Honda Civic have a certain specific utility, one could argue that a Hummer has far less social utility given certain socially accepted definitions such as gas mileage, use of materials, or other considerations.<sup>55</sup>

The neoconservative frequently bemoans the diminished role of religion in an increasingly secular society. Religion is now increasingly considered to be a private affair (at least until a recent Supreme Court decision regarding the Greece Town Board) which will possibly lead to a reduction of religious faith and a growing skepticism about the traditional role of religion. In a way, it could be considered to be a change from religious consumption to a philosophical consumption. In other words, in the marketplace of ideas, goods and services, the neoconservative recognize the unintended consequences of such freedom. God’s sanctification of our economic and social system they so richly endorse appears to have fallen victim to the very freedom they most emphatically embrace.<sup>56</sup>

In essence, freedom, to the neoconservative, is narrowly construed. One may, within limits, buy and invest in what one wishes but the moral obligation one owes to family and society as well as structures of behavior are an integral part of the social order. Religion is designed to act as a tool of the social immortality, of defined mores and folkways, reinforced by the current generation.

if a viable “Christian way of life” could be sold to the public. They understood that to establish the absolute legitimacy of those elements in the Old Testament that were lacking in the New, they had to take the whole package.<sup>61</sup> For example, the Ten Commandments could be divine only if the entire Old Testament was taken as a whole.

The bourgeois idea is much closer to the Old Testament than to the new, which, according to Kristol, is undoubtedly the reason why Jews have felt more at home in the bourgeois world than any other.<sup>62</sup> After all, God created this world and affirmed its goodness; that man ought confidently to be fruitful and multiply, that work is elevating rather than demeaning, that the impulse of bettering one’s condition is good because it is natural.

Kristol further argues that the bourgeois revolution of the eighteenth century was successful only because it did incorporate the older Judeo-Christian moral tradition into its basic secular, rationalist outlook.<sup>63</sup> However, the rise of secularism, in his reasoning, has eroded such morality.

In her book *How the West Really Lost God*, Mary Eberstadt attributes to Friedrich Nietzsche, whose parable of the madman in the marketplace foretells the death of God, the paradigm through which academics tend to understand secularization. She claims the modern mind has lined up all the different pieces on the collective table, only to press them together in a way that looks whole from a distance but still omits something critical.<sup>64</sup> The family decline in turn helps to power religious decline. Most Conservatives embrace the power of the family to instill, reinforce and perpetuate norms and values that, increasingly, are contrary to their economic or social interests.<sup>65</sup>

levels at and below the replacement rate.<sup>67</sup> Today, it is possible indeed to lose one's family as never before.

In essence, both authors bemoan the decline of religious values and people of virtue but refuse to fully understand that their related views of freedom and liberty set the stage for such an occurrence. Religion and formidable government authority can flourish only in a social order that values tradition and is suspicious of change. Freedom sets the stage for a redefinition of the individual's relationship to society. The business community has a huge stake in the traditional family structure as they have a unique ability to subvert freedom in the context of religion to ensure a stable and supportive work force. It should be no surprise that the business community regards the religious right as their primary supporters. After all, the religious right looks at the capitalist business community as a primary indicator of biblical legitimacy?<sup>68</sup> At a deeper level, proper social and economic structures reflect natural law, something Neo-conservatives extol as divinely-created and constantly besieged by modern secular ideas.

When Nietzsche said that "God is dead" he called into question the whole concept of Natural Law. Since Natural Law is purportedly derived from nature, it becomes universal by implication. In application, Natural Law refers to the use of reason to analyze human nature and deduce rules of moral behavior from it. Natural Law and Common Law, a legacy from the English, intersect in many ways, but the two are fundamentally different. Common Law is codification of certain aspects of Natural Law. Natural Law is theoretical in nature and frequently serves to act as a source of criticism to the interpretation and implementation of Common Law. Two current examples, the ongoing debate on abortion and what is meant by the separation of church and state,

time and nothingness. Perhaps, it is an issue of “*tedium vitae*,” contending with the boringness of the human existence.

Kristol makes an interesting case in describing the intent of the founding fathers as it related to the nation’s capitalist economic system and regarded it as the only system that would work within a liberal democratic structure.<sup>70</sup> However, neither the Constitutional framers, nor Adam Smith for that matter, used the term and definition of capitalism. Instead, they used the notion of Natural Law and liberty. No matter; Kristol asserts that capitalism has historical legitimacy as capitalism and democracy were linked as a “way of life.”<sup>71</sup> Kristol seeks to invoke his imagined founders to argue for a proper social order, based on the family, and an economic order based on markets.

But capitalism, at least the version our founders envisioned, did not include large corporations. Indeed, they did not exist in the sense that they do today. Though the businessman, per se, has never been a fictional hero of bourgeois society, some were considered to be honorable but hardly heroic. It is only after the rise of “big business” that the businessman becomes the natural and predestined villain in our folk legends. In essence, it is the ability to concentrate assets and power and make decisions affecting the lives of thousands of citizens that create disharmony between the economic and political systems. There are two recent examples of this phenomenon. In recent times, Target, Home Depot and others announced massive breaches of account security that have resulted in significant monetary losses in the economy. The effect on up to 70 percent of Americans who shopped at the major retailers effected during this period was also significant. Credit cards have been cancelled and debit cards either restricted or cancelled. Many Americans now have to carefully watch their card activity for potential

corrupted by a totalitarian economic and social system in which power has been transferred from the individual to the corporate enterprise.

To the neoconservative, the thought of a democratic, individualistic society is inconsistent with a strong State, especially in the foreign policy arena. The reality is that the neoconservative has no great affection for a democratic state but would rather reintroduce the founder's Federalist model in which elites, by entitlement of wealth and intellect and under the cover of some dubious cover of virtue, would rule. Any real attempt to provide direct political power to and unentitled individual would be an illegitimate political exercise.



While evangelical Protestant belief systems were not limited to the United States (some in the United Kingdom, Netherlands and Germany share similar values), it was in this country that government, religion and politics became a mutually symbiotic mix. In addition, the rise of fundamentalism, a distinct version of evangelical Christianity, uniquely shaped by the circumstances of America in the early twentieth century, added to religious and social discord brought about by events that originated in the 1800's.<sup>4</sup>

Common sense philosophy, generally defined as an assumption that the Bible can be easily understood by the common person, was well suited to the prevailing ideals of American culture through the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup> This was not entirely accidental since the American nation and Scottish realism both took shape in the mid 1700's. This philosophy was above all democratic and anti-elitist. Common sense was perceived to mean that the human mind was so constructed that one can know the real world directly. Its adherents claimed that some philosophers, such as John Locke, had made knowledge seem more complicated by interposing "ideas" between the individual and the real world.<sup>6</sup>

In anti-elitist eighteenth century America, common sense became a revolutionary watchword. As Thomas Jefferson recognized, it provided one basis for a new democratic and republican order for the ages.<sup>7</sup>

Common sense philosophy continued to appeal to Americans through the nineteenth century because it provided a firm foundation for a scientific approach to reality. In a nation born in the enlightenment, the reverence for science as a way to understand all aspects of reality, was nearly unbounded. Evangelical Christians and liberal figures alike assumed that the universe was governed by a rational system of laws

accepted, the rest of Scripture could fit into the scheme. Perhaps one of the better writers to describe this issue is Timothy Weber, author of *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism, 1875-1925*. Weber emphasized the same fundamentalist absorption of the apocalypse, which seemingly disposed believers to indifference to the abuses of their age. In fact, mass misery was sometimes lauded as a sign of the approach of Armageddon.<sup>12</sup>

There were two reasons why this highly problematic model was accepted by evangelicals. The first was a set of intellectual predispositions that tended to interpret scripture in a literal way and develop a distinctive view of history. The other was related to the secularization of culture. Many evangelicals questioned the continued close identification of the church with culture.

Dispensationalist thought was characterized by a dual emphasis on the supernatural and the scientific. In contrast, they assert that liberal biblical theology starts with a superficial Aristotelian method of reason, which begins with a hypothesis, and then the facts and philosophy are warped to fit the crook of the hypothesis. However, a Baconian system, which first gathers the teachings of the word of God and then seeks to deduce some general law upon which the facts can be arranged, is a correct approach to understanding the Bible.<sup>13</sup> This appeal, one would suspect, still has substantial support with many evangelical and fundamentalist Protestants to this day.

Induction has to start with hard facts and insistence that the only way to interpret scripture is in the literal sense. Predictions would only come to fact through real events. This also assumes a reliance on the written word, thus they followed the Puritans, who assumed that Biblical interpretations was an exact science with precise conclusions. The

enterprise system. According to George Marsden, “The bible and reason agreed that pursuit of wealth by legitimate processes is in entire harmony with morality and depends on it.”<sup>17</sup> The right to property and inheritance were sacred, but must be balanced by the law of benevolence.<sup>18</sup>

The assumption that Christianity was the only basis for a healthy civilization was basic to evangelical thinking, as essential as the belief that souls must be saved for the life to come.<sup>19</sup> Virtue among the citizenry, as almost all political economists said, was the foundation of a successful civilization, especially a republican civilization. Religion was the basis for true virtue, the purer the religion, the higher the morality. Christianity, to the evangelical, was the purist religion. The supposedly self-evident superiority of western civilization, especially northern European civilization, was clearly due to their influence of Christianity and Protestantism in particular.<sup>20</sup>

To evangelicals, poverty was regarded as part of some divine plan.<sup>21</sup> The mental anguish of poverty, debt and the physical agony of hunger and cold were tools that spurred the conscience of sinners. Suffering of the poor would provoke remorse, reflection and ultimately would encourage a conversion that would change their fate. In essence, poor people were poor for a reason and helping them out of poverty would endanger their mortal souls. It is the evangelists who saw the businessman as a heroic figure, carrying out justice to those less worthy and his wealth was looked upon as a sign of his rightness.<sup>22</sup>

To confirm their beliefs, they point to two biblical passages for justification: Ecclesiastes 5:19, “For every man to whom God has given riches and wealth, He has also

created a firestorm within the evangelical Christian community. Christians took divergent views on evolutionary naturalism, but evangelical Christians comprised the largest group who opposed it. The effect of Darwin continues to be felt to this day. Consider the following: A poll published December 23, 2013 by the Pew Research Center indicates that 33% of Americans reject human evolution. Among white Evangelical Protestants, 64% say that humans existed in their present form since the beginning of time, estimated to be 6,000 years. In political terms, less than half of conservatives agree with the theory of evolution, compared to 67% of liberals and 65% of independents.<sup>29</sup> While not all evangelicals rejected Darwinism, most felt that his theories represented a mortal threat to social and religious foundation principals. Perhaps the best known example of an evangelical leader to embrace Darwin's theories was William Louis Poteat, an educator at Wake Forest College (now University) in North Carolina. He defended the teaching of evolution as the "divine method of creation." And believed that this perspective was in harmony with the fundamental tenants of the Baptists.<sup>30</sup>

Evangelicals immediately recognized the seriousness of Darwin's intellectual assault on traditional Christian rationalist view of the world. The danger of skepticism and new rationalism was portrayed vividly to Americans by the delegates and religious leaders in continental Europe, where higher level critical views of Scripture were already far advanced. European evangelicals most frequently attacked the Biblical criticism of F.C. Baur<sup>31</sup> and the Tubingen School in Germany.<sup>32</sup> The supernaturalism of the Biblical view was utterly incompatible with the naturalism that was seen as Darwin's position. Evolution could be used in two different ways, either God's method of development or pure chance. Evangelical Christians generally accept only the former.

sermon was to reconcile evolution, competitive individualism and the ethic of Jesus; Go be moral, go be good.<sup>33</sup>

To the evangelical, such alleged moral relativism was simply inconsistent with their concept of Natural Law and the role of religion in society.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, many evangelicals in the United States rejected liberal Protestantism's acquiescence to modernity and sought to ground their faith in fundamentalist revelation, especially in the texts of the old and new Testaments. From its origins, fundamentalism was primarily a religious movement among American evangelical Christians, those professing complete confidence in the Bible and preoccupied with the message of God's salvation of sinners through the death of Jesus Christ. Evangelicals were (and still are) convinced that sincere acceptance of this gospel message is the key to virtue in this life and to eternal life in heaven; its rejection meant following the broad path that ended in hell.<sup>34</sup> Surprisingly perhaps, the Northern Protestants were the originators of the movement. Southern Protestants were most frequently Baptist and aspects of fundamentalism were not readily accepted until early in the twentieth century.

The fundamentalist movement is generally considered to have originated with conservative Presbyterians in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and quickly spread to northern Baptists and related religious organizations. The intellectual center was Princeton Theology School in New Jersey, although Wheaton College in Illinois is generally considered to be the birthplace of the movement. Three individuals, Charles Blanchard, Jonathan Blanchard and D.L. Moody were instrumental in its inception and expanding its reach and influence during the latter part of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth

kingdom, far from being realized in this age or in natural development of humanity, lay wholly in the future. It was totally supernatural in origin and discontinuous with the history of this era.<sup>37</sup>

The fundamentalists other distinct intellectual disposition was a strong inclination to supernaturalism. Their view of the supernatural origins of the Scripture rendered the human element negligible. They stood firm against any erosion of traditional emphasis on the miraculous, especially the fundamental teaching about the birth, work, death and resurrection of Christ. At the second coming, Christians must view themselves as caught between two powers.<sup>38</sup>

In essence, this view of history is anti-humanist and anti-development. They believe natural developments in which humans are key agents play little, if any role. Rather, humans participate in a larger cosmic struggle, the details of which have been planned and often revealed in advance. Change only takes place through divine intervention. All history is thus ordered by abstract principals with God as the primary agent of change.<sup>39</sup> Supernatural forces shape history and understanding anything about natural reality comes down to a simple idea, development through conflict. Perhaps the best example of fundamentalist ideas converted into written form were a series of ninety essays entitled *The Fundamentals: A Testimony of the Truth*, edited by Reuben Torrey and A. C. Dixon. Originally published as a twelve-volume set, they were written by sixty-four authors, representing most of the major Protestant denominations. The project was originally conceived in 1909 by Lyman and Milton Stewart, who provided funds for collecting essays they felt represented the fundamental beliefs of the Christian faith.<sup>40</sup>

The decade preceding World War I was the end of an era for the American evangelical establishment. The fracture of evangelicals into various factions precluded the establishment of a "Christian America." To the conservative evangelical, Christ was no reformer, since he did not raise a voice against slavery and war. Furthermore, Jesus rebuked Judas for his suggestion to give to the poor. Reform was in fact Satan's way of lulling the world into ignoring the immensity of the crisis.<sup>43</sup> The banner of Democracy was becoming the "red flag," a symbol of socialism and the rule of man.<sup>44</sup> Science and technology were also damned and seen as a sign of the end of times.

Between 1917 through the early 1920's, conservative evangelicals underwent a dramatic transformation. In 1917, they were still part of the evangelical movement, After 1920, conservative evangelicals were dominated by the fundamentalists who were determined to engage in social and political warfare to drive the scourge of modernism out of the church and culture. Two factors drove this change: the more aggressive and radical forms of theological liberalism that had developed in relation to the social gospel and the increasing acceptance of evolution among Christian churches.<sup>45</sup> They embraced the view that no trust should be put in kings or governments. Also, no government would be specially blessed by God until the coming of the king who would lead in defeating the forces of Satan. World War I was taken as an additional sign of the end of times.

By the end of World War I, the one unifying factor in fundamentalist political and social thought was political conservatism. Whether they spoke as pietists who would use the government merely to restrain evil, or as Calvinists in preserving Christian civilization; or when they adopted the Anabaptist ideology of non-involvement in politics, they were profoundly anti-liberal.<sup>46</sup>

William Jennings Bryan and Clarence Darrow, the country, by way of radio, listened to the trial testimony in real time. The publicity resulted in the ridicule and belittlement of fundamentalists. The movement retreated into the more favorable confines of the rural South and eventually Southern California in the 1930's.<sup>51</sup>

Fundamentalists found a home in local congregations and started their own religious schools, such as Bob Jones University, Dallas Theological Seminary and most important perhaps, Wheaton College. The Southern Baptist Convention became more fundamentalist and exhibited substantial growth during the 1930's.<sup>52</sup>

Similarly, Presbyterians found theological issues potentially divisive, but the denomination had developed organizational machinery for dealing with all differences in doctrine through their ecclesiastical courts and the General Assembly. By 1920, there was a split between the New England Calvinists and the more doctrinaire Presbyterians of the South.<sup>53</sup>

To the most doctrinaire Presbyterian, the Bible is the theologian's storehouse of facts about the nature of man. Common sense philosophy assured that throughout the ages people could discover the same truths in the unchanging world of Scripture. Common sense philosophy, in contrast to the philosophy of Descartes and Locke, held that the immediate objects of our perception were not ideas of the external world but rather concrete external objects themselves. The view that the past could be known through reliable testimony meant that Scripture was not regarded as point of view respecting the past but rather an infallible representation of the past itself.

Questions concerning why others did not see the truth became increasingly acute. The Princeton Theological School (the intellectual source of Presbyterian



“TULIP” became a popular acronym in the 1800’s designed to help Presbyterian religious students recall the five points of Calvinism as they were stated in the Canons of the Synod Dort in 1618/1619. The concave was called in response to the perceived danger posed by the followers of Jacob Arminius.<sup>57</sup> The five points were the basis of Calvinist teachings which influenced religious and political thought in the United States. While this paper is not designed to represent, in any detail, Calvinist philosophy, it will be useful to briefly describe a logic system that substantially influenced Protestant belief systems. The five points are as follows:

1. T-Total depravity -all humans are corrupted and tainted by original sin
2. U-Unconditional Election -Essentially predestination and the concept of the elect
3. L-Limited Atonement -Christ did not die for the sins of all, just the elect
4. I-Irresistible Grace -Otherwise known as monergism, saving grace given to the elect to regenerate them
5. P-Perseverance -A truly elect person cannot be lost<sup>58</sup>

Within this framework, the Calvinist believes that any government that embraces “Natural Law” will be endowed with a special relationship with God and be considered “chosen.” The American people, by virtue of their special relationship with God, are unique in the history of the world.

To the Republican evangelical Protestant base, the dominant “reformed” and its subtext Calvinist theology dealt with the relationship between the deity and evil and more importantly, the ability to save oneself from eternal damnation. However, it would be incorrect to associate all evangelical Protestants as Calvinists. Many disagree with some

Corporate spokesman and politicians such as President Coolidge agreed that “material prosperity cannot be secured unless it rests on spiritual realities.” While some conservative Protestant clergy were concerned about marrying Christianity and business, the business community quickly recognized the value of combining business aims with conservative and fundamentalist views especially as it related to the sanctification of capitalism within religious belief systems.<sup>61</sup>

In the depression years, fundamentalists and the business community strongly opposed government intervention in the economic system. They blamed those who took advantage of the American economic system for ruining progress for all and allowing liberalism an opportunity to influence public policy. They blamed bad bankers, rather than bad banks, bad investors, rather than bad investments, bad politicians, rather than bad politics. In essence, they blamed individuals, and a lack of virtue, rather than the system.<sup>62</sup>

Desperate economic times driven by the Dust Bowl in Bible belt States such as Oklahoma, Texas and Kansas precipitated a massive out migration to California. The fundamentalists took their religion and their pastors with them and established communities in Southern California during this period. These communities became a training ground for their religious leaders. Billy Graham and others shaped the evangelical and fundamentalist communities into a significant political force against what they perceived to be an increasingly secular society.

Out of the 1930’s turmoil, fundamentalism found new voices that more clearly articulated their views and vision. They included John R. Rice, who founded a newspaper *Sword of the Lord*.<sup>63</sup> Circulation quickly reached 250,000 and became the most

substantial Federal money invested in the South during the war years and afterward undoubtedly served to placate their concerns for a time. By 1968, the solid Democratic South showed increasing signs of crumbling. In the same period, Republican hold on the northern tier of states was showing similar signs of decline. The political realignment had begun. Republicans lost their economic and political influence in the North and Midwest, the Republicans found themselves increasingly successful in the South and the rapidly growing West. In an interesting way, the Mason-Dixon Line had been politically reestablished but with the political parties having reversed their views and core support from the Civil War years.

Lichtman feels the civil rights era institutionalized and legitimized the conservative movement and “glued together” the economic and social conservatives into a cohesive political force specifically focused on obtaining and retaining power at all costs.<sup>67</sup> It is not hard to understand why conservatives, fundamentalists and business people loath President Obama and the Democrats. In many respects, it is all about race, power and religion.

To sort out concepts such as liberal and conservative in American political life, many historians have tended to ascribe Republicans as conservative yet historically; one of the earliest and most famous Republican leader was a destroyer of the status quo. Abraham Lincoln was, in ontological terms, both a creator and destroyer. The same could be said of Theodore Roosevelt. The larger question is: can such a person be a sustainer of reality?

to the creation of government. Further, they believe that all human relationships should be voluntary; the only actions that should be forbidden by law are those that involve the initiation of force against those who have not themselves used force-actions like murder, rape, robbery, kidnapping and fraud.<sup>3</sup>

Their views on foreign policy issues are significantly different from neoconservatives. According to the American Libertarian Party's platform, libertarians support the maintenance of a sufficient military primarily to defend the United States against aggression. The United States should avoid entangling alliances and abandon its attempts to act as policeman for the world. They also oppose any form of compulsory national service.<sup>4</sup> Their twin pillars of a prudent foreign policy include (1) building positive relationships, with an emphasis on free trade and (2) avoiding negative relationships, with an emphasis on military non-intervention.<sup>5</sup> However, they also have an interesting answer to those who are willing to compromise liberty and freedom for security. Franklin's famous comments about the choice between freedom and security; "Those who give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary security deserve neither liberty nor safety"<sup>6</sup> closely parallels libertarian philosophy. Their platform states, "The defense of the country requires that we have adequate intelligence to detect and counter threats to domestic security. This requirement must not take priority over maintaining the civil liberties of our citizens."<sup>7</sup>

On such issues as education, health care and retirement income security, they differ substantially from the prevailing political and social norms in our society. For example, they are opposed to social security in any form. They believe such programs are not the government's responsibility but rather the individuals. If they acquired power,

the government. Lastly, they believe parents should have control of and responsibility for all funds expended for their children's education.<sup>12</sup> In essence, libertarians are advocating a voucher program that represents nothing more than utilizing public money for private choices, with minimal government influence and control of educational outcomes. It would appear that libertarians are not adverse to at least part of the public education idea, utilizing public funds for educating the young. They appear only to object to the government restricting the use thereof. They believe that parents are best able to make educational decisions for their children. This obviously presumes that parents have the knowledge, experience and time to expend on such responsibilities. In contrast, in virtually all advanced economies, citizens provide authority and funding to the state to educate their young, based on the premise that such delegation provides a better mechanism to achieve educational goals consistent with individual and society's needs and goals.

Libertarians can show no historical experience in which their ideas have worked in a larger social context. Currently, small-scale experiments in voucher choice are underway across the country, including Colorado. Denver metropolitan counties of Douglas and Jefferson, as well as Larimer County's Thompson R2-J district in Loveland/Berthoud, appear to be implementing such experiments.<sup>13</sup>

Perhaps no other part of the libertarian platform is more important than their position on property and contract. They consider property rights as inalienable and ordinarily beyond the scope of legitimate regulation. Owners of property have the full right to control, use, dispose of, and in any manner enjoy their property without interference, until or unless the exercise of their control infringes the valid rights of

English Common Law is also based on the notion that anything not expressly prohibited is legal. There is no need to secure permission of civil authority for a new initiative.<sup>22</sup>

Where did these concepts come from? Hannan believes the proximate origins come from the Magna Carta in 1215 and further articulated in the Glorious Revolution in 1688.<sup>23</sup> Both events specifically led to the evolution and growth of the English Parliament. However, he also notes that the Roman historian Tacitus wrote about primitive German tribes who were in the habit of deciding their affairs through open-air clan meetings.<sup>24</sup> He contrasts their rulemaking as “auctoritas” (the ability to inspire) to the Roman system “potestas” (the ability to compel).<sup>25</sup> Tacitus’s writings, entitled *Germania* apparently became quite popular in the Teutonic countries of northern Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Interestingly, it also became briefly popular in France due to the support it received from Montesquieu as he became convinced that the French were related to the Franks (a Germanic tribe) rather than the Gallic peoples.

Hannan also traces the evolution of the Witan, a council of Anglo-Saxon kings, as the forerunner of Parliament. He contrasts the Witan to other European assemblies and concludes that in other parts of Europe, the Germanic legislative tradition died out by the tenth century, while its energetic preservation and promotion in England was quite exceptional.<sup>26</sup>

The writings of the English philosopher John Locke undoubtedly form a significant basis for libertarian social, economic and political philosophy. Locke proffered the idea of a primeval contract between the ruler and the ruled, freely entered into. Both parties are bound by such a contract and if the ruler breaks his part of the

A distillation of these ideas and mythical heroes such as John Galt in Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged*, appear to form some philosophical basis for the explosion of the Tea Party, a movement that expressed long-standing frustration with political parties and public policy by the white upper-middle class in the United States. Discouraged by economic downturns and demographic change, they believe the Democratic Party is the permanent captive of internationalists, multi-culturists, and central planners. However, they also found the Republican Party's complicity in the Toxic Asset Recovery Program an anathema. They are determined to shift the Republican Party into a small-government, libertarian oriented party, in contrast to what they consider to be a political and fiscal disaster affecting the country.

A turning point of sorts occurred early in 2009. Some months prior, a previously unknown Democrat named Barack Obama carried his improbable bid for the White House into a stunning popular vote and electoral victory. Obama's primary victories over initial frontrunner Hillary Clinton was quite surprising given her knowledge, experience and favorable ratings among Democratic Party members. Obama prevailed and subsequently defeated Republican Presidential candidate John McCain. In addition, the Democratic Party enjoyed significant success both nationally and locally. They achieved veto proof majorities in the Senate and the House.<sup>30</sup>

Why did this happen? Perhaps the impending economic collapse enveloping the country played a role but one would suspect the country was tired of war and Republican economic and social policies. Republican economic initiatives, which included massive tax cuts for the rich and a refusal to pay for two wars contributed to significant deficits and economic dislocations. Fiscal policy problems were magnified by monetary

public works initiatives such as road building and repair. Many communities throughout the country obtained money to improve roadways, libraries and other community improvements. Local initiatives in the Denver area included the expansion of I-225 adjacent to the University of Colorado Medical Center and initial funding for the improvements to US 36, known locally as the Denver-Boulder Turnpike.<sup>33</sup>

From September, 2008 forward, the Republican Party refused to accept the serious nature of the impending economic panic. In fact, the Republican majority in the House initially turned down the bank bailout bill, even when the Republican Treasury Secretary pleaded with House members to pass it. It was only after the Stock Market declined by over 700 points the day after the initial House vote, the House reconsidered their ill-advised action and promptly passed the bill. The fall of Lehman Brothers and AIG, together with significant problems with Citibank and with massive layoffs happening throughout the country, the stage was set for the passage and implementation of other initiatives to deal with the economic crisis.<sup>34</sup> It is within this context that President –elect Barack Obama assumed the office of the presidency on January 20, 2009.

Barack Obama can best be described as a cautious liberal in the modern sense. Upon assuming the Presidency in January, 2009, he was confronted with a significant crisis and also a belligerent and angry Republican party. It is within this combination of economic upheaval and political outrage, the Tea Party movement was born.

While a case could be made that the general outlines of the Tea Party's social and political thought originated with the Nixon campaign of 1968,<sup>35</sup> the specific origin of the Tea Party movement appears to have begun on February 19, 2009. CNBC reporter (now



Illegal aliens are here illegally  
Pro-domestic employment is indispensable  
A strong military is essential  
Special interests must be eliminated  
Gun ownership is sacred  
Government must be downsized  
The national budget must be balanced  
Deficit spending must end  
Bailout and stimulus plans are illegal  
Reducing personal income taxes are a must  
Reducing business income taxes is mandatory  
Political offices must be made available to the average citizen  
Intrusive government must be stopped  
English as our core language is required  
Traditional family values should be encouraged.<sup>40</sup>

They count such political notables as Newt Gingrich, Michelle Bachman, Paul Ryan and Rich Santorum as charter members of their movement. National radio and TV personalities such as Rush Limbaugh, Sean Hannity, Laura Ingraham and, former Denver KMGH newscaster, Bill O'Reilly regularly provide a forum and advocacy for their views.<sup>41</sup>

Skocpol and Williamson describe the Tea Party structure as similar to a typical evangelical Protestant church; decentralized in style, semi-uniform in their beliefs,

An analysis of who makes up the Tea Party shows what they mean. Demographically, they are overwhelmingly white, evangelical Protestant, older (50 and above), middle class and economically comfortable, with a history of being more politically conservative than the average Republican. Many have been or currently are small business owners, specializing in the construction trades.<sup>46</sup>

While their rhetoric borrows much from libertarians regarding the scope of government and the sanctity of property, their belief systems also differ in significant ways from them. Their reverence for the Constitution is biblical in scope and authority. Their contention is that our Constitutional framework is derived from the Bible and inspired by God.<sup>47</sup> Thus, Americans have become an exceptional people due to their acceptance of the literal wording of the Bible and their belief that the Founding Fathers framed the Constitution from Biblically based Natural Law. The authors describe their general philosophy as a “constitutionally limited government, freedom to pursue liberty through unrestricted markets and liberty tempered by virtue.”<sup>48</sup> It is necessary to point out that the tie between liberty and unrestricted markets do not appear to have significant biblical sanction but attains Godly status through their concept of liberty and individualism. The key to understanding this issue is the ownership of property within English Common Law.

As Hannan observes, “The Constitution is the supreme guarantor of the rule of law, the last defense of personal liberty, the chief exemplar of national Exceptionalism.”<sup>49</sup> The idea that property was a total right of ownership by a single person was particular to English speaking countries. It served to elevate the individual above the clan in property disputes and ownership.<sup>50</sup> He utilizes Marxist analysis in

President's Health Care Bill provisions will eventually be extended to such individuals. After the 2012 election, some Republicans realized that significant demographic shifts, especially the growth of the Hispanic population and other minority groups, would make their efforts to attain majority political status increasingly doubtful. However, attempts to pass reform legislation have been hampered by strong political opposition among Tea Party Republicans. Other constituents of the Republican base, such as business interests who want the immigration issue resolved, have not been able to impose their views on the Party.<sup>58</sup>

The Tea Party strongly supports measures to stop abortion, gay marriage, family planning and related social issues.<sup>59</sup> While such positions are hardly unique among conservatives, especially evangelicals, it does further alienate the Republican Party from other constituent groups within American society that might otherwise support Republican economic and fiscal policies. The Tea Party has been shown to use such social positions as a political "litmus test." Their no compromise attitude tends to polarize the political system and the result is a reoccurring crisis that manifests itself by ignoring or refusing to pass essential legislation and engaging in fiscal brinksmanship.

The Tea Party opposes any welfare programs that transfer resources from working people to those they consider to be moochers.<sup>60</sup> A most recent example of this issue has been the continuing political conflict over food stamps and an extension of unemployment insurance. Other programs they appear to be opposed to are Medicaid and Pell Grants. For unexplained reasons, they are particularly opposed to any aid provided to college students. From comments made on their web sites and discussions Skocpol and

However, they are just as judgmental about whites who are not successful. Their attitudes do not correlate with recent investigations on this subject, such as documented in the February 3, 2014, issue of *Time*.<sup>67</sup> The writing describes three core attributes (the triple package) that appear to be critical to success; superiority complex, insecurity and impulse control. The article is a selective summary of the recently published book *The Triple Package: How Three Unlikely Traits Explain the Rise and Fall of Cultural Groups in America*, written by the husband and wife team of Jed Rubenfeld and Amy Chua. Their views border on, but go beyond, the cultural chauvinism of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, where superficial observations of difference were understood to be rooted in a deep biological essentialism, at once immutable and un-ameliorable. The contemporary Spencerian (Herbert Spencer's apology for laissez-faire) Tea Party argument ignores the contingency, as well as policies that benefit some over others (G. I. Bill of Rights versus debt peonage) that explain much of why some are better situated than others.

As described previously, many Tea Party adherents are evangelical Protestants but most do not consider themselves fundamentalists in the traditional sense. They closely identify with the criticisms leveled at big corporations and wealthy individuals, thus they could be considered populists. They strongly support capitalism in the abstract sense but believe the system has been hijacked by those who lack virtue and are greedy.<sup>68</sup>

No discussion of the Tea Party would be complete without a discussion of the role of media and the influence of specific think tanks established for the purpose of influencing the Tea Party.

exhibit strongly libertarian and conservative political beliefs. While some might say that such attitudes are conducive to their business interests, it is hard to argue that they hold strong beliefs in limited government, low taxes and minimal business and personal governmental oversight.<sup>71</sup> The January 13, 2014 issue of *Fortune Magazine* has a fascinating article on the Koch Brothers business empire and their influence with Tea Party adherents.<sup>72</sup> Their main campaign fund contribution outlets are Freedom Works and Americans for Prosperity.<sup>73</sup> They also help fund the Cato Institute, a libertarian think tank, and the Manhattan Society. However, their most influential think tank apparently is the little known Mercatus Center, located at George Mason University in Arlington, VA.<sup>74</sup> In addition, both Heritage Foundation and Manhattan Institute are attempting to lead and shape the political agenda for the Tea Party and are extensively used by Tea Party politicians as a fund raising arm for their political campaigns.<sup>75</sup>

Of particular interest is the Koch involvement and investment in the career of Paul Ryan, Republican Representative from Janesville, Wisconsin, and former Vice Presidential candidate. As some might be aware, Koch Industries have a major economic presence in Wisconsin, especially in the ore fields of the Masabi Range and in the southeastern part of the state.<sup>76</sup> Ryan has been an especially vocal supporter of several Koch pet projects such as vouchered Medicare and draconian cuts to other welfare programs.<sup>77</sup> In a larger sense, they are attempting to use the Tea Party as a vehicle to reshape the political discussion around free market ideas; substantially reducing taxes and regulations on business and restructuring public expenditure programs. In the 2012 presidential campaign, the Koch Brothers utilized the Citizens United Supreme Court decision to donate an estimated \$200 million dollars to several Karl Rove 501-C(3)

## Chapter 6: Conservative Political Think Tanks

Since the 1970s political parties have increasingly depended on political think tanks for generating research, providing position statements and reinforcing economic, social and foreign policy initiatives. Also, such policy centers tend to act as employers for those who were in public office and were forced, due to a change of political leadership or other misfortunes, to secure other employment. The most recent example of this phenomenon was the Brookings Institution's employment of Ben Bernanke, most recently Chairman of the Federal Reserve. For Republicans, conservative think tanks frequently purport to represent an intellectual justification for non-mainstream economic and social positions not held by a majority of Americans.<sup>1</sup>

The largest and arguably most influential conservative think tanks by revenue are the Heritage Foundation, American Enterprise Institute, Cato Institute, Hoover Institution and the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research. For libertarians, the Ludwig von Mises Institute is a primary intellectual think tank serving their specific interests.

The Heritage Foundation, located in Washington D.C. appears to be the largest and best funded. Founded in 1973, the Foundation describes itself as a research and educational institution.<sup>2</sup> Its stated mission is to formulate and promote conservative public policies based on principals of free enterprise, limited government, individual freedom, traditional American values and a strong national defense.<sup>3</sup>

Their stated goal is to help shape their vision of America where freedom, opportunity and civil society flourish.<sup>4</sup> The Foundation claims to be politically

asserted that the alleged Federal government's embrace of socialism and the subsequent destruction of liberty was specifically related to liberal institutions.<sup>8</sup>

In 2013, former Senator Jim DeMint of South Carolina assumed the presidency of the Heritage Foundation. From the Heritage's prior association with mainline conservative interests and emphasis on research, the Foundation has been transformed into an intensely partisan political organization. A recent *New York Times* article outlined some of the changes DeMint has incorporated into the organization. Within this last year, some of the foundation's most prominent scholars have left. Arguably, research that seemed to undermine Heritage's political goals has been squelched.<sup>9</sup>

DeMint also activated Heritage Action, the Foundation's media and internet operation. Heritage Action has concentrated their efforts on pressuring members of Congress to vote against nearly every piece of legislation designed to attract both conservative and moderate Republicans. Such efforts have included scoring individual votes and crusading against noncompliant members. While the *New York Times* did not specifically indicate that Heritage Action is organizing primary opposition against more mainstream Republicans, the implication is clear.<sup>10</sup> Of all the think tanks, Heritage appears to have aligned itself most closely with the Tea Party movement. Throughout his eight-year career in the United States Senate, De Mint was a major spokesman for the Tea Party and the Religious Right.

The writers indicate that under DeMint, the research arm of Heritage has been all but consumed by Heritage Action, a political action committee that has taken strongly partisan positions in numerous state and national election contests. Some former Heritage officials and members of Congress say this change of organizational purpose has

illustrate this point. The first was a blog posting, entitled Puppicide, which publicized, and condemned the police executions of dogs.<sup>15</sup> In the second, Cato exposed what they call NATO's one billion dollar monument to irrelevance, a new headquarters in Brussels. As they describe a comment attributed to Lord Ismay, NATO's secretary general at the time, that NATO was founded to "keep the Russians out, the Americans in, and the Germans down."<sup>16</sup> In the last two decades, Cato asserts, the alliance has been conducting a frantic search for relevant new missions, resulting in the dubious decision to add members in Eastern Europe and wage even more irrelevant wars in places like Kosovo and Afghanistan.<sup>17</sup>

Cato has an interesting point of view on war. Their latest blog on the subject was posted on November 14, 2013. The author Doug Bandow wrote, "Some 20 million people died in World War I. The horrific conflict brought down the continent's established order, loosed the pestilence of totalitarianism, and led to even deadlier World War II. The Great War, as it was originally called, was stupid beyond measure."<sup>18</sup> This paragraph is quoted only to illustrate that Cato has a more complicated agenda than many conservative based think tanks in their foreign and domestic agendas. Their positions seem to be more related to a curious mix of libertarianism and conservatism.

The American Enterprise Institute, the third major think tank shaping the Republican Party, describes itself as a private, nonpartisan not-for-profit public policy research organization dedicated to research and education on issues of government, politics, economics and social welfare.<sup>19</sup> Organized in 1943 as the American Enterprise Association (AEA), with headquarters in Washington D.C., it was an outgrowth of a business group formed in New York City several years previously.



especially in the judiciary. Their influence continues to this day. The Institute's website indicates they have a staff of 185, including 70 scholars and fellows.

The Institute is now focused on the culture struggle underway in the United States, which it believes pits a beleaguered market against a Leviathan state. Arthur Brooks, current President of AEI, recently wrote a book on this subject, titled, *The Battle: How the Fight between Free Enterprise and Big Government Will Shape America's Future*.<sup>23</sup> In reviewing his book and various third party reviews, there was little groundbreaking analysis or research, but it serves as a good primer for those committed to his philosophical point of view.

Notable members of the AEI Board of Directors include Colorado's own Peter H. Coors, Harvey Golub, former Chairman of American Express and Richard Cheney, former Vice President.<sup>24</sup> The American Enterprise Institute supplied such prominent conservatives as John Bolton, Newt Gingrich, Richard Perle and Dick and Lynn Cheney to the George W. Bush Administration for such purposes as economic and political policy definition.

The Manhattan Institute for Policy Research (MIPR) was founded in 1978 and continues to be influential in conservative policymaking. It has published research on such issues as taxes, health care, energy, crime, homeland security, education, race and culture. Their stated mission is to develop and disseminate new ideas that foster greater economic choice and individual responsibility.<sup>25</sup> They are known for their advocacy of free market-based solutions to policy problems. Their message is communicated through books, articles, interviews, speeches and op-eds.<sup>26</sup>

of Rosa Luxembour, the Goebbels diaries and the records of the Russian secret police in Paris.<sup>29</sup>

According to the Hoover Institution's website, the current mission "supports the Constitution of the United States, its Bill of Rights and its method of representative government. Both our social and economic systems are based on private enterprise from which springs initiative and ingenuity."<sup>30</sup>

Considered by many observers to be conservative-libertarian, its areas of research include economic policy, security and international affairs. Their Board Overseers appear to have extensive ties to Stanford University.<sup>31</sup>

The Hoover Institution's influence appears to have diminished over the years. Part of the reason might have to do with their rejection, indeed ridicule, of the Tea Party's influence as a political and economic force in the United States. In reading their policy positions, they could be likened to post World War II Republican economic and social moderates.<sup>32</sup>

These political think tanks demonstrate a departure from the political and partisan culture of the early and mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. In the beginning of the post-World War II period, American political parties shared a general agreement concerning the respective roles of Government and private enterprise in the United States. During the depression years, serious thought was given to restructuring the economic power private enterprise enjoyed. Recognizing that individual citizens did not have significant economic power, it was ultimately decided the best approach was to provide Government the power to regulate general business activity within fairly narrow limits. This allowed the economic

administration officials, including the Vice President, flatly stated that “deficits don’t matter.”<sup>36</sup>

As President George Bush left the political theatre, Republican think-tanks had a new target to engage. Considered by many in the intellectual right to be nothing more than a foreign socialist, President Obama was forced to contend with the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, an economy teetering toward a fall into a depression, and a vocal political opposition who called themselves the Tea Party. As serious as the political opposition became, even more formidable opposition appeared in the form of the Republican oriented think-tanks. Their initial target was the Patient Protection and Affordable Health Care Act (Obamacare). Republicans of every stripe were opposed to the very concept of an expansion of government into the health care business. Attempts during the Bush Administration to privatize Social Security and to convert Medicare to a voucher program (Paul Ryan was not the first to publicize these ideas)<sup>37</sup> went nowhere, but more recent attempts to resurrect privatization is a cornerstone belief of many Conservative think-tanks and is being discussed as a method to address the country’s debt burden.

The Republican based think-tanks are assuming a larger role in articulating Republican Party positions in domestic and foreign policy even as the Party is being fractured by discord among the Tea Party adherents, business interests and more mainstream Republicans. Some have attributed this process as a fight for the heart and soul of the Republican Party. More cynical observers might say that it is all about power, and who controls the party machinery.

## Chapter 7: Conclusion

Despite the political rhetoric and the deep ideological divisions among the political parties and the American electorate, modern day American political decisions tend to be made on the basis of satisfying the party political base and especially offering specific economic benefits to those who contribute significant financial resources to their political campaigns. The founders devised a system that would sanctify, in statue and practice, the general elements of English Common Law. The Constitution and Bill of Rights provided for a representative democratic government and some level of personal liberties. However, it has been argued that the Constitution was a fatally flawed document. It provided for the continuation of slavery and provided broad power to the individual States. Yet somehow, “the people” corrected a few of its structural defects and popular government survived, at least in some form. Along the way, conservative ideas, ideologues, and economic interests opposed many popular reform movements and sought to use their power and influence to shape and preserve those moneyed interests and to preserve racial privilege.

They linked their appeals to broad cultural values, which arguably has at its core, evangelical Protestantism. Their views of such issues as original sin, redemption, biblical authority, the exceptional nature of the American governmental experiment and the biblical sanctity of free enterprise and private property, (the embodiment of freedom and liberty) serve as a bedrock system of beliefs that shape their politics, relationship to others, and the government.

increased secularization of American society to be the root cause of lawlessness and other forms of social deviance.

Each core group within the Republican Party appears to share a common world view that includes a strong belief in private markets, an individualist concept of freedom and liberty, American exceptionalism, limited government regulation and a strong sense and belief in family values. The problem they have, of course, is that the majority of Americans have conflicted opinions of these and many other issues, including the role of government in individual lives and the meaning of freedom and privacy in an increasingly complex society. These conflicts have led to substantial defections from the Republican Party those who would normally support their political efforts.

Another increasingly important core issue in which the Republicans differ with a majority of Americans relates to immigration and how governmental policies treat those who are undocumented. Republicans in Congress realize the political consequences of allowing this issue to remain unresolved, but powerful constituencies within the Republican Party, especially the Tea Party, have exercised their political power and have defeated politicians who disregard their strong opposition to immigration reform. The Tea Party represents a significant risk to business control of Republican policy objectives and attempts to curb Tea Party influence have been surprisingly ineffectual. Populism has always been the opponent of politics and economics as usual. The Tea Party also represents a populist revolt against the Republican establishment. While money is the lifeblood of politics, sometimes political orthodoxy does matter more.

One would suspect the next two or three election cycles will decide the future direction of the country as it relates to the welfare state, and the country's commitment to

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