

How did Kemp avoid scrutiny of HUD's mismanagement during his tenure? His personal style proved to be a useful distraction, and his press handlers worked overtime. A Washington Journalism Review story later marveled that he managed to avoid accountability for financial mismanagement that rivaled any in HUD's history. Republicans did not want to criticize one of their own, and Democrats were too bedazzled by the stupefying number of new programs that Kemp initiated to complain. In short, hardly anyone seemed to care that billions of taxpayer dollars were being ground up in HUD's corrupt, bureaucratic machinery.

## The Last Straw

During this presidential campaign, Dole has done his best to sound like he knows the issues that matter to people. For example, Dole talks about the 10th amendment and states rights, while Kemp bitterly opposes both. Dole once sounded a skeptical note about the World Trade Organization. Kemp has never done so. He campaigned wildly in favor of both Nafta and Gatt, dubbing them as free trade instead of the central management they truly are. Dole has doubted the merits of unlimited immigration, whereas Kemp is utterly bonkers on the issue.

Without Kemp, there was a case to be made that a Clinton victory would be less bad than a Dole presidency, especially if the Republicans keep Congress. Conservatives—even some neocons—have been openly making that case. Since Dole picked Kemp, neoconserva-

tives have stopped carping about the ticket. That's because the neocons would be treated very well by a vice president Kemp in terms of both appointments and access, and—they hope—by a president Kemp four years hence. Thus the *Wall Street Journal* has shifted from skepticism about the ticket to complete love.

Part of Jack Kemp's reputation is due to his socialism in Republican/tax-cut garb. The other part is due to his foreign-policy views. He epitomizes the worst sort of aggressive internationalism, favoring every manner of foreign aid and troops all over the world. The man who once chained himself to the fence of the South African embassy to protest apartheid has never met a foreign war he didn't like. In fact, war may be the ultimate danger of a Dole-Kemp administration.

For any true man of the right, or anyone who would like to see an end to the welfare-warfare state, Kemp should be the last straw. He is worse than Colin Powell (the man Kemp actually supported for the Republican nomination, according to Christopher Caldwell of the *Weekly Standard*). He is worse, even, than Bill Clinton.

Unlike a run-of-the-mill vp, Kemp would exercise undue influence in the Dole administration, and play up to Dole's worst big-government instincts. Under no circumstances can we allow ourselves to be ruled by a Dole-Kemp regime. It would mean the dictatorship of the most menacing social democratic element among the neoconservatives.

## The Silver Lining

Despite what the media say, Kemp has plenty of enemies in the

party, and Kemp's sudden new prominence may shock them out of their stupor. If there is really a possibility that the Republican Party could crack up this November, as Lew Rockwell suggests, there's no one better to head it than Jack Kemp, the tax-cutting Menshevik.

The Kempization of the Party will provide the incentive for gun advocates, Christian rightists, libertarians, anti-unionists, anti-immigrationists, and foreign-policy isolationists to go elsewhere, as they should. It may just be the impetus they need to bolt the Republican Party once and for all. If the

GOP's "big tent" is destined to collapse, there's no one better to be standing under it than Kemp. If the party does not collapse—and it elites continue to ignore the views of its grass roots—it will be too left-wing for any true freedom lover to support. ■

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# Don't Vote for Dole

*by Paul Gottfried*

**H**aving long considered doing an essay on why paleos should not vote for Dole, it is becoming apparent that this plea is becoming superfluous. Even with the addition of long-time paleo beté noir and neocon noisemaker Jack Kemp to the ticket, Clinton still retains the electoral edge.

Regardless, it is crucial that authentic conservatives and libertarians (as opposed to mere Republi-

## The Randy Quarterback

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cans or neoconservative job-hunters) do not cave in and support Dole out of pity or misplaced hatred for Clinton. Such a gesture, if widespread, could contribute to dire consequences. Allow me to outline the reasons why I think this is so.

First, there is no value in attaching oneself to a sinking ship, particularly if it deserves to sink. Second, while Dole has spent a great deal of energy courting Powell and Kemp, he is merely using those on his right only to abandon them. During the Republican primaries, Dole sought aid from Christian right voters in the South, and with an assist from Ralph Reed, won over many of them in South Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia. But once the Christian vote was under his belt, Dole began to move in the opposite direction, expressing his openness to "tolerance" and pro-choice vice presidential candidates, and finally developing a new appreciation for affirmative action.

To be sure, Dole halted his leftward march long enough to pose for pictures with Cardinal O'Connor of New York. He also smiled beatifically while the Cardinal depicted him as an opponent of abortion. But the next day, Dole was wooing Colin Powell as a running mate. He courted the retired general furiously but Powell stayed away. He then picked the next best thing in Kemp, who, if possible, is even more self-consciously egalitarian.

Third, it might be argued that a Dole presidency would be worse for the real right than another four years under Clinton. The only "right" that Dole consistently accommodates is the neoconservatives. On June 21, the *Wall Street Journal* explained tendentiously as well as ungrammatically that "foreign policy conservatives are bolting the Clinton

camp, endorsing Dole's campaign bid."

As one picked one's way through such newspeak, it became clear that neocon job-seekers, having been disappointed by Clinton's reluctance to employ them or seek their counsel, had turned their attention to Dole. Joshua Muravchik, Penn Kemble, Samuel Huntington, and "Reagan human rights chief" Richard Schifter are among those "conservatives" who have defected to the other side, after having previously gone over to Clinton in 1991 (an embarrassing point that the neocon *Journal* understandably omits).

A Dole-Kemp presidency featuring these global social democrats and hyper-Likudniks would be a

raging bull internationally while being domestically indistinguishable from the present administration. It would likely be the worst of all presidential possibilities, combining liberal social policies at home with aggressive internationalism and selective appeals to "human rights" abroad. Dole-Kempism would be Clinton-Gorism with a vengeance, and inasmuch as it would be presented as Republican and "conservative," anyone who criticized it from the right would be branded as a kook.

Dole also seems to believe that he can win a sizable part of the Jewish vote by allying himself with Zionist hardliners. Whence another reason for his grabbing hold of neoconservative personalities. But here too he is stupid as well as opportunistic. In a poll, though about 35% of American Jews supported the Likud coalition of Netanyahu, more than 50% expressed sympathy for the Labor Party and its peacemaking efforts. Likud supporters include all of the Jewish conservative principals.

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A cautionary tale may be in order to drive home these remarks. In a CNN interview conducted on July 14, Kemp tried to illustrate Dole's taking a moral stand. The example that came to his mind was the way Dole had vigorously sponsored the Martin Luther King national holiday. Unlike opposition to affirmative action, it was not something on which Dole had backed down.

Conservatives should leave it to liberals and neocons to reward Dole for his beau geste. Their own course should be to abandon him to his ungrateful friends on the left, and to await a Clinton victory with moderate expectations. A second Clinton term is not likely to be worse than any term won by Dole; nor will it likely be described as the work of conservative Republicans reaching out.■

## Media Flames of Hate

by Hugh Murray

**T**he politicians and media have stressed the alleged white racism behind large numbers of fires at black churches in recent months. Yet, in an Associated Press story by Fred Bayles (*Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* of 5 July 1996 on page 1), he acknowledges with the headline, "Arson study finds little racism proof."

More important is how the Clinton Administration and the media have manipulated this story by ignoring significant data. Thus, in October 1995, the day before the Million Man March on Washington, Malik Zulu Shabazz, a spokesman for Unity Nation declared in a speech televised nationally by C-