



Newt Gingrich

The Establishment's Conservative

Self-proclaimed conservative Newt Gingrich could be the next Republican candidate for President. But with his unconstitutional track record, will he be “right” for America?

Newscom

by Rebecca Terrell

Just as report cards keep parents posted on their children's progress in school, constituents have a tool to let them know how their federal representatives measure up to their oaths to uphold the Constitution. We should expect high "grades" from them, because it is not difficult to determine whether legislation oversteps the clearly delineated, limited powers of the Constitution. If there is uncertainty, the Bill of Rights tells the government everything else is off limits. Moreover, an oath calls God as witness to the oath-taker's honesty and integrity. In other words, it is both *illegal* and *immoral* to violate the Constitution. Why are so many Representatives bringing home Fs on their report cards? They may mean well, but a Congressman's good intentions do not fulfill his obligation before God to vote according to the law. You will find the Freedom Index on page 22.

So the burden is, as it should be, on "We the People," and we have no one to blame but ourselves if we continue to send failing Representatives to Washington. We must use the Constitution as a litmus test. This will be especially important in 2012 since Obama seems to have a callous disregard for the Constitution and his oath to uphold it. As a Senator in the 110th Congress, his cumulative Freedom Index score was 11. But what alternatives will we have?

There are a growing number of candidates for Congress who are running in support of the Constitution. Many of them were motivated to become involved as a result of the political phenomenon in the last presidential race that became known as the "Ron Paul Revolution." But if the

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GOP establishment has its way, the Republicans who will go to Washington will be of the neocon variety and will offer voters looking for alternatives to the liberal Democrats more of an echo than a choice. The establishment-favored Newt Gingrich is a case in point.

The Republican Answer?

After more than a decade out of the spotlight, Newt Gingrich is once again making headlines as a conservative author and basking in media speculation of his possibility as a presidential candidate. He is busy promoting his conservatively themed books and documentaries while touting firm belief in limited government and personal freedoms. Gingrich's rhetoric brings back memories of his old days as a staunch proponent of cutting taxes, balancing the budget, reducing bureaucratic regulations, and strengthening national defense.

Just as in those days, Newt Gingrich now positions himself as a conservative. But does his definition of *conservative* mean loyalty to the Constitution, or loyalty to the establishment? "Understand-

ing the real Newt Gingrich ... is essential," said John F. McManus, president of the John Birch Society and producer of the new DVD *The Real Newt Gingrich*. "Americans must realize that they are being persuaded to follow false leaders, to put confidence in men who don't deserve our confidence." Both Gingrich's congressional track record and his present activities prove him no better than the current White House occupant.

Gingrich Resumé

Newt Gingrich served in Congress from 1979 until 1999. His first Freedom Index score (when it was known as the "Conservative Index") was 84, but it nose-dived from there. He achieved his lowest scores as Speaker of the House. Gingrich consistently lost points for his propensity to support unconstitutional legislation.

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Confused loyalties? Newt Gingrich delivers an address, "A Tri-partisan Majority for Real Change," in October at Harvard University. Elsewhere, he paints himself as a die-hard Republican.

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Newt Gingrich led Republicans in the 1994 “Contract With America,” pledging lower taxes and smaller government. In reality, congressional spending under Gingrich’s leadership increased dramatically.

1. Education — Gingrich backed federal education funding from his earliest days in office, though the Constitution gives absolutely no authority over education to any branch of the federal government. He helped garner support to create President Jimmy Carter’s Department of Education in 1979. Since then educational spending has soared while educational standards have plummeted. Things got worse when he was Speaker. In 1996, then-Republican Party Chairman Haley Barbour bragged that “education spending went up under the Republican Congress as much as it went up under the Democratic Congress.” That is a bit of an understatement since Gingrich’s Republican Congress increased education funding by \$3.5 billion in 1996, the largest single increase in history.

2. Foreign Aid — Gingrich voted numerous times throughout his 20 years in Congress to increase and expand unconstitutional foreign aid and trade. He supported both subsidized trade with the Soviets and federally funded loans to foreign governments through the Export-Import Bank. Between 1994 and 1995, Gingrich voted

for \$44.8 billion in foreign aid. He also helped push through federally funded loan guarantees to China. Today, that murderous communist regime is the largest holder of U.S. debt in the world.

3. NAFTA and GATT — In 1993, Gingrich proved himself invaluable to Clinton and the Democrats in Congress when he garnered enough Republican support to pass the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the precursor for development of an eventual North American Union, following the same trajectory that has occurred in Europe with the emergence of the EU. (See the October 15, 2007 “North American Union” issue of *THE NEW AMERICAN*, especially “NAFTA: It’s Not Just About Trade” by Gary Benoit.) The next year he followed suit by supporting the creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO). As Minority Whip, he could have postponed the lame-duck vote on GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) that subjected Americans to the WTO. Gingrich’s Benedict Arnold act helped to hand over the power to regulate foreign commerce, a power reserved in the Constitution to Congress alone, to an internationally controlled

body, making America’s economic interests entirely at the mercy of the WTO.

Gingrich knew GATT sounded the death knell for American sovereignty. In testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee prior to the lame-duck session, he said, “We need to be honest about the fact that we are transferring from the United States at a practical level significant authority to a new organization.... This is not just another trade agreement. This is adopting something which twice, once in the 1940s and once in the 1950s, the U.S. Congress rejected.... It is a very big transfer of power.”

4. Contract With America — Another con-game Gingrich played was the much-acclaimed “Contract With America,” the Republican Party’s supposed answer to big government. It turned out to be a public relations smokescreen to cover various unconstitutional

measures that Congress planned to pass under Gingrich’s leadership. The Contract included a “balanced budget amendment,” which amounted to a Republican excuse to continue spending while claiming to fight for fiscal conservatism. If the government only spent money on constitutional programs, the deficit would take care of itself.

Other areas of the Contract With America dealt with measures to reduce welfare programs and relieve tax burdens on families and businesses. That sounds good until one considers that the Constitution prohibits welfare programs and taxes that the Contract proposed only to reduce. If Gingrich had been loyal to his oath of office, he would have worked not to trim but to purge them. Ironically, but hardly surprisingly, federal spending in all the areas addressed by the 1994 Contract rose in subsequent years. Edward H. Crane, president of the Cato Institute, observed that “the combined budgets of the 95 major programs that the Contract With America promised to eliminate have increased by 13%.” Crane also pointed out, “Over the past three years the Republican-controlled Congress has approved discretionary spending that exceeded Bill Clinton’s re-

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quests by more than \$30 billion.”

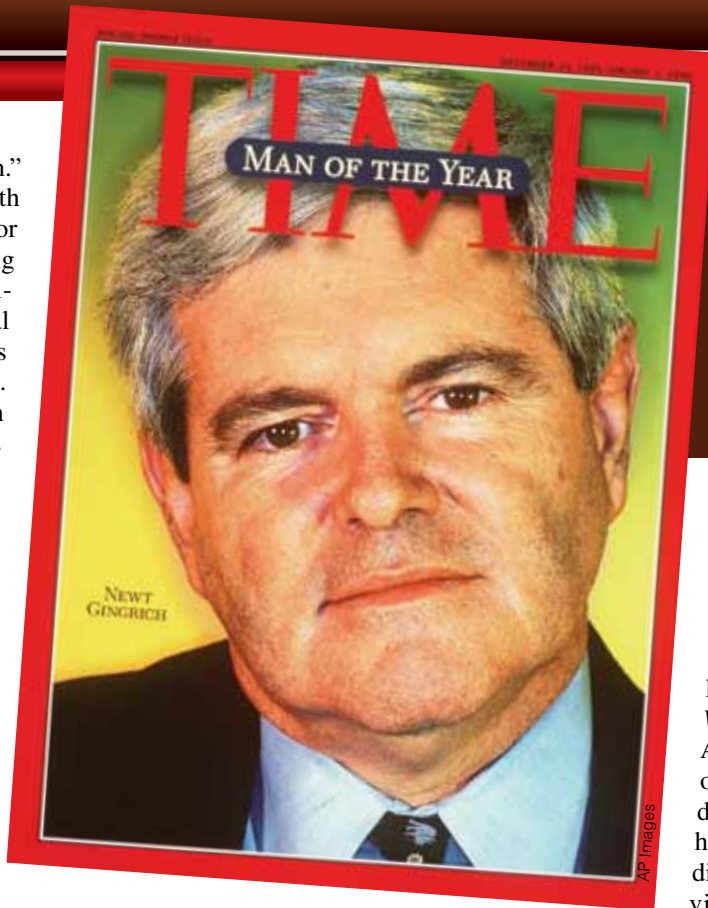
Another of the problems with the Contract was that it called for stronger federal crime-fighting measures, despite the Constitution’s prohibition on federal involvement in police matters outside of piracy and treason. Countries that do not have such strict constitutional safeguards on federal police end up with Gestapos, KGBs, and Departments of Homeland Security.

5. School Prayer Amendment

— The proposed balanced budget amendment was not Gingrich’s only attempt to change the Constitution. He also pushed hard for a school prayer amendment to allow America’s children to pray in schools. It was just another shameless publicity stunt, for Gingrich knows the main obstacle to prayer in schools is not a faulty Constitution but an over-ambitious Supreme Court. Had he truly wanted to release the federal stranglehold on prayer in schools, Gingrich could have employed Congress’ constitutionally authorized power to restrict the Supreme Court’s appellate jurisdiction of the issue.

6. Clinton’s GOP (Grand Old Pal) — In 1995, *Time* magazine named Newt Gingrich “Man of the Year,” characterizing him as a states’ rights conservative and the Republican answer to Bill Clinton. The ironic thing about *Time* magazine’s 1995 claim is that in June of that year, Gingrich and Clinton both agreed at a debate in Claremont, New Hampshire, that they were “not far apart” in their views. Later Clinton publicly thanked Gingrich for his support of the President’s pet projects in areas such as welfare, education, labor, the environment, and foreign affairs. He made special mention of Gingrich’s support of the \$30 billion Violent Crime and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 that shackled gun owners with new restrictions, federalized a number of crimes, and handed the feds police powers that the Constitution reserves to the states.

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Man of the Year, 1995: *Time* magazine heralded Newt Gingrich as the Republican answer to Bill Clinton. Later that year, Clinton publicly thanked Gingrich for his support of many of the President’s projects.

Futurist

In 1994, Gingrich described himself as “a conservative futurist.” He said that those who were trying to define him should look no further than *The Third Wave*, a 1980 book written by Alvin Toffler. The book describes our society as entering a post-industrial phase in which abortion, homosexuality, promiscuity, and divorce are perfectly normal, even virtuous. Toffler penned a letter to America’s “founding parents,” in which he said: “The system of

government you fashioned, including the very principles on which you based it, is increasingly obsolete, and hence increasingly, if inadvertently, oppressive and dangerous to our welfare. It must be radically changed and a new system of government invented — a democracy for the 21st century.” He went on to describe our constitutional system as one that “served us so well for so long, and that now must, in its turn, die and be replaced.”

Gingrich recommended *The Third Wave* as essential reading to his colleagues when he became Speaker of the House. In his forward to another Toffler book, *Creating a New Civilization: The Politics of the Third Wave*, he grieved at the lack of appreciation for “Toffler’s insight” in *The Third Wave* and blamed politicians who had not applied his model for the “frustration,

military policies, with a flagrant disregard for the constitutional mandate that Congress alone may declare war. He made a formal appeal to the House of Representatives in 1995 to “increase the power of President Clinton” by repealing the War Powers Act. He praised Clinton’s unconstitutional use of the U.S. military to inflict a communist regime on Haiti in 1994, the same year he voted for an extra \$1.2 billion for United Nations “peacekeeping” missions. He also urged the President to expand U.S. military presence in Bosnia the following year.

This partial resumé does not include Gingrich’s support of abortion and anti-family measures, federal welfare, a presidential line item veto, the National Endowment for the Arts, confiscation of private property, amnesty for illegal immigrants, higher taxes, and a myriad of other unconstitutional legislation. But it is enough to prove he lied each time took his oath of office. The question is, why this disdain for the rule of law? A close look at Gingrich’s associations provides the answer to why he had such a propensity for claiming conservatism while voting with the establishment.

On numerous occasions, Gingrich showed himself a friend to Clinton’s military policies, with a flagrant disregard for the constitutional mandate that Congress alone may declare war.

Another explanation for Gingrich's liberal voting record is that he has been a member, since 1990, of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), a group founded in 1921 as a think tank of influential politicians and policymakers dedicated to sacrificing national independence to create a global government.

negativism, cynicism and despair” of the political landscape. He went on to explain that Toffler advocated a concept called “anticipatory democracy,” and bragged that he had worked with him for 20 years “to develop a future-conscious politics and popular understanding that would make it easier for America to make the transition” to a Third Wave civilization.

The Internationalist

Another explanation for Gingrich's liberal voting record is that he has been a member, since 1990, of the Council on

Foreign Relations (CFR), a group founded in 1921 as a think tank of influential politicians and policymakers dedicated to sacrificing national independence to create a global government. He showed his fidelity to internationalism in a speech at the Center for Strategic and International Affairs in July of 1995 when he brazenly admitted his disdain for our founding document. “The

American challenge in leading the world is compounded by our Constitution,” he said. “Under our [constitutional system] — either we're going to have to rethink our Constitution, or we're going to have to rethink our process of decision-making.” He went on to profess an oxymoronic belief in “very strong but limited federal government,” and pledged, “I am for the United Nations.” That is certainly no surprise since his mentor is none other than former Secretary of State and National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger (also a CFR member and one-world inter-

nationalist). On other occasions Gingrich expressed his admiration and regard for establishment insiders Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and George Catlett Marshall, praising what they had done to bring about international government. Gingrich scorned any connection with “isolationists” (a dirty word used to describe anyone who defines free trade as the ability to conduct international business unfettered by unconstitutional regulations) in a speech given at the Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom on March 1, 1995. He cited his work on NAFTA, GATT, and various foreign aid measures, and concluded saying, “I'm always curious why there's some presumption that [I am] in any way isolationist.”

Newt and Improved

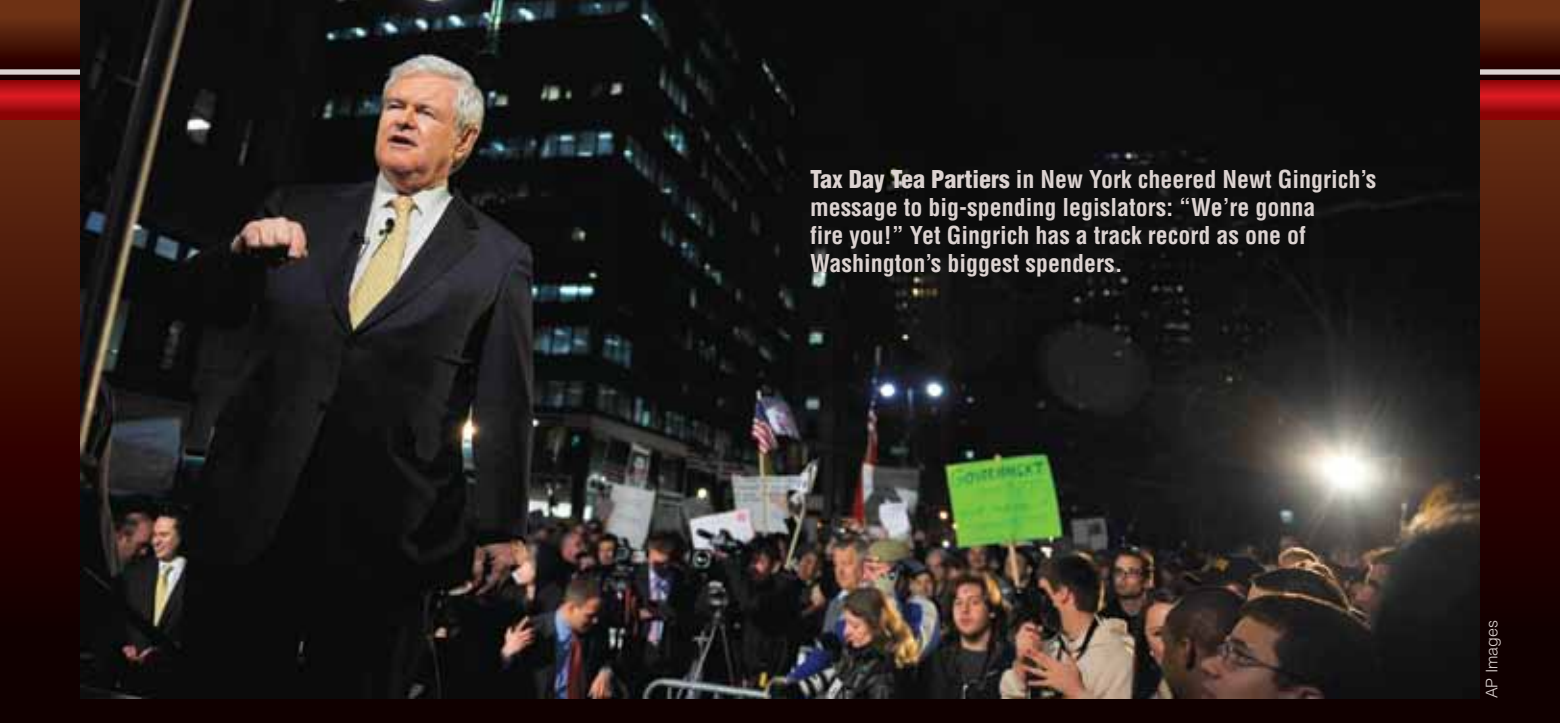
What about Gingrich today? Isn't it possible he has changed since he served in Congress? He has a new wife and a new religion, converting to Catholicism earlier this year. He still says he is conservative, but maybe that definition has changed, too. Indeed, he positioned himself as a hero of this past April's Tax Day Tea Party movement, partnering with that group in his position as chairman of American Solutions for Winning the Future (ASWF). He issued a general invitation to all Americans on YouTube to join local Tea Parties across the nation. “The fact is that we need a smaller government, a more effective government, and we need lower taxes,” he said. “Let's communicate to our leaders, ‘We want you to fix it, or we're gonna want new leaders.’” He used even stronger language in a rousing delivery at the April 15 Tea Party in New York, when he warned big-spending legislators to straighten up or “we're gonna fire you.”

Yet it seems Gingrich is still up to his old tricks. In front of a Tea Party crowd, he expounds the virtues of limited government, but elsewhere he is still the futurist conservative devot-



President Barack Obama boasts a great ally in Newt Gingrich, seen here with Rev. Al Sharpton and New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg, speaking in support of Obama's education reform proposals.

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A photograph of Newt Gingrich speaking at a night rally. He is wearing a dark suit and a yellow tie, gesturing with his right hand. The background is dark with city lights and a crowd of people, some holding signs. One sign is green with white text. The scene is illuminated by bright spotlights.

Tax Day Tea Partiers in New York cheered Newt Gingrich's message to big-spending legislators: "We're gonna fire you!" Yet Gingrich has a track record as one of Washington's biggest spenders.

AP Images

ed to internationalism. His blog biography brags about his work as Speaker of the House and then boasts of such unconstitutional credentials as serving on the CFR's Terrorism task force, co-chairing the UN task force to "reform" (i.e., strengthen) the United Nations, and receiving credit for the DHS being his brainchild. "Newt Gingrich is a leading advocate of increased federal funding for basic science research," reads the bio. Gingrich's ASWF endorses federal involvement in areas such as energy, education, labor and the environment. He also founded the Center for Health Transformation, which advocates its own version of socialized medicine.

Global Government Gingrich

It would seem the CFR has done a good job schooling Gingrich in foreign affairs over the past 10 years as well. No longer the novice, Gingrich supports continuing the "war" in Afghanistan despite the fact that Congress never actually declared war as required by the Constitution. The *Baltimore Sun* noted on October 22 that Gingrich supports expanding the U.S. military presence in the Middle East. He claimed, "Afghanistan is a skirmish in a long war... We need a much larger grand strategy that deals with the whole war." He even had the audacity to invoke George Washington as a model for Obama in making "morally correct" decisions in Afghanistan. Careful, Gingrich, you're quoting one of those nasty noninterventionists! Washington had this to say about foreign policy in his

Farewell Address: "The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible." Yet *National Review* quoted Gingrich in opposition to the Father of Our Country. "You can pull out of Afghanistan, and then what?... We pulled out of Somalia, and now we have pirates," he said, ignoring what U.S. support of the UN puppet regime in that unfortunate country has done to promote terrorism, and parallel scenarios in Afghanistan and across the Middle East. His statements leave little doubt as to how Gingrich would conduct himself as Commander in Chief.

Little Green Man

But he isn't all fight. There's also the kinder, gentler Newt who, in April 2008, cuddled up with current House Speaker Nancy Pelosi on a love seat at the National Mall to make a "We Can Solve It" television commercial (for Al Gore's \$300 million global-warming ad campaign) urging constituents to pressure their Representatives in Washington to go green. He said that "our country must take action to address climate change." Yet when he explained his participation at newt.org, he admitted, "I don't think that we have conclusive proof of global warming [or] that humans are at the center of it." This is ludicrous. If Gingrich intends to take a side in the debate, he is de facto conceding that climate change *is* real and humans *are* the cause. He is yielding to

a false premise, and any "compromise" solution based on it will be disastrous.

Gingrich's blog explains further, "There is a big difference between left-wing environmentalism ... and a Green Conservatism that wants to use science, technology, innovation, entrepreneurs *and prizes* to find a way to creatively invent the kind of environmental future we all want." (Emphasis added.) He fails to acknowledge that the Constitution prohibits federal involvement in those areas, but the really troubling word is "prizes." This has cap and trade written all over it. Gingrich already sanctioned cap and trade on sulfur dioxide emissions in the 1990 Clean Air Act. He claims to oppose Obama's plan but instead wants the government to lower prices on alternative energy sources, "because I think you're going to get faster acceleration of new innovation if you lower the price of good products ... rather than raise the price of obsolete products." So Gingrich's "conservative" answer to the concocted energy crisis is price regulation and government subsidies, both of which use tax money to stifle the economy, giving advantage to faulty products and services that cannot support themselves in a free-market economy. Gingrich's "Green Conservatism" seems much like the "left-wing environmentalism" that he disapproves.

Education Reform à la Al (Sharpton)

Pelosi and Gore are not Gingrich's only strange bedfellows. He recently toured the

nation with Reverend Al Sharpton and Secretary of Education Arne Duncan to promote President Obama's education reforms and charter schools. Of course, there are a number of problems with that scenario, not the least of which is Gingrich's association with Al Sharpton, a controversial left-wing activist, or his contemptible pandering to the dictates of the liberal Obama administration. The main problem, as usual, is Gingrich's endorsement of patently unconstitutional measures. The tour agenda recommends increased local control of schools to be regulated and subsidized by the federal Department of Education. That's right: increased local control through increased federal regulation.

The proposal also calls for "the ability of parents to pick the right school for their child." Parents would already have that ability if it weren't for the Department of Education. Rearranging how the federal government regulates education may be "reform" of the current system, but the current system is unconstitutional.

Republican to the Oh-so-bitter End

If all this weren't enough to expose Gingrich's fidelity-at-all-costs to the establishment, he endorsed an ultra-liberal Republican over a conservative third-party candidate in New York's 23rd Congressional District special election held November 3. Republican Dede Scozzafava supports same-sex "marriage," big labor, and abortion. She won the Margaret Sanger Award from Planned Parenthood in March of 2008. The liberal ACORN-affiliated Working Families Party backs Scozzafava, and conservatives within her party call her a RINO (Republican In Name Only). When the *New York Post* came out in support of her Conservative Party opponent, Doug Hoffman, it said, "a Republican should adhere to certain minimum GOP principles. Scozzafava is just too far to the left too often." Yet Gingrich described her in a letter to supporters as "our best chance to put responsible and principled leaders in Washington." Gingrich explained his endorsement on newt.org, saying his "number one inter-



Internationalists Newt Gingrich (right) and Senator George Mitchell address reporters at UN Headquarters. Gingrich wants to strengthen the United Nations and co-chairs the task force to reform it.

est in the 2009 elections is to build a Republican majority," and to do so it is sometimes necessary "to put together a coalition that has disagreement within it." Considering that the publisher of the liberal *Daily Kos* endorsed Scozzafava as "willing to raise taxes" and "to the left of most Democrats on social issues," it's fair to ask if Newt has any principles at all.

Scozzafava dropped a campaign bombshell when she withdrew from the race just four days before the election, leaving a two-man fight between Hoffman and Democrat opponent Bill Owens. Gingrich then endorsed Hoffman, not on principle, but to prevent the Democrats from gaining another seat in the House. Owens got an endorsement from Scozzafava the very next day and proceeded to win the election by a narrow plurality. So Republicans lost a seat in the House, and Gingrich lost an enormous amount of credibility among conservatives.

Jekyll and Hyde vs. the Constitution

With outrageous national debt and out-of-control federal spending, loss

of sovereignty to the likes of the UN and the WTO, spiraling taxes, and a blood-sucking bureaucratic leviathan, America can no longer afford to gamble on such a Jekyll-and-Hyde "conservative" as Newt Gingrich. What we need in Washington instead are constitutionalists who know that it is against the law to violate the Constitution no matter what anyone's opinion may be. The easiest way to tell a phony conservative from the true constitutionalist is to ask a few simple questions. Does he support federal education and welfare programs? Foreign aid? An interventionist foreign policy as opposed to staying clear of foreign quarrels? If yes, he is not a constitutionalist. We will never get back to good government unless we urge lawmakers to use the Constitution as their guide, and only support candidates who adopt the Constitution as their platform, regardless of party. ■



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Newt's Selective Rhetoric

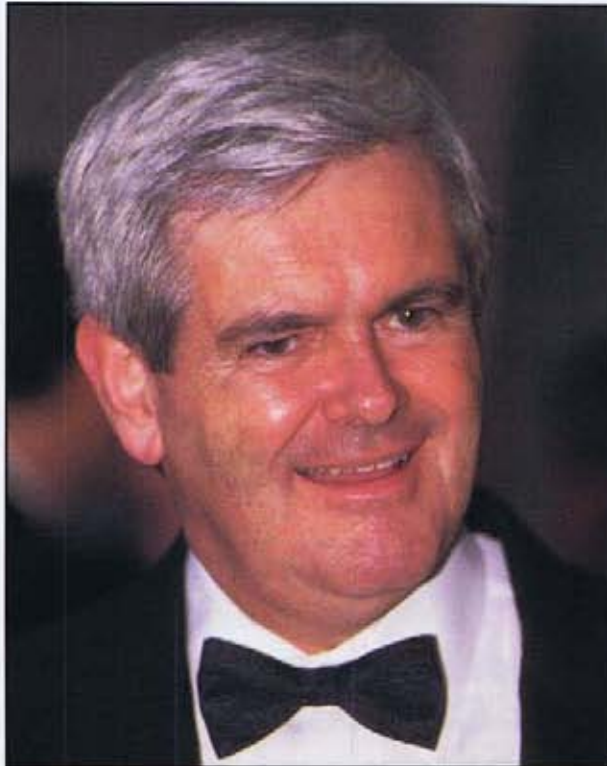
Americans waiting for the Republican leadership to call Bill Clinton to account for his perpetual corruption have finally seen Newt Gingrich aim some deserved arrows at the President. Speaking at a GOPAC meeting in Atlanta on April 27th, the Speaker brought up several of the matters demanding an answer from the President.

Gingrich focused on two main points: 1) "The American people have the right to know about basic facts"; and 2) "We're a nation under the rule of law and no person, including the President, is above the law." Of Mr. Clinton's staff of high-powered and low-principled lawyers and their ongoing efforts at dodging pertinent evidence, the Speaker said: "I am sickened by how unpatriotically they undermine the Constitution of the United States on behalf of their client."

One would think, based on this last comment, that Newt Gingrich is a great protector of the Constitution. The reality is that Gingrich himself has little respect for the venerable document. From pushing for more federal authority over local law enforcement, to federal intrusions into family matters, to expansion of NATO, to backing the use of U.S. forces for "global security," and to continued support for the funding of an array of federal programs that are not authorized by the Constitution, the Speaker's prized Contract With America shows that he is hardly a champion of "the supreme law of the land."

In his Atlanta speech, Gingrich dwelled on the united action of the Democratic members of the House Government Reform and Oversight Committee in blocking the granting of immunity to witnesses of the "foreign, illegal money laundering to the Democratic Party and the Clinton-Gore campaign." He claimed to have been "stunned" to learn that immunity for these individuals had been approved by the Clinton Justice Department. Applause then followed his summation: "What you have lived through for two and a half long years is the most systematic, deliberate obstruction of

justice cover-up in an effort to avoid the truth we have ever seen in American history. And the time has come to say to the Democrats and to say to the President: Quit undermining the law in the United States. Turn over the evidence, agree to the witnesses, have the hearings. The American people have a right to know."



Gingrich: Conservative talk, globalist perspective.

He also pointed to the money given to convicted felon Webster Hubbell on his way to prison, and asked: "Do you believe there is a single honest American anywhere in this country who believes that Web Hubbell was given over \$700,000 and it doesn't involve hush money?"

Finally, he excoriated the President for seeking to cite executive privilege as a way to keep Secret Service personnel from supplying information about what they saw in the White House. In America, Gingrich said, "it is illegal to cover up crimes. We don't have a Praetorian Guard.... It's outside our model. That was the Roman Empire not the Roman Republic. In the republic, by definition, we are all subordinate to the law. That means you can't claim executive privilege for frivolous reasons."

At this point, many will wonder why Newt Gingrich would be attacking his fellow Council on Foreign Relations member Bill Clinton. Wasn't Gingrich the key to passage of the Clinton-favored NAFTA? Didn't Gingrich support the lame-duck session of Congress that had been called for the explicit purpose of approving the new GATT/World Trade Organization agreement? Isn't he a supporter of the same international agenda Bill Clinton embraces?

Yes indeed. But a close examination of Gingrich's charges against Bill Clinton shows that none would affect in any way the globalist views the two share. The American people are becoming more aware of substantive reasons why Bill Clinton should be impeached and removed from office. If Bill Clinton is to go down, Newt Gingrich is only one of many internationalists who don't want his demise to occur for any truly significant reasons.

Gingrich has pointed to "illegal money laundering," but not to the taking of bribes from China by the President and Vice President. Nor has he brought up the evidence that Mr. Clinton, in the wake of receiving funds from China, helped the Communist Chinese improve their missile delivery systems and their ability to wage high-tech warfare against the U.S.

He has attacked the suggestion that "hush money" was given to Webster Hubbell, that executive privilege was sought in order to cover up alleged hanky-panky in the White House, and that the Democrats have attempted to destroy the reputation of Kenneth Starr. If Bill Clinton is forced out of office merely on the basis of these charges, the internationalist agenda he and Gingrich support will continue unabated.

The bottom line is that Gingrich is helping to cover up the worst crimes of Bill Clinton. In addition, he is positioning himself for a future run for the White House by appearing to be a significant opponent of Bill Clinton. But Newt Gingrich is no leader of those who truly love this nation. ■

Matt Mandelbaum/Corbis

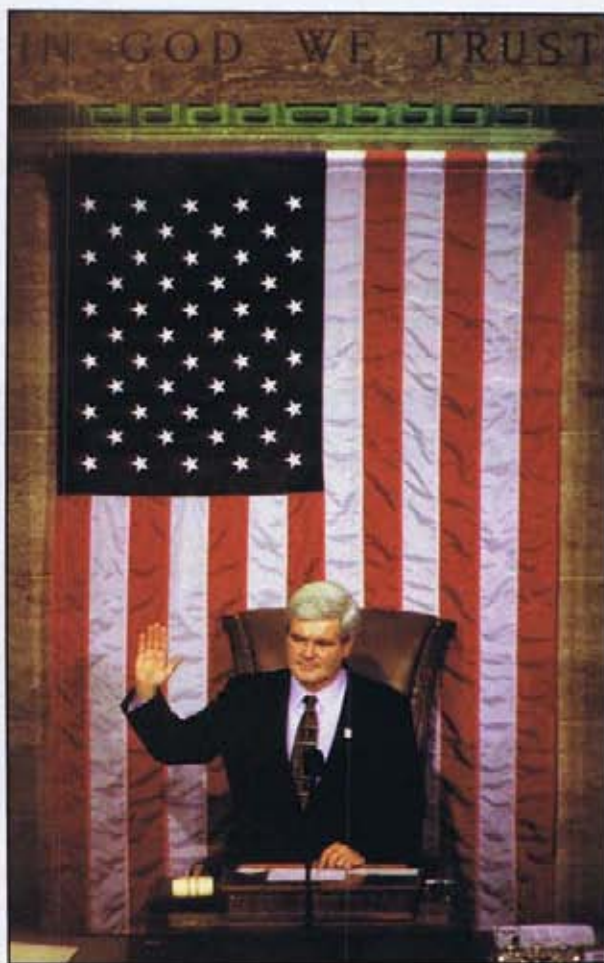
“Newtered” Congress

It was Friday, January 3rd, and Republican Party Chairman Haley Barbour was trying earnestly to “set the record straight” on the Newt Gingrich ethics probe and the coming vote for Speaker of the House of Representatives on Tuesday, January 7th. At a packed press conference which was carried on C-SPAN and other networks, Barbour defended the embattled Gingrich and denounced the attacks on the Speaker as “purely political” and “partisan” assaults by liberal Democrats who had failed to defeat the House Republicans at the ballot box.

The Democrats hated Gingrich, said Barbour, because he was making them “irrelevant,” because he had effectively challenged their decades-long entrenched power and programs. “Newt Gingrich was a tremendously effective Speaker in the 104th Congress,” declared Barbour, “and I expect him to be every bit as effective in the coming Congress as he was in the last one.”

Translation, Please

Hmmm. Now there is certainly *some* truth in these and other comments made by Chairman Barbour concerning the continuing fuss over Speaker Newt’s ethics problems, but it will take some sorting and translating to make any real sense of it. First of all, the Democrats — by which we mean the Clintonista Establishment Democrats — do not hate Newt Gingrich; they *love* him. The Clintonistas love Newt in much the same way that



Gingrich sworn in as House Speaker for another term.

Russian communists love Gorbachev and Yeltsin. The Communist Party elites know that the vaunted “political revolution” and “economic reforms” launched by Comrades Mikhail and Boris are charades for Western consumption and that it’s the Party’s job to make those charades convincing by attacking the “reformers” of the “new” regime. They know that contrary to the popular belief promoted by the

Western politicians and media elites, there has been no disbanding of the Red Army, the KGB, or the nomenclatura. Lots of musical chairs, bureaucratic reshuffling, and institutional name changing, but little substantive change.

They know also that the so-called “free market” reforms in the “former” Soviet Union are a complete hoax and that if market conditions exist there at all it is only temporary and only to the extent deemed necessary to keep the billions of American tax dollars flowing to Moscow. What’s more, they know that it is to their immense benefit to implement pseudo “free market reforms” which are intended to fail miserably so that genuine market policies will be blamed and discredited. This being the case, the Reds are more than happy to kick and fuss and threaten, and burn Boris in effigy.

Newt Gingrich is a fair composite of the corpulent, brawling, blustery Yeltsin and the more “visionary,” cerebral Gorby. And in the past couple of years he has carried out much the same function as that bogus duo of revolutionary “reformers.” He has made the Democrats “irrelevant” only in the sense that he has consolidated and legitimized much of the gains of their decades-long march toward socialism — and done it under Republican and conservative banners! And, incredibly, he has pulled this off — albeit with much help from the Clinton Administration and the Establishment media — while saddling conservative Republicans with

WILLIAM F. JASPER

heavy negative ratings based on an image of the GOP as the party of heartless, draconian budget slashers.

Speaker Newt may have been “tremendously effective,” but not in the way the Republican faithful expected or intended. He did not articulate, devise, lead, and fight for the kind of return to smaller, constitutionally limited government millions of voters thought they were getting when they cast their ballots for Republican candidates brandishing his “Contract with America” in 1994. He *did*, however, prove that, like Gorbachev and Yeltsin, he could be “tremendously effective” at mastering the kind of Orwellian Newspeak which allows him falsely to claim the mantle of leadership of the conservative movement while pushing an inferior substitute intended to discredit and destroy the movement.

Mr. Barbour surely knows this. Shortly before the election Barbour himself boasted in a televised speech that “education spending went up under the Republican Congress as much as it went up under the Democratic Congress. Student loans were increased by 50 percent. Medicare spending went up seven percent...” And, we might add, the Newt-led Congress also raised the federal minimum wage, blessed Bill Clinton’s unconstitutional military foray into Bosnia, undercut the GOP’s pro-life position, funded Clinton’s radical AmeriCorps and Goals 2000, ratified billions of dollars in foreign aid, gave President Clinton line-item veto power, boosted the Republican Party’s “tolerance” for the homosexual agenda, acquiesced in the Mexico bailout, renewed most-favored-nation status for Red China — and on and on. We had better pray that Newt Gingrich is not “every bit as effective” in the next Congress.

Riding Herd on the Rebels

If Speaker Newt is such a boon to the liberal-left, why are they attacking him so? It makes more sense to ask how he could possibly hope to maintain control over the disaffected House Republicans if the Left *didn’t* attack him. As with the tirades by Zhironovsky and Zyuganov against Boris Yeltsin, the braying vitu-

perations of insufferably sanctimonious and smug House Bolsheviks like David Bonior and Charles Schumer have worked to drive the GOP rebels back into Gingrich’s corral. Conservative members of Congress we have spoken with who fervently wish for a different Speaker, and who under other circumstances might have challenged Newt’s reign, felt compelled to endorse him (or at least refrain from opposing him) in the face of the combined assaults of the Democrats and the media.

“Many of us have been very upset with Gingrich but none of us want to be responsible for putting [Democrat Minority Leader] Dick Gephardt in as Speaker,” a conservative House Republican told *THE NEW AMERICAN* prior to Gingrich’s reelection as Speaker. Besides, most are aware that the ethics charges against Newt — that he failed to seek proper legal advice on the use of tax-exempt activities in the promotion of political objectives, and that he provided inaccurate statements to



Haley Barbour: Sputtered Establishment line on Newt.

the ethics committee about the involvement of his political action committee, GOPAC, with tax-exempt organizations — are of dubious significance and probably no more serious than similar violations by many other members. In fact, Mr. Gephardt was let off without so much as a reprimand for very similar offenses. So there is a natural tendency to feel obliged not only to defend a fellow Republican against a blatantly partisan double standard, but to consider one’s own potential susceptibility to similar charges. “Everybody is scared stiff over this stuff, worried that they may be next,” another conservative congressman confided. “I had to cancel a trip for my wife and myself recently where I was scheduled to speak at a free market educational program because they

had sent me a plane ticket for my wife as well, and under the House rules that may be a violation. It’s ridiculous.”

But there are other dynamics at work in the Speaker battle besides just circling the GOP wagons against a common enemy or worrying over the possibility of a capricious ethics probe of one’s own activities. Republican House members who did not support Gingrich for the Speaker position know there will be retribution for such “disloyal” behavior. They may not get the committee assignments they want, will not have their legislation brought up, and could expect to be taken to the woodshed for a severe thrashing by the Party leadership. Which is why all of the congressmen we spoke with who were critical of the Speaker requested that we not use their names.

Thus, by creating and exploiting an array of fears and adroitly manipulating the levers of power, Gingrich is reestablished as the “Maximum Leader” of the revolution and reannointed as the Establishment’s “conservative.” It will be his job to see that the new Congress, controlled by the Republicans 227-208, is a repeat of the last one. And unless a core of House members develop the backbone and strategy to break Gingrich’s hold, the 105th Congress may be even more disastrous than the 104th.

Whether dealing with foreign or domestic issues, or moral, economic, or military matters, the Gingrich “leadership” has proved calamitous time after time. Certainly one of the most serious dangers to American prosperity, security, and sovereignty is the increasing entanglement of the United States in political, economic, and military arrangements with the United Nations, GATT, NAFTA, the EU, etc. On March 1, 1995 Gingrich delivered a speech at the Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom. Asked if he would be leading Congress in a more “isolationist” direction, he gave this telling reply:

I find that a fascinating question.... [T]o have been the leader of the NAFTA fight and have gotten far more votes on the Republican side than the President got on the Democratic side and to then have delivered

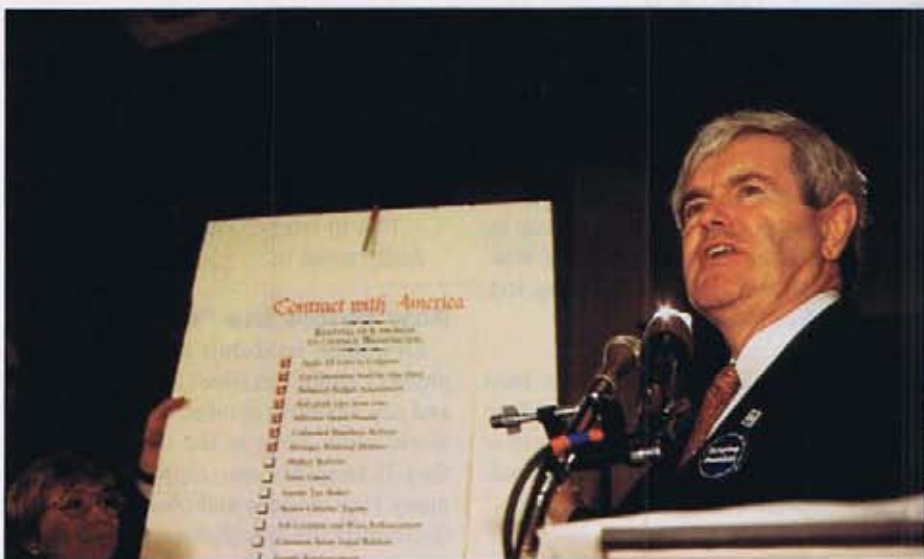
on GATT and to have been the leader in advocating we do the \$10 billion loan program to Israel in housing and to have helped get that through and to have consistently worked with Dick Gephardt on a bipartisan basis to maintain aid to Yeltsin, I'm always curious why there's some presumption that we're in any way isolationist.

A Kissinger "Conservative"

The venue of that event — the Nixon Center — was especially fitting in that Gingrich, like Nixon, is the archetypal embodiment of the oily guile and phony conservatism which has been repeatedly fed to restive voters by the party elites. Amazingly, decades after Nixon had declared himself a Keynesian (and proved it with his socialist economics), betrayed Taiwan and recognized Red China, abandoned thousands of American POWs in Southeast Asia, and established such fascist monstrosities as OSHA and EPA, there are yet many Americans so hopelessly feeble-minded or thoroughly disingenuous as to describe the disgraced President as a "conservative." Likewise, it defies all sensibility to continue referring to Gingrich as a conservative.

It was also fitting that Gingrich's introduction at the Nixon Center was performed by none other than Henry Kissinger, grand doyen of the one-world foreign policy establishment. A couple of weeks after his Nixon Center debut, the celebrated new Speaker was the guest of honor at a private, high-level *tête-à-tête* at Kissinger's penthouse with the nation's top media moguls, including Mortimer Zuckerman of *U.S. News & World Report*, Katherine Graham of the *Washington Post*, Lawrence Tisch of CBS, and Norman Pearlstine of Time-Warner — all of whom, like Kissinger and Gingrich, are members of the Council on Foreign Relations, long the preeminent front of the Eastern Establishment cabal which seeks the submersion of U.S. national sovereignty in a dystopian one-world socialist government.

Recall Mr. Gingrich's boast above that he had "delivered" the House vote on GATT — the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Just what was he delivering? His own testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee earlier in 1994 shows he understood perfectly that it was American sovereignty that was



Gingrich's "Contract" helped hamstring conservative momentum during 104th.

being delivered up. These are his own words:

[W]e need to be honest about the fact that we are transferring from the United States a practical level of significant authority to a new organization. This is a transformational moment. I would feel better if the people who favor this would just be honest about the scale of change.

I agree ... this is very close to Maastricht [the European Union treaty by which the EU member nations have surrendered considerable sovereignty], and 20 years from now we will look back on this as a very important defining moment. This is not just another trade agreement. This is adopting something which twice, once in the 1940s and once in the 1950s, the U.S. Congress rejected. I am not even saying we should reject it; I, in fact, lean toward it. But I think we have to be very careful, because it is a very big transfer of power.

Now, yes, we could in theory take the power back.... But the fact is we are not likely to disrupt the entire world trading system [by pulling out]. And, therefore, we ought to be very careful, because we are not likely to take it back.

Yes, Newt knew he was leading us into a trap. After feigning concern about the transfer of power and sovereignty, he pushed ahead with it nonetheless. He surely knew that he and Bob Dole and their fellow GATTsters in Congress have

no authority whatsoever to transfer any powers to GATT's World Trade Organization or any other entity. They were participating in a raw, illegal, unconstitutional usurpation of power. They were pulling off one of the biggest power grabs in history. They were shredding the Constitution, the *real* "Contract With America" which they have taken an oath to uphold.

But constitutional commitments provide no impediment to Commander Newt, as hinted at in his July 18, 1995 speech to the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). "Now the American challenge in leading the world is compounded by our Constitution," said Newt. "Now under our [constitutional system] — either we're going to have to rethink our Constitution or we're going to have to rethink our process of decision-making." Obviously he has chosen to rethink the Constitution, and, like Al Gore, to "reinvent" it nearer to the internationalist design of his CFR confreres. "I think we need a lot of hard thinking about the United Nations," he also said. "I am for the United Nations."

Moreover, said Newt, "I think, frankly, that we need to be working right now on expanding the North American Free Trade Area to include, for example, Chile. I think we want to — as rapidly as we can — move south and encourage an integration of Latin American markets into the United States. I think that we want to reach across the Atlantic and propose a North Atlantic free trade zone that includes all of NATO, plus the Common Market countries that aren't part of NATO, and begin to move into an integrated system." In this proposal he was echoing a

Jeffrey Markowitz/Sygnia

theme sung by Henry Kissinger in a May 12, 1995 *Washington Post* op-ed column, proclaiming the need for a North Atlantic Free Trade Association joining the U.S. with the European Union in the same way that the North American Free Trade Association had joined us with Canada and Mexico. It was a theme soon picked up by President Clinton, Secretary of State Warren Christopher, the *New York Times*, and, of course, Newt Gingrich.

On July 18, 1995 the *New York Times* provided a revealing glimpse into the mind of Speaker Newt with an article entitled "The Schooling of Gingrich, Foreign Policy Novice." It opened with this anecdote:

Newt Gingrich created a storm the other day by saying the United States should recognize Taiwan as a free and independent country.

The Chinese ominously declared that they would not sit idly by in the face of such threats to world peace.

He also heard from Henry A. Kissinger, who has become Mr. Gingrich's favorite foreign policy mentor

and happened to be in Beijing at the time. He called to lecture the Speaker of the House sternly on the need to uphold the delicate one-China policy — which Mr. Kissinger himself had invented long ago — and to keep quiet.

Not to worry. The Speaker didn't really mean it.

Bow Before the "Wise Men"

Of course he didn't mean it. The supremely ambitious Newt means only to do and say whatever it takes to keep the new world order boys at the CFR happy, so they'll keep his star rising. One of his many very obvious and obsequious genuflections to the Establishment cognoscenti is to be found in his same July 1995 CSIS speech. "I would say to you," Gingrich declared, "if you go back and read Isaacson and Thomas' *The Wise Men*, it's sort of comforting to know that ... they stumbled around a lot, too." The book to which he refers is a glowing hagiographic paean to the most stellar one-worlders in the CFR pantheon, all of whom would be considered "the enemy" by any genuine conservative. Like President Clinton's

speech references to Professor Carroll Quigley, Gingrich's reverential toast to the "wise men" (as the CFR faithful are fond of calling themselves) was a coded message that carried no meaning for most Americans but was fully understood in the circles of power toward which it was directed. When Secretary of State Warren Christopher, a former vice chairman of the CFR, was asked his opinion of Newt Gingrich, he replied with a single word that would, no doubt, seem cryptic to most Americans: "internationalist." Considering the source, that one word spoke volumes about the man who runs the House of Representatives and is only two heartbeats away from running the country.

By his words, actions, and associations Newt Gingrich has left no doubt that he is a committed globalist who cares not a fig about American independence and sovereignty. Concerning the United Nations, Newt stated in June 1995, "I'm a big fan of Franklin Roosevelt's. I'm, frankly, a fan of Woodrow Wilson's. And I think what they were trying to accomplish was terribly important." Newt's heroes and mentors — the ones to whom he most frequently pays homage — Wilson, FDR,

The Tofflers' and New Age N

It is impossible to understand Newt Gingrich without an appreciation of the immense influence exercised upon him by New Age futurist authors Alvin and Heidi Toffler. The Speaker has recommended the Tofflers' works as essential reading for all congressional staff members and has for years incorporated their ideas and vocabulary into his seminars and training programs for Republican activists.

Writing in the foreword to the Tofflers' 1994 book, *Creating a New Civilization*, Gingrich offered fulsome praise for Alvin's earlier books, *Future Shock* and *The Third Wave*, and the husband-wife duo's 1993 treatise, *War and Anti-War*. As if oblivious to the reams of lavish acclaim that have been heaped upon his favorite futurist gurus, he lamented that "there is still remarkably little appreciation of how crucial the Toffler's insight is. Most American politicians, reporters, and editorial writers have ignored the implications of *The Third Wave*." Not to worry on that score: Swami Newt, as a one-man recruiter, has converted legions of unsuspecting conservative Republicans into fervent acolytes in the Tofflers' New Age army.

According to Gingrich, the "failure to apply the Toffler Third

Wave model has kept our politics trapped in frustration, negativism, cynicism, and despair." Is that so? Apparently Newt is thoroughly convinced of it. "I first began working with the Tofflers in the early 1970s on a concept called anticipatory democracy," he says. "For 20 years we have worked to develop a future-conscious politics and popular understanding that would make it easier for America to make the transition" to a Third Wave civilization.

So what is the "Third Wave" civilization Newt is so jazzed about? Like most New Agers, he believes that mankind is on the verge of a new cosmic development. "First Wave" civilization had an agricultural base. "Second Wave" civilization is based on industry. "Third Wave" civilization is based on the information explosion. In a letter to America's "Founding Parents," in *The Third Wave*, Toffler wrote: "[T]he system of government you fashioned, including the very principles on which you based it, is increasingly obsolete, and hence increasingly, if inadvertently, oppressive and dangerous to our welfare. It must be radically changed and a new system of government invented — a democracy for the 21st century." Moreover, Toffler averred,



ira Wynn/Sygnia

Gingrich Guru Toffler: Antagonistic to Founders, family, Christian faith.

Churchill, Eisenhower, George Catlett Marshall, JFK, Kissinger — are all left-wing, one-world internationalists.

So it should have come as no surprise that one of Gingrich's first ventures into foreign policy as Speaker was to roll out the red carpet for top South African communist leader Thabo Mbeki, executive deputy president to Nelson Mandela. A longtime Stalinist commissar in the South African Communist Party, Mbeki built a "moderate" image as the terrorist ANC's global "diplomat." According to the *Johannesburg Star* for March 6, 1995, "Congressional observers remarked on how well Mbeki had been received by the new Republican majority.... Speaker Newt Gingrich hosted his first lunch in his chambers in Mbeki's honour." And Newt could be sure that was the politically correct thing to do since Comrade Mbeki had just been hosted by the Council on Foreign Relations.

An area where Speaker Gingrich is strikingly at odds with the Constitution, conservative House members, and the public at large is foreign aid. As we have detailed in previous

articles, Mr. Gingrich has consistently supported massive foreign aid giveaways throughout his congressional career. He even brags about it openly. Responding to a question on "isolationism" in 1995, the Speaker stated: "I was not only with [former House minority leader Robert] Michel the team leader in passing NAFTA, the co-leader in passing GATT, but Michel and I went with Gephardt on two trips to Russia and have actively and consistently up through two weeks ago defended aid to Russia."

No Dissent Tolerated

One of the newly elected Republican members of the 105th Congress told *THE NEW AMERICAN* that he had asked to be placed on the Appropriations Committee and had been given the assignment. Later he was asked about his position on foreign aid. When he explained that he opposed all foreign aid programs as immoral and unconstitutional, he was kicked off the committee. No dissent would be tolerated concerning that sacrosanct issue in Newt's regime.

During the June 7, 1995 House "debate" over the War Powers Act, the Ging-

rich forces essentially repudiated the constitutional mandate that Congress alone may declare war. Gingrich himself proclaimed that he was making "an appeal to the House to, at least on paper, increase the power of President Clinton.... I want to strengthen the current Democratic President because he is President of the United States."

A few days later, at a June 11th "debate" with President Clinton in Claremont, New Hampshire, Speaker Newt complemented Clinton on his use of U.S. military forces in a UN operation to impose communist thug Bertrand Aristide on the people of Haiti and declared that Mr. Clinton "deserves to be commended for, I think, having taken some risk in Haiti." "We're not far apart," Speaker Newt insisted, referring to his and the President's views. "In general, I would agree," responded President Bill. And how could he not agree?

Newt and Bill also find considerable agreement on the issue of "gay rights." This may come as a shock to many fervent Newtonistas, but it wouldn't if they were familiar with the

Newt's Third Wave Civilization

the Founding Fathers' constitutional "system that served us so well for so long ... now must, in its turn, die and be replaced."

Not only do the Tofflers find our constitutional system obsolete, oppressive, and dangerous, they share pretty much the same animus toward Christianity and biblical moral values. In all their books they extol the virtues of "alternative" lifestyles and promote the normalization of homosexuality, casual sex, divorce, and abortion. And repressive prudes imbued with bigoted religious principles are ever the recipients of their scorn. In the first chapter of *Creating a New Civilization* the Tofflers write: "A new civilization is emerging in our lives, and blind men everywhere are trying to suppress it. This new civilization brings with it *new family styles, changed ways of working, loving and living, a new economy, new political conflicts, and beyond all this an altered consciousness as well.*" (Emphasis added.) This new "emergent civilization" is based on "new, non-nuclear families" and "a new code of behavior for us." The obsolescence of the nuclear family is an especially dear and recurring theme of the Tofflers. They would happily see this "dysfunctional" institution replaced by communal families, lesbian families, serial divorce families, state nannies, etc.

In their preface to *Creating a New Civilization*, the Tofflers write: "In 1975 at the request of the Congressional Democrats, we organized a conference on futurism and 'anticipatory democ-

rary' for senators and members of the House. We invited Newt Gingrich, probably the only Republican among the many futurists we knew. He attended." What's more, write the Tofflers, that conference "led to the creation of the Congressional Clearinghouse on the Future, a group eventually cochaired by a young senator named Al Gore...." Yes, Newt and Al are longtime Toffleresque comrades.

The significance of the close Gingrich-Toffler association spanning three decades has gone virtually untouched in the major media, but cognizance of it is crucial to understanding Gingrich's strange new brand of "conservatism." In April 1975, Gingrich and Toffler joined with some 50 other liberal-left activists of the Ad Hoc Committee on Anticipatory Democracy in signing a letter to Congress urging more congressional interest in planning for the future and implementing a "futurist" agenda. Fellow radical signatories included Betty Friedan, Lester Brown, Margaret Mead, Jonas Salk, Elise Boulding, R. Buckminster Fuller, Willis Harman, Robert Theobald, and Amitai Etzioni (Bill Clinton's guru of "Communitarianism"). These are the same circles in which the Tofflers move today, when not recruiting Republican talent with the help of Speaker Gingrich — the same Newt Gingrich who claims to be working for "traditional values." ■

— W.F.J.

central role Gingrich has played in "mainstreaming" the homosexual agenda. While bashing GOP conservatives who courageously opposed the pervert agenda, Newt praised the "courage" of (former) Representative Steve Gunderson (R-WI), who was the GOP's only open homosexual in Congress.

In an interview with the *Washington Blade*, the premiere sodomite newspaper of our nation's capital, Gunderson noted that "it's no accident that the Contract with America is silent on social issues. Moderate Republicans deserve credit for making sure that happened." According to Gunderson, by binding the 104th Congress tightly to the economic and structural reforms of the Contract for the first 100 days, Gingrich and company would neutralize and marginalize the social conservatives who naïvely had believed the promises of the GOP leadership that eventually they would get around to the moral and family issues near and dear to them.

A Friend in Newt

Rich Tafel, head homo of the Log Cabin Club (the main Trojan Horse of the pervert lobby inside the GOP), opined that the Newt-led Republican takeover of Congress in the '94 elections "may, in fact, have been the best thing that could have happened to the Gay Rights movement." Said Tafel, "This election marks the definitive end to the Stonewall generation of politics. Now that the old generation has been repudiated, the next generation of gay leaders has the opportunity to redefine the movement." According to Tafel, the Newtonian House offered the hope that "many more politicians can be educated when they trust the person who is trying to persuade them to our side." Fellow sodomite activist Hastings Wyman, Jr. echoed Tafel's evaluation, noting, "If Speaker Gingrich can make his tolerance stick, we can continue our forward movement."

Which certainly gives additional meaning to remarks Speaker Gingrich made to Army officers at Fort Monroe in 1995. "Nobody fully understands this," he told the Army officers, "but if you think of the 'Contract with America,' it was, in fact, a training implementation document masquerading as a public relations device which ... was designed as a training implementation document so the freshmen and the brand new chairmen could not be nor-



Clinton and Gingrich during "debate" in New Hampshire: "We're not far apart."

mal. It guaranteed that from Election Day through April, early April, that the House Republican Party would have to behave in a deviant manner from what it would normally be expected to do. The theory being that if you could get them through the first 100 days being deviant, that deviancy would become normal."

In an interview published in the *Washington Blade*, Gingrich dismissed Republicans who oppose the homosexual agenda as "not representative of the future" and asserted that the GOP is open to homosexuals "in broad agreement with our effort to renew American civilization." Declared Gingrich, "If you ask me, 'Am I comfortable having allies, friends and supporters who in their private lives are homosexual?' sure I'm comfortable." But he let it be known that while he embraced the lavender left, he would extend no tolerance to the red, white, and blue right. According to Newt, "the Buchanans and the Dornans" are "not representative of the future; they're just noisy."

Pro-lifers have also found that Newt is not the champion of the unborn they had thought him to be. On April 10, 1995 Gingrich borrowed a "pro-choice" dodge from the Cuomo-Clinton-Kennedy repertoire to justify a betrayal of the pro-life cause he claims to embrace. "My personal view is that this is a country which is pro-choice but anti-abortion," said Newt in announcing his support for federal funding for abortion for women who are victims of rape or incest. He also urged Republicans to avoid making abortion "an issue" in Clinton's appointment

of Dr. Henry W. Foster to the Surgeon General post.

On everything from the budget to the environment to defense and national security issues, the Gingrich legacy has been disastrous. And there was ample warning before he took the Speaker's helm in 1995 that we should expect such betrayals. Back in August 1994, before the so-called "Gingrich revolution" in the House elections, Pat Buchanan denounced the Gingrich-inspired defection of 42 House Republicans which had "handed Bill Clinton his biggest victory since the North American Free Trade Agreement — on the \$30 billion crime bill." As Buchanan pointed out, "The bill federalized crimes such as spousal abuse, giving the feds police power the Constitution reserves to the states." Declared Buchanan: "Now the GOP emerges as unindicted co-conspirators in every Clinton victory...."

The Gingrich ethics charges were used to convince Republican House members that they should go easy on investigations into the multitude of Clinton scandals in order to avoid embarrassing revelations and uncomfortable investigations into the Republican Speaker's activities. We cannot afford another two years of Gingrich-led defeats, lost opportunities, and betrayals. The American voters are going to have to build fires under Republican members of the House of Representatives to convince them that if we are to have any chance of restoring good government, they must reject the false leadership of Newt Gingrich and begin abiding by the Constitution. ■

The Harmful Effect of Gingrich

Who can be surprised that the Republican Party has chosen as its presidential candidate Bob Dole, the quintessential Establishment "conservative." While he has a far more appealing personal history than does Bill Clinton, he will offer hardly any difference on major issues. Like Clinton, he is an internationalist and a big spender. Most of all, he is a compromiser. Dole used his considerable clout in the Senate to ruin any conservative action over the budget, troops to Bosnia, and gun control. He has also supported NAFTA, GATT, affirmative action, environmentalism, tax increases, and "reform" at the UN rather than U.S. withdrawal from this world government-to-be.

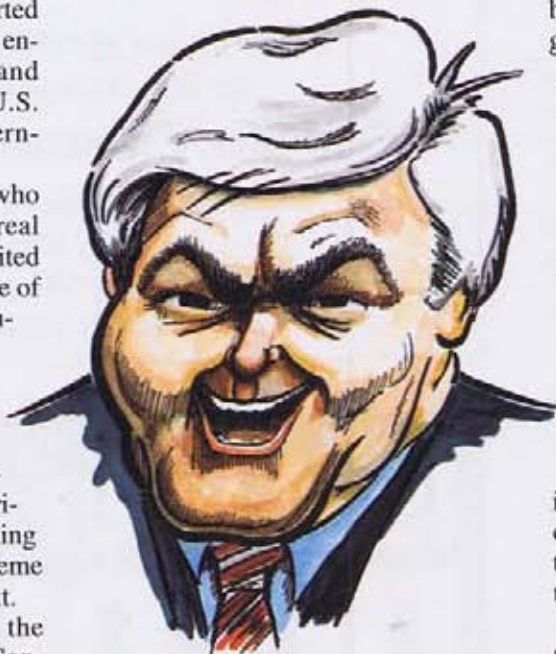
While it is certainly important who fills the office of President, the real battle to restore constitutionally limited government will be won in the House of Representatives where, the Constitution says, "All Bills for raising revenue shall originate...." Simply put, if the House decides not to fund the Department of Education, military deployment to Bosnia, participation in the United Nations, agriculture subsidies, etc., there is nothing the Senate, the President, the Supreme Court, or anyone else can do about it.

A friend recently summarized the dismal performance of the 104th Congress in the House led by Speaker Newt Gingrich. After expressing his awareness that many Americans believed the huge influx of freshmen would start unraveling big government, he noted: "Gingrich has achieved something almost unthinkable: He has kept Republican freshmen from being conservative and yet has set them up for possible defeat in November for being too conservative!"

The 73 new representatives elected in 1994 were overwhelmingly committed to shrinking the size and cost of government. But they accomplished next to nothing. Gingrich was their leader and his "Contract with America" was sold to the nation as good medicine for an ailing country. But the Contract called for a lot of downright poison: balance the

budget with a loophole-filled amendment that would reflect ill of the Constitution instead of Congress; expand NATO; deliver more crime control power to the federal government; federalize a host of laws dealing with children; etc.

During the 104th, Gingrich became deservedly known as a master of offensive brashness and know-it-all bluster. Before 1995 had ended, he had achieved one of the highest negative ratings ever detected by the nation's pollsters.



In the coming election campaign, Democrats plan to have their House candidates run as hard against Gingrich as they do against their Republican opponents. The tactic threatens to be so successful that numerous freshmen Republicans have already expressed concern about their re-election chances. Some, like John Hostettler (R-IN) and Helen Chenoweth (R-ID), have either asked Gingrich to stay out of their district or breathed a sigh of relief when the Speaker decided to cancel appearances on their behalf.

Gingrich isn't fooling anyone who has studied his career. He also isn't fooling a lot of the media that continues to portray him as a hard-line conservative, even as it characterizes hard-line conservatism as detestable. His mem-

bership (along with Bill Clinton's) in the globalist Council on Foreign Relations says plenty. And the constant reminder from CFR types that Gingrich is the leader of the conservative opposition — his being named *Time* magazine's Man-of-the-Year, for instance — should make any reasonably informed person wonder why the Establishment is boosting Gingrich.

One of the Speaker's crucially destructive deeds was his pro-GATT/WTO leadership during the December 1994 lame-duck session of Congress. The vote on GATT should never have occurred until the far more conservative new Congress convened in January 1995. But the Establishment eagerly wanted America entangled in this latest stepping stone to world government. The Speaker-to-be could have forced the vote into the next Congress, but he performed well for his internationalist friends who got a key item in their destructive agenda approved. Only recently, GATT's World Trade Organization flexed the muscles given it by Gingrich and others to interfere with our nation's importation of oil. We must now submit to the dictates of a 120-member international trade confederation.

Newt Gingrich won his seat in the Congress in 1978. During his first term, he supported, among other things, the creation of the Department of Education and most favored nation status for Communist China. He later voted to supply taxpayer money to facilitate trade with the murderous regime in China. The word was out, however, that this Rockefeller-supporting Republican must be labeled a conservative, a designation that would prove to be very useful for America's internal enemies in the years ahead.

Newt Gingrich's leadership has been a disaster for the nation. What he is and what he stands for must become known if the House of Representatives is to accomplish the task it is empowered to do: Roll back big government and disentangle America from the new world order. ■

Gingrich's Constitution Con

The GOP's "Contract With America" is fraught with peril for our nation

With House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich in the lead, some 300 Republican House incumbents and candidates assembled on September 27th on the U.S. Capitol steps to sign a "Contract With America." Before election day, more than 330 Republicans had signed on. The "Contract" was presented as a guarantee that the signatories were dead serious in their commitment to slay the budget deficit dragon, dismantle the New Deal welfare state, wipe the scourge of crime from our neighborhoods, strengthen family stability, cut taxes, beef up national defense, curtail U.S. involvement in UN "peace-keeping" operations, reduce the federal regulatory burden, stop the "litigation explosion," and limit congressional terms.

As might be expected, the "Contract" has been greeted with brickbats from the left and hosannas from the right. Most Republicans and conservatives seem to have embraced it with almost evangelical fervor, even though few have read the document and the ten legislative proposals connected with it. However, it would behoove all Americans to critically analyze both the document and the draft bills it proposes before signing on.

The "Contract" begins on a laudable note, pledging that on the first day of the 104th Congress the Republican majority will pass eight major reforms requiring:

- Congress to be subject to the same laws it imposes on the rest of America.
- An independent audit of Congress for waste, fraud, or abuse.
- Cuts of House committee staff by one-third.
- Term limits on committee chairs.
- An end to proxy votes in committee.
- Committee meetings to be open to



Newt struck a courageous pose as he introduced the GOP proposals on September 27th.

the public.

- A three-fifths House majority vote to pass a tax increase.
- An end to budget gimmickry by implementing zero base-line budgeting.

These are praiseworthy reforms that will go a long way toward rectifying the corrupt and imperious practices of the House that have developed under the Democratic leadership of the last few decades. But they are mere housekeeping changes compared to the "meat" of the "Contract With America," which is to be found in the ten bills it proposes.

I. The Fiscal Responsibility Act

"It's the economy, stupid," went the Clinton slogan in 1992. And what he did to the economy in just two years had much to do with the electoral tidal wave that swept his party from power on November 8, 1994. Taking a page from his own campaign book, the Republicans hit hard with pocketbook issues: taxes, debts, and deficits. The "Contract's" balanced budget amendment and line-item veto

seem to have really caught on with the voting public, posting approval ratings of nearly 80 percent in some polls.

At the moment, a great many Americans appear to be especially enamored of the balanced budget amendment (BBA). "We're probably going to vote on the balanced budget amendment on January 19th, and have that as our first smashing victory," said Newt Gingrich in a November 15th speech. A favorite hobby horse of "conservative" Republicans for years, the BBA does indeed seem virtually assured of easy passage early in the 104th Congress. The amendment, which requires a two-thirds majority, lost by only 12 votes in the House and 4 votes in the Senate in 1994. The newly elected pro-BBA members more than make up for those vote deficits in each house.

However, BBA enthusiasts who are pinning their hopes for a swift return to fiscal sanity on this course of action are in for a rude awakening. It will never happen. Why? Because the BBA is a diversion and a fraud. Consider: In order to balance the budget by this means, the amendment must have the support of

two-thirds of the members of both houses of Congress (67 votes in the Senate and 290 votes in the House). Then it must be submitted to the states and ratified by three-fourths of the state legislatures. The amendment stipulates a seven-year ratification period, with a balanced budget target date at least two years into the next millennium. As the BBA itself states, it will not take effect until "fiscal year 2002 or [on] the second fiscal year after its ratification, whichever is later."

Wait a minute! Are we hearing this right? At least 67 of the 100 senators and 290 of the 435 representatives are going to vote for this balanced budget amendment? If that is the case, they have the votes to balance the budget already. It only takes a simple majority (51 Senate votes and 218 House votes) to pass a budget bill that is in balance. So it is within reach now, if these tight-fisted skinflints are really serious about backing up their words with meaningful action. No need to wait until 2002 or 2004. No need to mess with the Constitution. No need to subject the taxpayers and the state legislatures to expensive and divisive amendment battles.

But spineless politicians love the balanced budget amendment because it allows them to posture as fiscal conservatives while continuing to spend like Imelda Marcos at a Macy's Christmas shoe sale. They're running a con here; that much should be obvious. Want more proof? Section 1 of the BBA provides that the balanced budget requirement can be ignored any time three-fifths (60 percent) of both the House and the Senate decide to start running the red ink again. Many of the budget-busting appropriations of recent years have easily passed by more than that and could do so again.

But they really don't even need 60 percent to jettison the budget pledge. How about a simple majority — just 51 percent? Section 4 of the BBA says that the balanced budget requirement "may be waived for any fiscal year in which the United States faces an imminent and serious military threat to national security and is so declared by a joint resolution adopted by a majority of the whole number of each House" (emphasis added). It doesn't even require a declaration of war, but merely a "threat to national security." Like the situations in Rwanda, Haiti, Somalia, Bosnia, Iraq,

or the Golan Heights? Any of those would probably do, judging from recent history. The Republicans' record gives no cause for confidence that they would block such excuses to keep the red ink flowing. In fact, the GOP leadership is presently taking Mr. Clinton to task for not *expanding* the U.S.-NATO role in Bosnia. Dole and Gingrich are urging President Clinton to step up bombing of Serb positions.

Of course, emphasis on "balancing the budget" skews the debate away from the more important issue: stopping and reversing the runaway growth of total federal spending. A budget which is balanced — i.e., one that is fully funded by taxes with no borrowing — but which still bankrupts the nation is hardly an improvement over our current deficit financing. It should be apparent that we would be much better off with a federal budget of \$400 billion and a \$50-billion-dollar deficit than with a \$1.5-trillion budget and no deficit.

However, even if Congress (by some extraordinary quirk of nature) should decide to make good on the BBA, there is no assurance whatsoever that it would do so by drastically cutting back the size, scope, and cost of government rather than raising taxes. In fact, GOP Senate leader Bob Dole and many other Republicans have repeatedly sided with the Democrats in opting for tax hikes over slashing the fedgov leviathan. Even the BBA's requirement of a three-fifths majority in both houses to raise taxes provides no credible barrier, since Washington's Beltway spendaholics have proven time after time their capacity to surmount that hurdle with "bipartisan cooperation."

There is yet another option. The congressional taxacrats may decide to "balance" the budget through increased use of a favorite act of legerdemain they already liberally employ: "off-budget spending." Congress began this massive shell game in the 1970s by moving numerous federal agencies and federally sponsored (but privately owned) enterprises off the budget. The Export-Import Bank, the Federal Financing Bank, the U.S. Railway Association, the Postal Service Fund, and other institutions account for billions of dollars in off-budget outlays each year. And the Federal Home Loan Bank System, the Federal National Mortgage Association, the Farm Credit System, the Federal Home

Loan Mortgage Association, and similar off-budget federal operations now hold liabilities of over \$1 trillion in loans and loan guarantees.

Free market economist Hans Sennholz warns that this budgetary sleight of hand is virtually guaranteed to increase if a BBA is passed. Dr. Sennholz, who heads the Foundation for Economic Education and has been one of the most unstinting and perceptive foes of deficit spending for decades, rightfully sees the BBA as a false hope that diverts public attention from the immediate hard choices that must be made. In his 1987 book, *Debts and Deficits*, he also cites some of the likely unintended consequences of a BBA:

A Constitutional amendment ... may restore balance through significant tax boosts, but it may also lead to massive reorganization of government activity and spending. In particular, it may prompt a federal rush to the backdoors of government spending, and give rise to countless new off-budget agencies and private enterprises under government control. The possibilities of concealment, deception, pretext, sophistry, stratagem, and plain trickery are endless. Therefore, it is rather naive to believe that a balanced-budget amendment, enacted by the masters of subterfuge, could dampen the enthusiasm for federal largesse.

In fact, the federal kleptocrats need not even trouble themselves with all this budgetary prestidigitation; they can simply disregard the BBA in the same way that they typically do the rest of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. And unless an informed citizenry rises up to hold them accountable, they will, no doubt, continue on the same path.

"A Constitutional amendment standing in the way of a 'greater society' through government spending," observes Dr. Sennholz, "would simply be ignored, repealed, or reinterpreted by a clever judge; or government expenditures would quickly be hidden from the eyes of outside observers. No Constitutional amendment, no matter how comprehensive, could prevent the granting of benefits by government officials eager to bestow them to their beneficiaries anxious to receive them." Since the

BBA will bestow no virtue or intestinal fortitude on venal or gutless politicians (or on their constituents), it is ridiculous to hope that elected officials who now lack the courage and conviction to follow the Constitution will somehow magically acquire the same to do so once the amendment is passed.

Not to worry, however, because Newt and Company have another all-purpose budget solution: the line-item veto. The annual budget battle is a frustrating, confusing, and unsightly spectacle, to be sure, and one in need of remedy. But the line-item veto is not the answer; it is, instead, a dangerous proposal that would radically realign the balance of powers between the executive and legislative branches of the federal government and exacerbate our budgetary woes.

The Founding Fathers feared the accretion of power in the Presidency, and, thus, gave "all legislative powers," including budgeting powers, to Congress. Under the Constitution, it is the President's duty to execute the budget, not prepare it. The President was brought into the budget-making process when Congress abdicated its constitutional budgetary responsibilities in 1921, with passage of the Budget and Accounting Act. Ever since, the White House wasters have assumed increasing powers to propel the budget skyward at an accelerating pace.

While it may seem to beleaguere taxpayers that congressional spend-thrifts have no peers when it comes to contests in profligacy, presidential prodigals have proven more than equal to the challenge, according to Dr. Sennholz. Again from *Debts and Deficits*:

In nearly every case, the president's commitments to exact and transfer income exceed by far the spending schemes of the members of Congress. Where individual Congressmen may engage in pork-barreling and logrolling, spending millions of dollars, the president usually spends many billions on "national needs" and "emergencies." His interests are nationwide; a Congressman's concern is likely to be special and parochial. The

great spending programs of our time, costing hundreds of billions of dollars, from Social Security to Medicare and Medicaid, are the handiwork of presidents; the members of Congress fall in with the president and lend their votes to his ambitious undertaking.

Moreover, since about half of federal spending is consumed by "entitlements" not funded by appropriations bills, the spending programs most in need of vetoing would not be subject to the line-item veto. Defense appropriations, one

"No constitutional amendment, no matter how comprehensive, could prevent the granting of benefits by government officials eager to bestow them to their beneficiaries anxious to receive them."

of the few legitimate, constitutional areas of federal spending, would be the main target of this veto power.

Otherwise, the line-item veto would be used merely for tinkering around the edges of our budget monster. Dr. Sennholz cautions that the line-item veto would not in the least alter the pattern of government spending, but "it surely would create more presidential power and alter the structure of government." He warns:

It would be a powerful instrument of reward and punishment in the hands of the president. To reward members of Congress for going along on important presidential programs, the line-item veto would be held in abeyance.... The president's opponents, members of the opposition party, or lonely resisters to presidential programs, however, may face the line-item veto in all their special concerns and efforts. The veto power may single them out and hold their special projects hostage until they see the error of their ways and the wisdom of the president. In the hands of a president with dictatorial inclinations, it may be a powerful instrument, the

use of which could be perfected to a fine art.

Indeed. Which makes it all the more amazing that after 40 years in the wilderness congressional Republicans are now rushing to give President Clinton the power to crush the "mandate" they claim to have received on November 8th. Unlike the Balanced Budget Amendment, which is a constitutional amendment, the line-item veto is being proposed as a statute, to be enacted by a simple majority of both houses of Congress. However, an examination of the Constitu-

tion and the original intent of the Founders does not give confidence that this route can obtain legitimate passage of the measure. As constitutional scholar Thomas J. Norton noted in his treatise, *Undermining the Constitution* (1950), "There is no stronger principle of American constitutional law than that forbidding

the delegation of power." Or, as the Supreme Court (in better days) held in *Panama Oil v. Ryan* (1934), "Congress, manifestly, is not permitted to abdicate, or transfer to others, the essential legislative functions with which it is invested." The balanced budget amendment and line-item veto are, says Dr. Sennholz, "empty palliatives and stale panaceas." Yes, and more: They are threats to constitutional order and fiscal responsibility that should be opposed by all Americans.

II. The Taking Back Our Streets Act

In their pathetic "opposition" to the Clinton crime bill last year, the congressional Republican leadership was reduced to squabbling with the Democrats over how to divvy up the \$33 billion in federal booty. Ignoring the fact that the Constitution gives Congress no power to intervene in state and local law enforcement matters, the Republicans argued that the Democrats' proposals would have too much of the federal funding that should be going to cops on the beat being wasted instead on social workers and midnight basketball programs. Rather than fighting this

blatant usurpation of power that is propelling us rapidly toward a national police state, the Grand Old Party piled on with more proposals to further federalize the criminal code.

Now the GOP "crime fighters" are back with still more assaults on the Constitution, individual rights, and states' rights. Politicians across the board are tapping into public anger, fear, and frustration over crime and our criminal injustice system, and the Republicans are determined to out-macho the Clintonistas in their calls for more stringent punishments, increased use of the death penalty, curtailment of appeals, more prison construction, mandatory minimum sentences for crimes involving a gun, and more federal aid to police.

Unfortunately, this legislative agenda, like most of the "Contract," is deplorable both for what it attempts and what it fails to attempt. It attempts unlawfully to further usurp still more state powers, and fails to offer remedies for the federal laws and federal court decisions which are at the root of so much of our current crime dilemma.

In matters of criminal law enforcement, the U.S. Constitution restricts the federal government's role to a very small purview. Counterfeiting, treason, "piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations" are the only federal crimes spelled out by the Founding Fathers. Law enforcement powers also are implied from those delegated powers concerning immigration, interstate commerce, the postal service, the military services, federal installations and property, the District of Columbia, and laws concerning bankruptcies, patents, and copyrights.

The Founding Fathers did not intend for the federal government to become involved in enacting and enforcing laws on murder, rape, robbery, assault, fraud, burglary, theft, drug trafficking, environmental pollution, occupational safety, etc. These were matters to be left to the states. This principle of subsidiarity was explained by Madison in *The Federalist Papers*, #45:

The powers delegated by the proposed Constitution to the federal government are few and defined. Those which are to remain in the State governments are numer-

ous and indefinite. The former will be exercised principally on external objects, as war, peace, negotiation, and foreign commerce.... The powers reserved to the several States will extend to all the objects which, in the ordinary course of affairs, concern the lives, liberties, and properties of the people, and the internal order, improvement, and prosperity of the State.

The view of the Founders on the strict limitation of federal powers was ably



McDonald understood that the Supreme Court cannot make a law.

expressed by constitutional scholar Thomas J. Norton in his treatise *Undermining the Constitution*: "What is expressed in a Constitution is equivalent to a prohibition of what is not expressed." However, to allay the concerns of those who yet feared a gradual centralization and nationalization of power, even more explicit firewalls against federal encroachments were erected with the Bill of Rights. Most significant of those, in this respect, was the Tenth Amendment, which states:

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

For most of our history, those words were taken by our federal courts to

mean precisely what they plainly say. Quoting an opinion by Justice Joseph Story written 120 years before, the Supreme Court reaffirmed in 1936 that the general government "can claim no powers which are not granted to it by the Constitution; and the powers actually granted must be such as are expressly given, or given by necessary implication." But that was before FDR's "packing" of the New Deal Court, and before the subsequent revolutions ushered in by the Warren and Burger Courts. If we had a federal judiciary today composed of jurists truly committed to the Constitution they have taken an oath to uphold, there is little question that virtually all of the recently passed federal crime bill and the current Republican proposal, along with much of the federal crime legislation of the past 30 years, would be ruled unconstitutional as surely as the Supreme Court struck down the National Recovery Act and so many other flagrant New Deal usurpations.

A judiciary faithful to the Constitution would also begin reversing the long train of judicial abuses (*Mapp*, *Mallory*, *Miranda*, *Escobedo*, et al.) that have handcuffed law enforcement and rewarded criminal behavior. However, with so many federal judges taking their cues from the ACLU rather than the Constitution, it falls to our elected representatives in Congress to abolish unconstitutional laws and to rein in the abuses of the courts.

How can Congress remedy usurpations and abuses by the judiciary? Article III, Section 2 of the Constitution provides that "the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make." In other words, Congress can — and should — specify that the Supreme Court (and lower federal courts) may not have jurisdiction (may not rule) over state cases concerning, say, capital punishment, prison conditions, arrest and sentencing procedures, evidence, etc.

"Please understand, a Supreme Court decision is not 'the law of the land,'" Congressman Lawrence Patton McDonald explained in his excellent study of the Constitution, *We Hold These Truths* (1976). "Indeed," he wrote, "it is not a 'law' at all. Only legislatures can make laws. A Supreme Court decision is a

rule that is binding only on the parties involved in the case; and it is enforceable only on that limited group if the executive and legislative branches choose to enforce it." The ruling establishes, reinforces, or overturns a precedent, and, as such, provides a guide as to how the Court is likely to rule on similar cases. But it most certainly is *not* "the law of the land."

This is plain from Article VI of the Constitution, which states: "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land."

Concerning this supremacy clause, Alexander Hamilton, in *The Federalist Papers*, #33, commented: "It will not, I presume, have escaped observation that it expressly confines the supremacy to laws made pursuant to the Constitution" (emphasis in original). And he noted further, in #78:

There is no position which depends on clearer principles than that every act of a delegated authority, contrary to the commission under which it is exercised, is void. No legislative act, therefore, contrary to the Constitution, can be valid.

Clearly, a federal law which is contrary to the Constitution is no law at all; it is null, void, invalid. And a Supreme Court decision, which is not a "law," has no "supremacy" — even if it is faithfully interpreting the Constitution. So it is the height of absurdity to claim that a Supreme Court decision that manifestly violates the Constitution is the "supreme law of the land."

"It was not until 1958, in the desegregation case of *Cooper v. Aaron*, that the Court first made the claim that its rulings were the supreme law of the land," notes Dr. Charles E. Rice, professor of Law at Notre Dame University. But the Supreme Court is not above the Constitution. "The constitutional system of checks and balances," says Rice, "was designed to operate with respect to the judiciary, as well as in other matters. Congress has the power to control the entire jurisdiction of the lower federal courts and the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.... While Congress

has not used this power since the Civil War period, it is clear from the 1869 case of *Ex Parte McCordle*, and from numerous statements in Supreme Court opinions, that Article III, Section 2, means what it says."

In July 1957 a committee of the American Bar Association called on Congress to exercise its authority under Article III to pass legislation to eradicate a long string of unconstitutional judicial usurpations and pro-communist decisions. Now that the Republicans have, at long last, gained control of Congress, it is imperative that they initiate and pursue such initiatives rather than add to the problem with more federal interference in state jurisdictions.

Our state and local law enforcement agencies can handle our crime problems — if the federal government will get out of the way and take care of its own business. A legitimate area of federal law enforcement that the "Contract With America" does not address is the adequate provision of INS and Border Patrol resources to protect our borders and deal with the huge numbers of illegal aliens crowding our prisons and perpetrating crimes in our society.

The GOP "Contract" also glaringly fails to make any attempt at repealing federal anti-gun laws, asset forfeiture laws, and other dangerous threats to our liberties.

III. The Personal Responsibility Act

Welfare reform is always a popular concern, and never more so than now. However, the Republican "Contract" proposals are hardly more convincing than Mr. Clinton's of solving our welfare state malady. This is primarily due to the fact that they make no effort to address the fundamental issue involved: that all federal "welfare" programs are gross arrogations of power that violate the Constitution.

As is clear from the discussion above in the "Contract's" item 2, the federal government has only delegated powers, and those are enumerated in Article I, Section 8. The Constitution grants power to Congress, for example, "to coin money" and "to borrow money on the credit of the United States." However, it gives no power to lend money, or to give it away, either to Americans or to

foreigners.

Ah, but the "general welfare" clause. Yes, it has been battered, stretched, twisted, and subverted to justify every kind of unconstitutional socialist, interventionist program imaginable. Nonetheless, the Founders left no doubt as to their intent. Thomas Jefferson held that "Congress had not unlimited powers to provide for the general welfare, but were restrained to those specifically enumerated." Likewise, Hamilton asserted that the welfare clause does not "carry a power to do any other thing not authorized in the Constitution, either expressly or by fair implication."

The phrase "provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States" is merely a heading for the enumerated powers of Article I, Section 8 and as such confers no powers not listed therein. All current federal "welfare" programs, therefore, are unconstitutional and must ultimately be abolished if we are to return to sound governance.

However, the "Contract" avoids this central issue and focuses the debate instead on policies that merely putter around the margins. Some of the proposals may have merit, but only as interim steps on the path to total extrication of Uncle Sam from the Marxist redistribution business. Any credible plan for genuine welfare reform must include a specified time for the federal government completely to shed these costly and destructive programs, and to leave this area entirely to the states and the people (which includes churches and other private charitable institutions), as the Founders intended.

The Republican plan gives the appearance of moving in this direction by proposing to turn over many programs to the states — along with federal funding. But this is more political folderol; the taxpayers are still being soaked by the pols on the Potomac, their earnings siphoned through Washington and doled back to the states, less the federal "carrying charges," of course — and with the inevitable strings attached. And since the plan does not envision completely severing the federal government from the redistribution racket, the fed-gov welfare infrastructure will likely be left pretty much intact, ready to come back with a vengeance with the next political changeover.

The GOP "contractors" pat them-

selves on the back because under their plan adults would be allowed to be on welfare *only* for two years at a time, and a cumulative total of five years. This only appears to be "conservative" because Democrats and the media have attacked it as "cynical" and "heartless."

Then there is the firestorm touched off by Newt Gingrich's proposal to bring back orphanages as a way to deal with the problem of the large numbers of children born out of wedlock. Besides the obvious contradiction this statist solution presents to the Republicans' claim to the "family values" banner, the orphanage debate illustrates perfectly the folly of attempting to micro-manage social policy from the Beltway. Rather than concentrating on getting the federal government out of this area entirely, Republicans are now wasting precious political capital and getting themselves mired down defending their own brand of the welfare state.

IV. The Family Reinforcement Act

Although this bill offers some positive tax provisions, such as a \$500 tax credit for those taking care of an elderly parent at home, and a \$5,000 tax credit for adopting a child, the main upshot of the legislation is to invite Big Brother's ministrations into all areas of family law.

Under this measure, fedgov child-support rules would supplant state laws and our all-wise legislators in Washington would take more control over sex offenses against children and child pornography, matters which the Constitution properly leaves in the hands of the states. "The federal Constitution forms a happy combination in this respect," wrote Madison in essay #10 of *The Federalist Papers*, "the great and aggregate interests being referred to the national, the local and particular [interests] to the State legislatures." National infringement upon these local and state "police" matters is no small thing.

Concerning this important issue, Judge Thomas Cooley, one of the most eminent American jurists of the last century, had this to say in his famous work, *A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations* (1868):

In the American constitutional system the power to establish the

ordinary regulations of police has been left to the individual States, and it cannot be taken from them, either wholly or in part, and exercised under legislation by Congress.

This view was held by the Supreme Court as late as 1911, when it ruled in *House v. Mays* that the police power inhering in the states cannot be taken from them — or surrendered by them.

V. The American Dream Restoration Act

Attractive features of this proposal include: a \$500-per-child tax credit (more would be better); reduction (why not elimination?) of the "marriage penalty" in the IRS Code that often results in married couples paying more than two single people cohabitating; and reinstating Individual Retirement Accounts (IRAs).

An even better proposal would be to repeal the 16th Amendment, which allows the Marxist graduated income tax — the source of so many of our fiscal, tax, and social problems.

VI. The National Security Restoration Act

The short summation of this plank in the "Contract" says: "No U.S. troops under U.N. command and restoration of the essential parts of our national security funding to strengthen our national defense and maintain our credibility around the world." That elicits a strong "Amen!" from most Americans, as it, no doubt, was calculated to do. As with the rest of the "Contract," however, it is not quite that simple and clear-cut.

The GOP proposal offers the President an escape hatch to the "No U.S. troops under U.N. command" requirement if he certifies that doing so is necessary for "the vital national security interests of the United States." It also supports expansion of NATO (a United Nations subsidiary) to include the communist-run "republics" of Eastern Europe and the "former" Soviet Union, a position that does not appear to deviate much from current Clinton doctrine.

The bill would also cut U.S. contributions for UN "peacekeeping" to 25 percent from the current 31.7 percent, an

empty gesture since that reduction is already mandated beginning in fiscal 1996 under the current State Department authorization bill.

The questions that beg to be asked are: What constitutional authority is there, and what moral and practical imperatives are there, to justify taxing Americans for 25 percent (or even 1 percent) of the UN military budget or to deploy *any* U.S. troops (whether under UN or U.S. command) for *any* UN venture? The answer to all of the above: None. But once again America loses by default because the Republicans fail to challenge the basic false premises underpinning dangerous policies and settle instead for minor changes of course.

The purpose of the U.S. military is to provide for the common defense of the United States, not to provide for "global security," a "new world order," "peacekeeping," "humanitarian aid," "nation-building," etc. The GOP "contractors" fail to assert this important, fundamental point.

On the plus side, the draft legislation would: increase defense funding to restore combat readiness that even Defense Secretary William Perry admits has plunged dramatically; fund deployment of a "highly effective" anti-missile defense system; impose stricter limitations on the sharing of sensitive U.S. intelligence with UN agencies; and cut back Clinton "defense conversion" programs that are siphoning billions of dollars out of the Pentagon budget to pay for non-defense projects.

VII. The Senior Citizens Fairness Act

In 1993, Congress raised taxes on Social Security benefits for individual recipients with incomes of more than \$34,000 and couples with incomes of more than \$44,000. Senior citizens whose incomes pass those thresholds now must pay taxes on 85 percent of their Social Security benefits. Previously, the tax was on 50 percent of benefits. The GOP plan would repeal that tax hike. Another provision would allow seniors between the ages of 65 and 69 to earn \$30,000 — up from \$11,160 — without losing any benefits. The bill also would allow senior citizens to make tax-free withdrawals from their IRAs, 401(k) plans, and pension funds to buy long-term care insurance.

VIII. The Job Creation and Wage Enhancement Act

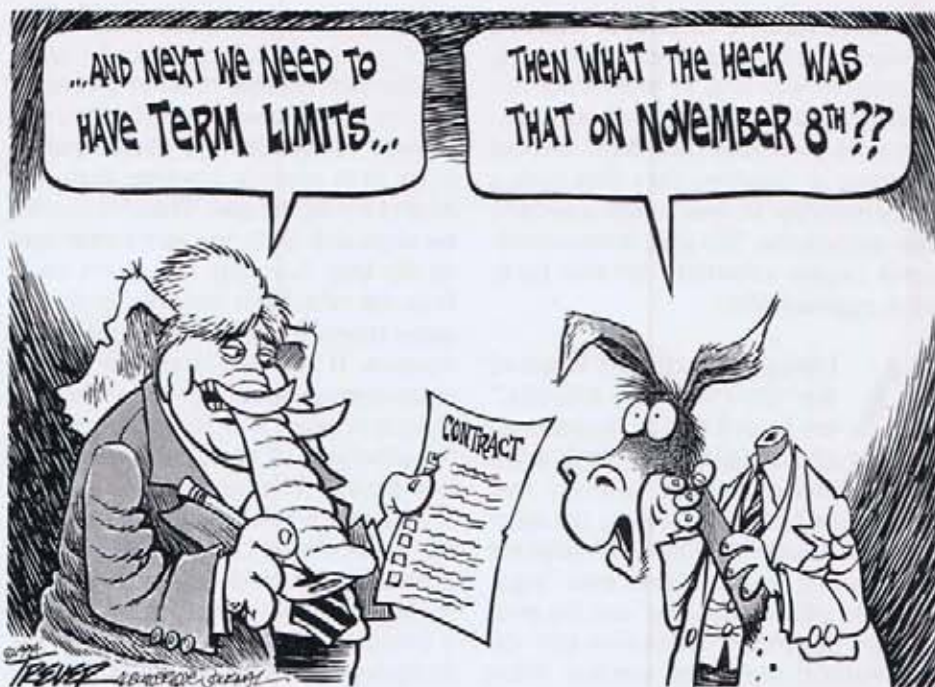
This is an ambitious and wide-ranging measure with many commendable proposals on tax reduction, regulatory relief, property rights, and federal mandates. Here are some specifics that it calls for:

- Cut the capital gains tax by 50 percent and index capital gains to adjust for inflation.
- Require the Congressional Budget Office and Office of Management and Budget to issue a report on the cost of federal regulations on the private sector.
- Bring federal regulatory costs down to 5 percent of gross domestic product.
- Require federal agencies to complete a regulatory impact analysis when proposing any regulation impacting more than 100 people and costing more than \$1 million.
- Reduce the federal paperwork burden by 5 percent.
- Require compensation for landowners whose property values decrease by 10 percent or more due to federal regulations.

IX. The Common Sense Legal Reform Act

Few will disagree that the "litigation explosion" of recent years has adversely impacted American society in numerous ways. The high costs of our litigious proclivities can be seen in clogged courts, higher consumer prices, exorbitant insurance rates, useful products forced off the market, and businesses that close (or never open) because of legal costs. Frustration with the situation is understandable. However, since most civil suits are brought in state court, federal "reform" legislation would have limited effect on the overall problem — unless it trespasses on state authority, which introduces even larger problems. It appears this may be the case with the bill's proposal to set new federal and state standards in product liability cases.

There is merit in the proposals to put limits on punitive damage awards, to prohibit joint liability for retailers, to tighten rules on "expert" testimony, and to discourage frivolous lawsuits with a "loser pays" rule in federal cases. However, most tort law reform will have to be tackled at the state level.



X. The Citizen Legislature Act

Congressmen who signed the "Contract With America" pledged only to support a floor vote on a constitutional amendment to limit congressional terms, not necessarily to back the measure itself. For one thing, the actual language of the bill was never finalized; term limit backers could not agree on whether to limit House members to six years or twelve years in office. They did agree on a 12-year limit for senators.

The argument for limiting congressional terms by the constitutional amendment route should have been dealt a severe setback by the results of last November 8th. The Constitution already provides for term limits — every two years for House members and every six years for senators. And the electorate made use of it in 1994, retiring a goodly number of those they believed were misrepresenting them. In fact, most of members of the House of Representatives have been in office for less than six years, the shortest period of time proposed by term-limits advocates. There is no need to throw out the good congressmen with the bad via term limits — and thus limit the franchise of the voters.

The Founding Fathers considered several term-limits proposals at the 1787 Philadelphia convention — and wisely rejected them. We would benefit greatly by acquainting ourselves with their reasoning on the matter, as ex-

pressed in *The Federalist Papers* and in Madison's notes on the convention. Madison records, for instance, the sapient remarks of Gouverneur Morris on the defeat of one of those proposals: "The ineligibility proposed by the clause as it stood tended to destroy the great motive to good behavior, the hope of being rewarded by a reappointment. It was saying to him, make hay while the sun shines." Or, as Hamilton put it in *The Federalist Papers*, #72, "one of the ill effects of the exclusion [from reelection] would be a diminution of the inducements to good behavior." We need only reflect on the recent perfidy of the "lame duck" Congress on the GATT vote for confirmation of the sagacity of the Founders' views. Term limits would mean that a sizeable portion of the House and an even greater portion of the Senate would be "lame ducks" not just for a few days or weeks of special session, but for a full two years or six years, respectively. The opportunities and temptations for "making hay" at the expense of the country and the taxpayers would be greatly increased. Congressmen not subject to reelection would have no reason to feel accountable to the electorate and can be expected to behave accordingly.

Constitutionally mandated term limits will not solve the problems associated with the bad government we've been getting from Washington, DC. Merely changing the faces in Congress is no guarantee of good government.

Eternal vigilance is the price of freedom. A vigilant, informed, moral electorate is absolutely essential to preserving our constitutional system. Citizens must understand that once they have elected someone to Congress they then have a responsibility to *watch* him and hold him accountable. The term limits amendment cannot substitute for this basic civic responsibility.

Although not officially a part of the "Contract With America," the School Prayer Amendment became an unofficial 11th plank when Newt Gingrich brought it to the fore with great fanfare following the election. Predictably, this has embroiled the country in a raucous debate over "separation of church and state" and has even divided pro-prayer forces over how the amendment should be worded. What has been obscured and forgotten is that it is a Supreme Court decision that is responsible for evicting God from the classroom. And Congress is culpable for having let that judicial tyranny go unchecked. As we noted above, Congress has the power (and responsibility) under Article III of the Constitution to rein in the federal courts and to restrict their jurisdiction when they exceed their constitutional authority. There is no need for a constitutional amendment with its lengthy and costly ratification process (which would surely be followed by even longer and more costly court battles). Congress can simply make school prayer off limits to the federal judiciary. Each state would then determine its own policy concerning the matter.

Pressing for a constitutional amendment to solve the school prayer dispute when Congress can easily remedy the matter is not only foolish, but dangerous as well. It reinforces the view that it is the Constitution that is defective, rather than those court decisions and laws which thwart and subvert the Constitution. This places us in the position of having to amend the Constitution every time the courts or Congress decides to run roughshod over it.

An even greater cause for concern is the momentum the "Contract" may provide for a constitutional convention (con-con) which could completely scrap our constitutional system and devise an entirely new form of governance. Is that far fetched? Not at all. Thirty-two states have already passed resolutions calling

for a con-con. Three of those states have since rescinded their ratifications, leaving the total number of states on record in favor of a convention at 29. However, if those rescissions are challenged in court, it is entirely possible that they might be ruled invalid. Thus, we are, on the short side, only two states away and on the long side only five states away from the two-thirds majority of the 50 states (thirty-four) needed to call a convention. If the term-limits or prayer amendments should fail to get through Congress, there will be added impetus for advocates of those measures to renew the call for a convention.

And who would lead the convention? No doubt, Newt Gingrich would be a central figure, with a long retinue of worshipping "Newtsters" in tow. That is a horrifying thought. How so? If the foregoing discussion of the "Contract" has not convinced you of his unsuitability to lead, his duplicity in ramrodding the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) through Congress should more than suffice. We are indebted to *Human Events* for digging up some very revealing comments by Mr. Gingrich from transcripts of recently released House Ways and Means Committee hearings. As his own words show, Gingrich knows full well that he was participating in an enormous fraud against the American people:

I am just saying that we need to be honest about the fact that we are transferring from the United States at a practical level significant authority to a new organization. This is a transformational moment. I would feel better if the people who favor this would just be honest about the scale of change.

I agree ... this is very close to Maastricht [the European Union treaty by which the EU member nations have surrendered considerable sovereignty], and twenty years from now we will look back on this as a very important defining moment. This is not just another trade agreement. This is adopting something which twice, once in the 1940s and once in the 1950s, the U.S. Congress rejected. I am not even saying we should reject it; I, in fact, lean toward it. But I think we have to be very careful, because it is a very big transfer of power.

Now, yes, we could in theory take the power back. Yes, we, de jure, as [former Judge Robert Bork] points out, can take the power back. But the fact is we are not likely to disrupt the entire world trading system [by pulling out]. And, therefore, we ought to be very careful, because we are not likely to take it back.

Yes, Newt knew he was leading us into a trap. He must surely have known also that he and Bob Dole and their fellow GATTsters in Congress have no authority whatsoever to transfer any powers to the World Trade Organization or any other entity. They were participating in a raw, illegal, unconstitutional usurpation of power. They were pulling off one of the biggest power grabs in history. They were shredding the Constitution, the *real* "Contract With America" which they have taken an oath to uphold — while using the Republican "Contract" as political cover for their perfidious deed.

Are these the kind of people you would enter into a contract with? Not a chance; you demand higher integrity from the contractor you hire to fix the kitchen sink. And we're supposed to trust these culprits to provide the leadership we desperately need to fix the Republic? Gingrich, Dole, and company have already shown that the only "leadership" they will provide is more of the same treacherous sort that has gotten us into our current sorry condition.

The new members of Congress must be made to realize that when they take their oath of office they are not pledging their loyalty to the Republican "Contract," but to the Constitution of the United States of America. ■

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Speaking for Whom?

Can a New Age, CFR functionary lead the Conservative Advance?

“Fire breather,” “bomb thrower,” “the man most Democrats consider the devil incarnate,” “the guerilla leader of Congress’ Republican insurgents,” “McCarthyite,” “bulldog extremist.” These are some of the nicer epithets that have been hurled at Representative Newton Leroy Gingrich, the Republican minority whip from Georgia’s 6th Congressional District who is expected to be replacing Tom Foley as Speaker of the House in the 104th Congress.

To judge from the furious invective he inspires from sputtering Democrat pols and media liberals, this man *must* be far indeed “to the right of Attila the Hun.” Barely a day after the seismic shift of November 8th that swept the GOP to power in Congress and in state houses across the land, Mr. Gingrich had liberal punditdom frothing in high dudgeon for referring to Bill and Hillary Clinton as “counterculture McGoverniks” and to their White House staff as a bunch of “left-wing elitists.” Even worse, he charged that Clinton Democrats are the “enemy of normal Americans” and the party of “total bizarreness, total weirdness.”

“The Vision Thing”

To millions of Americans, of course, Gingrich’s words were merely accentuating verbally what they had already so powerfully expressed with their votes. And the media reaction was not only delicious icing on the cake, but proof that their new champion had hit the mark. An arrogant, imperial President and an equally contemptuous Congress intent on imposing homosexuals on the military, pushing condoms to grade-schoolers, disposing of the Second Amendment, taxing families into ex-

tingtion, gutting national defense, regulating businesses to death, spending the nation into oblivion, and entangling America in one UN military operation after another had been resoundingly re-

geance. “One of the reasons the American people are so fed up with the current political structure,” he charged, “is that they think they send a strong signal on election day and they watch it gradually dribble away in Washington, with all the people in Washington finding excuses not to do what they’ve [been] asked to do.” Amen.

And the signal the American people were sending, he said, was “based on a pretty clear direction of less government, less regulation, less interference, and lower taxes, not just at the federal level, but at virtually every level across the country in virtually every state....”

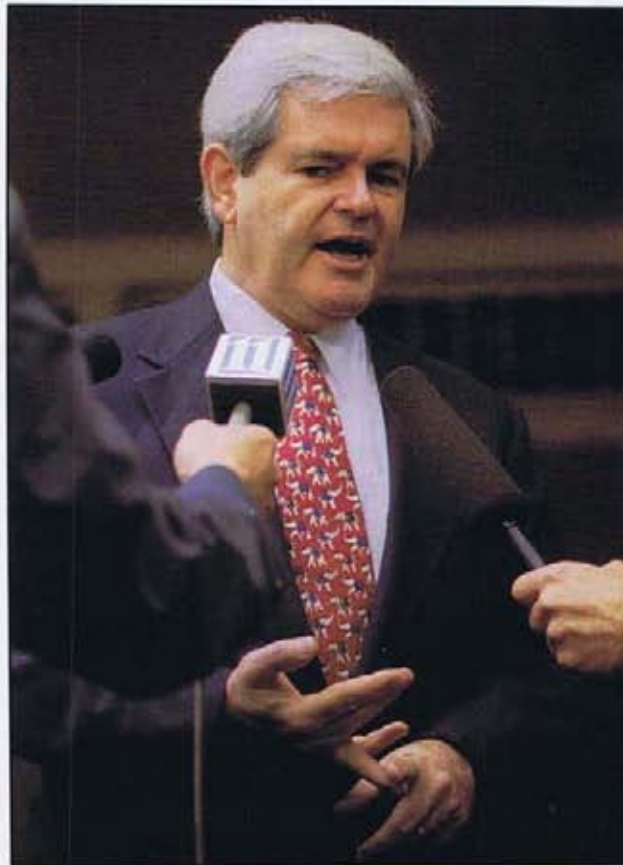
Liberal columnist David S. Broder was suitably impressed by the address, calling it “a policy speech that was confident, coherent, and in every way impressive. The words were strong, the thoughts were clear, and no one who heard him was in any doubt that the House Republicans he leads will attempt to enact the conservative governing agenda he described.”

Whoaaaa there, Mr. Broder; speak for yourself. For those who were listening closely, there was more than one agenda

described. And for those familiar with history, with politicians in general, and with Newt Gingrich in particular, there was plenty of cause for doubt — and concern.

The GATT Man

Chief and most immediate among those doubts and concerns is Gingrich’s zealous commitment to helping President Clinton secure congressional approval of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade/World Trade Organization (GATT/WTO) accord. When asked at his November 11th press briefing, “Will you rally the troops for



Gingrich’s voting record has conservatives worried.

puated in one of the most severe political massacres of modern times. And the victors, who had been scorned and excoriated as nuts, malcontents, and “religious extremists,” had earned the right to crow — something Gingrich does with unmatched flair.

But Newt Gingrich is also a capable exponent of “the vision thing.” In a policy address on November 11th at Washington’s Willard Hotel, Gingrich delivered the conservative/populist message that many Americans wanted to hear, declaring that he was going to pursue the goal of “disciplined, smaller, more frugal government” — with a ven-

AP/Wide World photo

GATT and the World Trade Organization?" he replied: "Yes. In the first place, the Administration has accepted amendments of Senator Dole and myself giving Congress dramatically more oversight of the World Trade Organization, including the right to bring up a vote on withdrawal every five years in perpetuity, so at any point that we think it is out of control or inappropriate, we can simply withdraw."

The impression given by his answer was that he and Dole recently had come up with some amendments that would allay all concerns about loss of U.S. sovereignty to, and interference in domestic U.S. concerns by, the proposed supra-national WTO. What he actually was referring to was Section 125 of the agreement, entitled "Review of Participation in the WTO," which hardly provides the security against WTO tyranny he pretends to find. One of the most manifest weaknesses of the Section 125 "protection" is the five-year cycle of opportunity for withdrawing; the WTO mega-bureaucracy could do a lot of damage to American interests in five years.

Moreover, as far as "congressional oversight" goes, one need only consider how little that has been worth in protecting U.S. interests at the United Nations, the World Bank, IMF, UNESCO, or any of the other internationalist ventures with which we have become entangled.

Earlier this year Gingrich hesitated to support GATT and expressed concern that the WTO smacked of world government. "That is a bizarre turnabout for a man who almost single-handedly bailed out the Clinton Presidency by rounding up Republican votes for a similar accord — the North American Free Trade Agreement — over the opposition of House Democrats," the *New York Times* chided in a May 8th editorial. The *Times* had a point about Gingrich's NAFTA role, even though its arguments in favor of GATT/WTO were phony. "The W.T.O. would be more pussycat than tiger — and would protect U.S. interests better than the existing General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade," purred the *Times*. That is about as convincing as the claims of Clinton, Gingrich, and company that GATT would, after ten years, "add an average of \$1,700 to the annual income of every American family."

The WTO does indeed present a

threat of world government; it is a multinational body with legislative, executive, and judicial branches wielding formidable powers. The myriad of ministries, councils, committees, commissions, panels, and boards to be established under the WTO would make it a global leviathan. It would be far worse than the dozens of international commissions, committees, and secretariats created to oversee and regulate trade between Canada, Mexico, and the U.S. under the 1,700-page NAFTA treaty — which Newt Gingrich gave to Bill Clinton on a silver platter. So much for promises about kinder, simpler, and less intrusive government.

Fast Track to Disaster

However, the dangers of the GATT/WTO agreement itself are, at this point, of less immediate concern than the immoral and illegal *process* by which it is being rammed down our throats. And this from Mr. Gingrich, who in the same breath promises a new "openness" and "honesty" in governing and who calls for greater "participation" and "engagement" by the people. It is the rankest hypocrisy to talk about the new "mandate" and "listening to the people" and then to continue with the same sleazy manner of doing "business as usual" in Washington.

Forcing a "fast track" vote on GATT/WTO — what some have called "the most important vote of the decade, if not the last 50 years" — in the "lame duck" Congress is an unconscionable act that cannot be justified on any count. It intentionally ignores what is obvious:

- As Gingrich himself has noted, "the people have spoken," and have elected a new Congress; and that new Congress should have the right (and responsibility) to vote on something as important as GATT. It should not be passed by a body that has been repudiated by the voters.

- The GATT system and negotiations have been going on since 1947. It is absurd to suggest that after nearly 50 years we must now rush this new agreement through, that it cannot wait a couple more months for the new Congress to consider.

- The GATT accord runs some 26,000 pages. No member of Congress has read all of this monstrosity. Gingrich promised to make all bills and documents accessible to the American people, but we

certainly have not had full access to all of this document.

- If the Clinton health care program deserved to be knocked off the "fast track" because it was a costly, bureaucratic, socialistic nightmare, GATT/WTO deserves the same.

- The matters with which the GATT/WTO accord deal clearly qualify it as a treaty and therefore require ratification by a two-thirds vote in the Senate. Gingrich's repeated veneration of the Constitution (not to mention his oath) will be proven false if he does not demand compliance with this constitutional requirement.

However, the new Speaker of the House appears to be taking his direction from the *New York Times* and from the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), the driving organizational force behind GATT (Gingrich is a member of the CFR), rather than from the Constitution or "the people" he claims to honor and represent.

Rhetoric and Reality

Since so many other conservatives have been gulled into embracing GATT under the false banner of "free trade," Newt Gingrich's role in promoting NAFTA and GATT is seen by many as insufficient in and of itself to call into question his "conservative" bona fides. After all, his rhetoric is as fiercely conservative as anyone's. He once denounced Senator Robert Dole, the Republican chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, as "the tax collector for the welfare state." He labeled all of official Washington "a large, open conspiracy to take away the money and freedom of the citizens of this country." In 1985, he called President Reagan's rapprochement with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev potentially "the most dangerous summit for the West since Adolf Hitler met with Chamberlain in 1938 at Munich." Over and over again, he has denounced big government, socialism, high taxes, deficits, welfare, bureaucracy, and the "counter-culture."

True enough, but in politics deeds speak louder than words. And Newt Gingrich's deeds all too often do not match his words. Since entering Congress, Gingrich has repeatedly voted for big government, deficit spending, welfare, foreign aid, regulatory intervention, and socialism. He has repeatedly

voted to send U.S. taxpayer dollars to communist countries and to grant communist tyrannies such as Red China and the Soviet Union most favored nation (MFN) trade status, while demanding trade sanctions against South Africa.

He has given support to Nelson Mandela and the terrorist African National Congress. He repeatedly has voted for extremist environmentalist measures that are costing Americans billions of dollars. He repeatedly has catered to the "counterculture" and the militant homosexual lobby.

Newt Gingrich's rating on the Conservative Index (CI) of THE NEW AMERICAN, while better than many other members of Congress, is far from the stellar rating you would expect from one heralded as "the theoretician in chief" of the conservatives in Congress. His CI ratings for his eight terms in office have fluctuated between fairly good to mediocre to abysmal:

96th Congress: 84

97th Congress: 77

98th Congress: 74

99th Congress: 80

100th Congress: 80

101st Congress: 57

102nd Congress: 60

103rd Congress: 78

The following sample of votes shows only some of the many decidedly unconservative votes Gingrich has cast:

Welfare Madness. During his 16 years in Congress, Gingrich has inveighed vociferously against the evils of the New Deal/Great Society welfare state — while voting for every kind of welfare program imaginable: for the elderly, children, the "homeless," businessmen, farmers, bankers, leftwing broadcasters, etc. Those votes include: March 21, 1991 — \$30 billion to begin the unconstitutional bailout of failed savings and loan institutions; June 26, 1991 — \$52.6 billion for agriculture programs, subsidies, and food stamps; October 5, 1992 — \$66.5 billion for housing and community development; September 22, 1994 — \$250.6 billion in appropriations for the Departments of Labor, HHS, and Education.

Budget-Busting Profligacy. A Balanced Budget Amendment forms the core of the first plank of Gingrich's "Contract with America." He has been calling for such a measure and con-

demning deficit spending ever since coming to Congress. In an early 1982 speech he called on Congress to reject further increases in the National Debt Limit. "Only by using the debt limit as a leverage point" he bravely declared, "can we force the changes which clearly the liberal leadership of this body wants to avoid." Trouble is, a few months earlier, on February 5, 1981, he had voted with those same "liberals" to raise the National Debt ceiling by another \$49.1 billion to \$985 billion. He has gone this same route many times since.

Of course, raising the debt ceiling would not have been necessary had he practiced what he preached. His votes against "more frugal government" include: December 21, 1987 — \$603.9 billion for 13 regular appropriation bills

Since entering Congress, Gingrich has repeatedly voted for big government, deficit spending, welfare, foreign aid, regulatory intervention, and socialism.

larded with many wasteful, extravagant, and unconstitutional items (it passed by a vote of 209 to 208); May 4, 1989 — outlays of \$1.165 trillion and a deficit of \$99 billion for a dishonest and spendthrift 1990 budget designed to barely skim in under the Gramm-Rudman \$100 billion deficit limit; March 10, 1994 — a vote *against* a responsible amendment offered by Representative Gerald Solomon (R-NY) to balance the budget by 1999 through \$698 billion in spending cuts (a mere 3.5 percent cut) over five years.

Considering these and other votes against sound fiscal policy, it is not surprising that Gingrich's spendthrift ways have carried over into his personal finances. The 1992 House banking scandal revealed that he had run 22 overdrafts on his checking account, and this in spite of having voted himself a huge pay raise and having a taxpayer-provided, chauffeur-driven car. Nor is it surprising that his rating from the National Taxpayers Union during the latest session of Congress (the 103rd) was a meager 75 percent. His tax-and-spend record over the years on votes tabulated by Tax Reform IMMEDIATELY (TRIM)

has so often contradicted his rhetoric that National Director of TRIM James Toft was prompted to remark: "Professor Gingrich hopefully will never be called upon to teach a course in the proper role of our federal government. His rare votes against bloated big government usually have been prompted by the partisan wrangling of the moment, not by any great respect for, or understanding of, the Constitution."

Foreign Aid. If there is anything more unpopular, unconstitutional, counterproductive, fiscally irresponsible, and immoral than welfare for domestic free-loaders, it is welfare for foreign free-loaders. But the "tight-fisted" Mr. Gingrich consistently votes to send U.S. tax dollars to kleptocrats and tyrants abroad: June 27, 1990 — \$15.7 billion

in foreign aid for fiscal 1991; June 20 1991 — \$12.4 billion for fiscal 1992 and \$13 billion for fiscal 1993; June 25, 1992 — \$13.8 billion for fiscal 1993; August 6, 1992 — \$12.3 billion for the International Monetary Fund and \$1.2 billion for the "repub-

lics" of the former Soviet Union; June 17, 1993 — \$13 billion for fiscal 1994; September 29, 1993 — \$12.9 billion, including \$2.5 billion to Russia; August 4, 1994 — \$13.8 billion for foreign aid for fiscal 1995.

Eco-Lunacy. Gingrich, a longtime member of the Georgia Conservancy ("an aggressive environmental group comprised largely of upper-middle class urbanites" — Newt's own words) co-founded by Jimmy Carter, organized one of the early environmental studies programs back in 1970 while a professor at West Georgia State College. According to *Current Biography*, the success of his early congressional campaigns was due in large part "to the support of environmentalists." Besides being blatantly unconstitutional, virtually all federal environmental legislation involves gross violations of states' rights and the property rights of private individuals, both of which Gingrich claims to champion. Newt's "green" votes include: May 16, 1979 — the Alaska Lands Bill, locking up 68 million acres as untouchable "wilderness"; December 17, 1987 — \$307 million for continuation of the fraudulent and un-

constitutional Endangered Species Act, putting the "rights" of owls, bugs, rats, snakes, and newts above those of people; March 28, 1990 — elevating the unconstitutional Environmental Protection Agency to Cabinet-level status; May 23, 1990 — the badly misnamed Clean Air bill, requiring radical cuts in industry and automobile emissions, adding tens of billions of dollars annually in new costs to our already stringent and costly air standards.

Federalizing Education. The *Communist Manifesto* calls for nationalizing education, while the U.S. Constitution, to the contrary, prohibits federal involvement in educational matters. These votes cause one to wonder which document's philosophy is guiding Newt Gingrich's education policy decisions: May 10, 1979 — for creation of the new Cabinet-level Department of Education demanded by President Carter and the

radical National Education Association; May 9, 1989 — \$1.4 billion in federal aid for "applied technology education," the new federalese for vocational education; May 16, 1990 — \$2.9 billion for Head Start and Follow Through programs for fiscal 1991, rising to \$7.7 billion in 1994; July 20, 1990 — \$1.1 billion for a variety of education programs, none of which the federal government has authority to fund; May 12, 1994 — "such sums as may be necessary" for the \$3.3 billion-per-year Head Start program and \$2.6 billion for fiscal 1995 for three low-income and child abuse prevention programs.

Counterculture Values. Despite playing to the "religious right," Gingrich has racked up a surprisingly "moderate" record on homosexual "rights." His troubling votes include: May 22, 1990 — the Americans with Disabilities Act, permitting massive new federal in-

tervention into the private workplace in order to stop "discrimination" in hiring on the basis of disability, including AIDS; June 13, 1990 — \$2.76 billion for various AIDS programs demanded by the militant homosexual lobby; July 12, 1990 — the final version of the Americans With Disabilities Act.

On July 26, 1990 Gingrich voted with the majority in refusing to support a resolution by Representative William Dannemeyer (R-CA) to expel Representative Barney Frank (D-MA) for felony criminal offenses related to his homosexual activities. He actively supported the re-election of Representative Steve Gunderson (R-WI), an open homosexual, and praises Gunderson's "courage" for being "gay" and Republican.

Nationalizing Law Enforcement. On October 22, 1991, Gingrich voted for an amendment to the federal crime bill offered by Representative David

New Age Newt: A Futurist "Con"

In a post-election address to the Washington Research Group on November 11, 1994, Representative Newt Gingrich chided the Washington press corps' propensity for stereotyping politicians and offered this description of himself:

The best description of me is that I'm a conservative futurist. Marianne [Gingrich's second wife] and I have for a long time been friends of Alvin and Heidi Toffler, the authors of *Future Shock* and *The Third Wave*. We really believe it's useful to think about the 21st century....

Moreover, Gingrich recommended "to all congressional staffs" that they read "the new Progress and Freedoms Foundation report on Alvin Toffler's works."

The tight Gingrich-Toffler connection spanning three decades has received little attention in the major media, but consideration of it is essential to an understanding of Mr. Gingrich's strange new brand of "conservatism." In April 1975, Gingrich and Toffler joined with some 50 other liberal-left activists of the Ad Hoc Committee on Anticipatory Democracy in signing a letter to Congress urging more congressional interest in planning for the future and implementing a "futurist" agenda. Fellow signatories included Betty Friedan, Lester Brown, Margaret Mead, Jonas Salk, Elise Boulding, R. Buckminster Fuller, Willis Harman, Robert Theobald, and Amitai Etzioni (Bill Clinton's guru of

"Communitarianism").

In 1978, Toffler wrote the introduction for *Anticipatory Democracy*, a collaborative effort by 20 New Left and New Age authors, including Newt Gingrich, whose chapter, "The Goals for Georgia Program," was a glowing endorsement of Governor Jimmy Carter's socialist "planning" agenda! Among the radical left, occult, globalist, enviro-extremist, humanist, and New Age organizations the book promoted as "citizen groups on the cutting edge of alternative futures" were ACORN, Center for Science in the Public Interest, Earthrise, Environmental Action, Findhorn Community, Lindisfarne Association, Worldwatch Institute, Public Citizen, Spark, Union of Concerned Scientists, and the Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies. The book throughout extolled the virtues of "participatory democracy," a revolutionary slogan dear to the likes of Tom Hayden, Derek Shearer, and Bill Clinton, and one drawn directly from the eighth plank of the *Humanist Manifesto II* (1973).

One of Gingrich's *Anticipatory Democracy* co-authors was Representative Charlie Rose, ultra-liberal Democrat from North

Carolina, who has a cumulative rating of seven percent on THE NEW AMERICAN'S Conservative Index, lower even than admitted Socialist Congressman Bernie Sanders (16 percent). Rose's chapter is entitled "Building a Futures Network in Congress." In 1976, together with a bevy of leftwing Democratic members of Con-



Newt has hobnobbed with New Age luminaries since the 1970s.

Saba photo

McCurdy (D-OK) to establish a National Police Corps. Although he didn't vote for the \$30-billion Clinton crime bill of 1994, he resurrected it and helped make passage possible. As Representative Susan Molinari (R-NY), one of Newt's cheerleaders, explained to Michael Kinsley on CNN's *Crossfire*, "If it wasn't for Newt Gingrich, you wouldn't have a crime bill."

Indeed. The Gingrich-led opposition "threw" the game, failing to challenge the bill's fundamental flaw — that the federal government has no constitutional authority to take over state and local crime-fighting duties — and focused instead on "pork" in the bill. "That crime bill stank to high heaven," charged Pat Buchanan. "[I]t federalizes crimes such as spousal abuse, giving the feds police power the Constitution reserves to the states." And the crime package in Newt's "Contract With

America" would speed us further down the road toward a national police state.

Newt's Roots

Llewellyn Rockwell, president of the Ludwig von Mises Institute and publisher of *The Free Market*, observes that, rhetoric notwithstanding, "Newt Gingrich is a Rockefeller Republican, a big-government 'Conservative' who talks a good line, but like Ronald Reagan will give us higher taxes, more government, and more spending. His 'Contract With America' is a fraud; it should be called a 'Press Conference with America.'" Or, perhaps, a "Contract *On* America." Newt's "Contract," with its calls for amendments to balance the budget and impose term limits, seems to imply that our original contract, the U.S. Constitution, is gravely deficient. This could give new impetus to the dangerous movement for a con-

stitutional convention.*

The problems with Newt Gingrich's "conservatism" go back to his "roots." *Current Biography Yearbook* for 1989 gives this snapshot of his early career:

After graduating from Emory [University in Atlanta] in 1965, Gingrich received a master's degree from Tulane University in 1968 and a Ph.D. degree in modern European history in 1971. His behavior at Tulane appeared to belie his future conservatism and hawkish foreign-policy views. He accepted student deferments rather than face the draft during the Vietnam War, experimented with marijuana, led a campus demonstration defending the school paper's right

* Mr. Jasper will examine the "Contract With America" in our January 9, 1995 issue.

servative" for the 21st Century

gress, Rose formed the Congressional Clearinghouse on the Future, which Gingrich joined upon his election to Congress. In fact, Newt became a member of the executive committee, providing the critical Republican and "conservative" cover the group needed to camouflage its obvious leftist agenda. One of Newt's Clearinghouse comrades was Senator Al Gore, whose pathetic eco-diatribes, *Earth in the Balance*, although the butt of conservative jokes, closely fits the Toffler-Gingrich "futurist" world view. *Leading Edge*, an influential New Age newsletter, reported on October 17, 1983 that Congressmen Gingrich and Gore introduced a bill to advise the President on "critical trends and alternative futures."

The February 27, 1984 issue of *New Options*, a publication edited by leading New Age "philosopher" Mark Satin, identified Gingrich as a top "decentralist/globally responsible" congressman, a revealing kudo.

Mark Satin is also the author of *New Age Politics* (1978), a guide to New Age political thought. In that guide Satin calls for planetary governance, "a system of world taxation (on resource use)," "an increased transfer of wealth from rich to poor countries," and "complete military disarmament." What's more, he has it in for the nuclear family, traditional marriage, and heterosexual society: "The nuclear family can be devastating to parents and children alike," and "it tends to embody the first four sides of the Prison in almost pure form"; "Compulsive heterosexuality cuts us off from half the world as love partners"; "Compulsive monogamy may have served some essential purpose two or three million years ago," but today it tends toward "a more or less monotonous day-to-day living together."

In all these radical positions Satin is in tune with Toffler, whose books he admiringly quotes and recommends. Toffler, the intellectual darling of the "counter culture" and the "liberal me-

dia" that Gingrich loves to attack, has for three decades been the leading "prophet" of social revolution and "transformation." Even more than for his socialist/redistributionist political and economic views, Toffler has been the bane of all true conservatives committed to preserving Judeo-Christian culture for his avid championing of group marriage, polygamy, serial marriage, homosexual marriage, the "liberating" effect of divorce, and child rearing by "professional parents."

On October 3, 1990, Gingrich and Representative Edward Markey (D-MA) sent a "Dear Colleague" letter inviting all members of Congress and staff members "to join us at a reception honoring best-selling author Alvin Toffler on the eve of publication of his new Bantam book *Powershift: Knowledge, Wealth and Violence at the Edge of the 21st Century*."

"Alvin Toffler's seminal works, *Future Shock* (1970) and *The Third Wave* (1980), each helped to define its decade, add new words to the language, and significantly alter the way we think about change," Markey and Gingrich wrote. "His new book promises to shake up our vision of the future once again," they enthused, stating further that "Toffler's ideas will likely become an important resource in focusing national debate on the challenges facing our nation in the post-Cold War era."

Like Charlie Rose, Markey is an odd ally for "conservative" Gingrich. Markey has a cumulative five percent rating on our Conservative Index. But those are the kinds of folks Newt runs with at the Congressional Clearinghouse on the Future, where he helps move our lawmakers leftward by bringing them speakers such as Toffler, Mikhail Gorbachev, Carl Sagan, Marian Wright Edelman, Lou Harris, Ellen Goodman, Daniel Yankelovich, and John Jacob. ■

— W.F.J.

to print a nude photograph of a faculty member, and campaigned for Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York in 1968 because of the governor's support of civil rights.

Nelson Rockefeller, of course, was the bane of all conservatives, the epitome of effete internationalism, and a member of the CFR (run by his brother David) and the ruling elite of the Eastern Establishment. In his unsuccessful runs for Congress in 1974 and 1976 Gingrich showed no deep conservative leanings. He was, and remains, a member of the NAACP, the World Futurist Society, and the New Age-oriented Congressional Clearinghouse on the Future. In 1978 *Congressional Quarterly* gave this bio of the freshman congressman: "In his previous campaigns Gingrich was considered unusually liberal for a Georgia Republican. But this year he relied on the tax cut issue, using an empty shopping cart to emphasize his concern about inflation." He also capitalized on the widespread anger over President Carter's Panama policy and headed up "Georgians Against the Panama Canal Treaty." He has been using conservative issues to advance his ca-

reer ever since.

In 1981 this writer asked Georgia Congressman Larry McDonald for an evaluation of the rising Republican star from his neighboring 6th District. His reply was surprising, at the time. Newt Gingrich, he said, was a devious and ambitious politician masquerading as a conservative and not one to be trusted. Gingrich had gone out of his way, Dr. McDonald said, to obstruct and to undermine support of conservative members of Congress for some of McDonald's legislative efforts. This was particularly disturbing since Representative McDonald was *the* most conservative member of Congress — by virtually all ratings systems — and would have been a natural ally of Gingrich if Gingrich were truly conservative. In July 1983, the *Conservative Digest* compared the voting scores of the leading conservatives in Congress based on ratings from the American Conservative Union, the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, the National Conservative Political Action Committee, and THE NEW AMERICAN'S own Conservative Index. Congressman McDonald topped the list at a combined 98.3 percent. Congressman Gingrich weighed in at an anemic 77.5 percent.

CFR-Crafted Conservative

However, by beating his chest more loudly, trumpeting his message more stridently, and pursuing power more ruthlessly than all others, Gingrich has won the title of Maximum Leader of the "Conservative Revolution." Not that it was all his own doing, by any means; the CFR-dominated "liberal" media have been only too accommodating in crafting conservative bona fides for one of their own. It is a sickeningly familiar redux.

In 1976, CFR front man Jimmy Carter was presented to us by the same CFR media elites as a "conservative" Southern Baptist from Georgia who would give us the "change" America needed. In 1992 it was CFR member Bill Clinton, another "conservative" Southern Baptist from Arkansas who was sold to the country as the ticket to positive "change," the "New Democrat" with "traditional values" and a "New Covenant." Now comes "conservative" Southern Baptist and CFR member Newt Gingrich, with promises of drastic "change" and a new "contract." If you're beginning to sense another imminent betrayal, congratulations: you're catching on. ■



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