EDITOR’S NOTE: The following commentary by MRC President Brent Bozell was published in The Washington Post, on Sunday, March 9, 2008.

The airwaves and op-ed pages are filled with the voices of John McCain surrogates and other members of the professional political class dismissing as irrelevant the conservative talk show community.

Fred Barnes writes in The Wall Street Journal that McCain needn’t worry about conservatives uncomfortable with his candidacy because “while they love to grumble and grouse, conservatives tend to be loyal Republicans who wind up voting for their party’s candidate.”

In those same pages, former Bob Dole advisor Mark Halperin savages those conservatives, like Rush Limbaugh, Sean Hannity and Mark Levin for daring to speak out against McCain. “Rather than playing recklessly with electoral politics by sabotaging their own party ostensibly for its impurity but equally for the sake of their self-indulgent pique,” he states, “each of these compulsive talkers might be a tad less self-righteous, look to the long run, discipline himself, suck it up, and be a man. And that would apply equally as well to the gorgeous Laura Ingraham and the relentlessly crocodilian Ann Coulter.”

GOP elitists scoffed at Ronald Reagan’s conservatism, and he won the presidency – twice. McCain should follow Reagan.

I know this movement. I’ve been in the trenches fighting for an alphabet soup of conservative causes for 30 years. I’ve raised hundreds of millions of dollars for it. I earnestly hope John McCain isn’t listening to the advice he’s getting from these folks.

Their thinking betrays a fundamental misread of the conservative pulse in America today.

For 20 years we conservatives have been told by the moderate establishment of the GOP to sit down and shut up, and do as we were told. History shows that sometimes we bite the bullet. But not always. I absolutely guarantee that this year we cannot be taken for granted. This is a movement fed up with betrayals.

In 1988 there were plenty of qualified conservative candidates — du Pont, Kemp, Laxalt, Robertson (for evangelicals, anyway) — prepared to succeed Ronald Reagan, but the GOP establishment, along with the professional political class rallied around George H. W. Bush, an unthinkable proposition for conservatives just eight years before. After a listless campaign start, Bush finally energized the conservative base with his “No new taxes!” pledge at the New Orleans convention. We carried him to victory in November.

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Within two years he’d broken that promise and delivered the largest tax increase in history. His nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court was preemptively neutralized by his earlier selection of David Souter (Bush picked Souter first in 1990, Thomas came afterward in 1991).

After brilliantly commanding Desert Storm, he squandered a 91 percent approval rating. He did nothing to advance the conservative cause. He did not cut taxes. He did not reign in federal spending and regulation. He did nothing on social and cultural issues.

By 1992, we who had dined at the table of Ronald Reagan had been banished to the GOP kitchen. As National Review editorialized at the time, establishment Republicans “took conservative support for granted, reasoning from the dogma of the two-party system that disaffected conservatives had ‘nowhere else to go.’”

They were wrong. Some of us turned to Buchanan, who disrupted the primary season. Others turned to Perot, who led the field until he imploded. Still others simply stayed home, and in November Bush was soundly defeated.

Two years later, the “Contract With America” reversed the GOP’s fortunes.

With a re-ignited conservative base, Republicans captured both houses of Congress. But in the face of a liberal counter-attack led by the national news media, Republican resistance crumbled. The Contract was abandoned, and overnight the Gingrich Revolution was finished. We watched Republican “leaders” flee into the tall grass, from whence they’ve never emerged.

In 1996, a new crop of conservative leaders presented themselves as presidential candidates, but again the party establishment would have none of Forbes, Buchanan, Gramm or Quayle. Instead they pooled their resources behind Bob Dole, who offered nothing to energize the conservative base while the professional class confidently clucked that conservatives had “nowhere else to go.” Again we stayed home. Again the moderate candidate was routed.

How disgruntled was the conservative base? Two years later, the GOP lost five seats in the House, the first time since 1822 that a party not in control of the White House had failed to gain seats in the mid-term of a President’s second term.

But after eight years of Bill Clinton’s corruption, and facing the prospect of at least four more years of this regime with Al Gore at the helm, conservatives rallied and threw our support behind George W. Bush. He initially delivered by leading the charge in cutting taxes, and his political stature further increased when the nation rallied behind its commander-in-chief after 9/11. He won re-election in 2004 because conservatives stayed with him, delivering millions of volunteers committed to the defeat of John Kerry.

But any hopes that in a second term Bush would deliver on a conservative agenda evaporated almost immediately. We watched with growing fury as Bush and the GOP leadership promoted one liberal initiative after another.

Finally, we openly rebelled, turning on the GOP over Harriet Miers, amnesty for illegal aliens and the Republicans’ shameless abandonment of fiscal discipline. What was once a powerful alliance between the Republican Party and grassroots conservatives had become a political bridge to nowhere.

With the GOP facing the loss of Congress in 2006, we shrugged in disinterest.

The movement that had “nowhere else to go” had left.

And it has not returned.

How important are conservatives to the GOP? The Republican primary debate was dominated by one question: Who is the most qualified to carry the flag of Ronald Reagan?

Ironically, the man who survived this intramural scrum is the one who arguably least qualifies as a Reagan conservative. He claims to be a champion of freedom, but gave us McCain-Feingold, perhaps the greatest infringement ever on the First Amendment. He claims to be a champion of American sovereignty but gave us McCain-Kennedy, which is an amnesty no matter how much he denies it. He claims to be a champion of the unborn, but has waffled on this in the past, supporting federal funding of embryonic stem cell research, and winning the endorsement of Republicans for Choice. He

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Mi Tio

Thirty years ago, I was fresh out of college, with no particular career path chosen, and decided I’d like to be a nationally syndicated columnist. I’d learn rather quickly that before being one, one has to become one, and to qualify on that caliber one has to demonstrate a talent which this young man didn’t possess.

Bill Buckley told me so. I’d penned a couple of practice pieces, one having something to do with Jimmy Carter’s choice of Muhammad Ali as his ambassador-at-large to Africa, another on something equally memorable, and sent them to Bill, asking for his critique.

Now, Bill was famous for his correspondence. Just about anyone writing him received an answer. He wrote letters by the thousands.

I’d begun a correspondence with him back in the early ‘70s while boarding in a Spanish high school. It was always a joy to receive a letter from anyone across the Atlantic, but what ecstasy when the envelope bore the distinct National Review imprint! His were always short notes, three or four lines long, always with kind words, always with encouragement, always expressing his love, and always signed, usually in red ink, xxx, Tio.

Once or twice he initiated the correspondence, about this or that. One time it was to tell my brother Michael and me that he was arranging to fly us to meet him in Gstaad for the weekend. Another letter contained a short typewriter burst telling me how much he’d enjoyed reading a lengthy letter I’d sent my parents about an Easter vacation vagabonding across three countries on $5. The letter was clipped to the newest issue of National Review. On the cover, “A 16 Year-Old’s Easter Vacation in Europe.” He’d been tickled enough to reproduce it for his magazine readership in its meandering entirety.

So it was only fitting that I send him my two cracks at nationally syndicated columnist-hood and solicit his feedback. A week or so later his answer arrived, this time four pages long. Word by word, sentence by sentence, piec by piece he tore my columns to shreds. This wasn’t a forensic examination. He’d determined the very concept to be journalistically DOA and he’d performed an autopsy on the cadavers.

There were minor injuries but two fatal ones. First, he explained, the columnist must limit his attention to a specific thought, and a rambling piece about all the different things Ali was doing in all those different countries in Africa failed that smell test miserably. Second, the columnist must know whereof he speaks, and though I can’t recall his words, I can reduce them to one thought: You don’t know diddly.

I wasn’t ready for primetime, and family or no family — or maybe because I was family — he was going to be brutally honest. Tough stuff, that. Thirty years later I’m finding it equally tough finding the right way now to bid goodbye to William F. Buckley, Jr.

So much has been written about his manifold professional accomplishments — nothing unique there. So many also have penned such heartwarming personal remembrances. I suppose I could go down that road, but there’s a rub here, too. Our friendship was personal, but it was also private, and, dear reader, I hope you will understand my reluctance to open those doors.

Still, I have to say something.

Almost 11 years ago my own father passed away. Bill and he had been best friends in college but fierce philosophical disagreements led to open political warfare and ultimately personal estrangement. More than once they attempted reconciliation, because they worshipped each other, but for whatever reason it was not meant to be. So they suffered privately.

When Bill learned my father was on his deathbed, he called me. There was clear anguish in his voice. “You must call me the moment your father dies. The moment.” I didn’t, and still don’t understand his reason for that directive, but I honored his wishes the next morning. I gave him the news. He gasped in grief — and hung the phone.

That was pretty much my reaction when my sister Maureen called me with the news of Bill Buckley’s passing. We’d learn later that he died at his desk, working on his computer.

Over the years, we’d traded emails, probably by the hundreds. We normally wrote in Spanish, just because. He was always Mi Tio to me, and I Hijo Mio to him — again, just because. I can smile through the tears because now I know he read my final note, which I sent the day before he died.

Mi Tio, Te amo.
Bits & Pieces

Rather Timely

In what is perhaps both supremely ironic and supremely appropriate, the New York Times ran a front-page hit piece on Sen. John McCain on Feb. 21 and one of the leading reporters to come to the paper’s defense was Dan “National Guard Forgery” Rather. Yes, three days after the NYT was slammed for its smear job of McCain — implying he had sex with a 40-something lobbyist and did special favors for her telecom clients 10 years ago — Neuharth went on to recount when he told Castro that profits from Gannett’s other papers subsidized losses at USA Today, the Marxist quipped, “Aha! Your company and my country are both socialist!” Neuharth clearly relished that for, as he wrote, “I paused, said, ‘touché,’ and lifted a glass of Cuban rum. Then we talked capitalism and socialism and sports until 3:55 a.m.” How cozy.

Swift Boat Obama?

NBC Today’s Matt Lauer quickly set up defense for Sen. Barack Obama in his Feb. 19 interview of the Democratic presidential contender, warning him and Today’s 6.5 million viewers to watch out for apparent Republican dirty tricks. “Have you stopped to think what the Obama version of Swift Boating might be in this campaign cycle if you get to the general election?” Lauer asked. “What did they do to John Kerry, what’s that version going to be with Barack Obama?”

Al ‘Fidel’ Neuharth

No one would take seriously a newspaperman who joked and spoke highly of a bloody tyrant, such as Stalin, Mao, or Pol Pot, but USA Today founder Al Neuharth did essentially that in his Feb. 22 column for the No. 1 paper in the country. In the piece, Neuharth hailed Communist dictator Fidel Castro for how “he outfoxed 10 consecutive U.S. Presidents.” And, recalling a meeting with him 20 years ago, Neuharth wrote that he found Castro — responsible for the imprisonment and death of nearly 1 million Cubans — to be “brilliantly briefed.”

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They should be trusted and especially Executive Editor Bill Keller, lectured Rather, because they are “responsible journalists” and would never report something that wasn’t true — unlike Rather, who lost his job at CBS because of his shoddy reporting: a hit job on George W. Bush about his Vietnam era service in the National Guard. Keller, Rather, Matthews: Birds of a feather, emblissch together.

Go Danes!

CBS’s 60 Minutes is obsessed with moving America more quickly down the path to socialism. This was clear again in a Feb. 17 segment, when reporter Morley Safer prattled endlessly about the happy Danes — Denmark ranks as the happiest country in the world. “What makes a Dane so happy?” quizzed Safer. “And why isn’t he wallowing in misery and self-doubt like so many of the rest of us?”

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Over at CNN, lead reporter Wolf Blitzer did essentially the same on Feb. 12, pressing black conservative talk radio host Larry Elder: “How worried are you — and you’re obviously sympathetic to the Republicans — that if Barack Obama gets the Democratic presidential nomination, that there could be elements of racism that come up from the other side? ... I’m talking about the Willie Horton kind of commercials, the ads that could be used potentially against Barack Obama.”

Fuehrer Bush

MSNBC’s Keith Olbermann tore into President Bush — again — on Feb. 14, railing that the president’s plan to veto any intelligence surveillance bill that did not grant immunity to telecom companies was another brick in the road to fascism. Bush is a “liar” who is “slinging crap” and using “a form of terrorism against his own people” to gain support, Olbermann fumed.
ABC’s David Wright still stuck in the 1960s: “Today they gathered by the thousands at American University, sensing a moment of history. ... The Kennedy clan anointed Barack Obama a son of Camelot.”

And CBS’s Harry Smith on the same bus: “It feels like the ’60s are back. In the civic religion that is Democratic politics, the most treasured covenant was passed to the young Senator from Illinois.” ■ ABC’s Kate Snow, reporting from Hollywood, can’t contain herself: “Well, this is where the Oscars take place, right? So, the nominees for best performance in a televised debate go to Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton.” ■ CBS’s Katie Couric applauds John Edwards’ liberalism: “He encouraged his fellow Democrats to speak out for the disenfranchised and under-served. He was the first to raise issues like poverty, universal health care and climate change, proposing big ideas — sometimes controversial ideas — to meet big challenges.” ■ ABC’s Terry Moran apparently inhaled and thus waxed about Bill Clinton: “The man often called the most gifted politician of his generation is once again at the center of American politics, taking over the 2008 Democratic campaign. And he’s clearly loving every minute of it. He lectures and jokes around and feels your pain and implores you to believe.” ■ This is how ABC’s Martha Raddatz reports on Bush’s proposed 5% spending increase for health care: “The President’s budget slashes billions of dollars in the growth of federal health care programs. Medicare and Medicaid would be cut by almost $200 billion.” ■ MSNBC’s Chris Matthews reveals his true feelings for Barack Obama: “I have to tell you, you know, it’s part of reporting this case, this election, the feeling most people get when they hear Barack Obama’s speech. My, I felt this thrill going up my leg. I mean, I don’t have that too often.” ■ Finally, actor Richard Belzer explains Iraq war spending to HBO’s Bill Maher: “This is a big heist, this is a big heist. The right wing is in power, the bankers are screwing everyone — the oil companies, Halliburton — this is no f---ing mystery. It started with Reagan crushing the poor, crushing the unions ....”

Minibits

Chris Matthews on MSNBC’s Hardball, with ratings in the cellar, lectures his audience that Rush Limbaugh, with 13 million listeners, “is irrelevant.”

“Could global warming one day force us into space to live?” teased the intro. Champion then mimicked Al Gore and dismissed any criticism of the liberal climate change line: “The debate put aside, scientists now agree our world is getting warmer.” This is the same Sam Champion who warned (and as noted by the MRC) in 2007 that global warming could kill billions of people and the government must spend trillions of dollars to fix the entire planet.

**Rush Envy**

MSNBC’s Chris Matthews has audience ratings that are lower than those of his more left-wing colleague Keith Olbermann — in other words, in the cellar, fewer than 400,000 viewers, while talk-radio host Rush Limbaugh reaches 13 million people everyday and was ranked, again, the No. 1 talk radio host of the year by Talkers Magazine. Nonetheless, Matthews took a cheap swipe at Limbaugh after listening to a reporter comment that the New York Times’s shoddy story on Sen. McCain and a lobbyist might push more conservatives to support McCain.

**Beam Me Up**

ABC’s Sam Champion, the Good Morning America weatherman and all-around global warming doomsayer proposed on Feb. 8 that global warming could cause “the ultimate climate disaster” and force mankind to abandon Earth and live in space. “If the world warms by six degrees, it would be the ultimate climate disaster,” nagged Champion. “Natural disasters become routine and catastrophic flooding leaves major cities abandoned.”

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claims to be a fiscal conservative who will make the Bush tax cuts permanent, but also voted against them.

These are serious issues. Conservative leaders, particularly those in talk radio, cannot and will not be silent. They will not betray their principles and their audiences. They, better than anyone, understand the conservative mood. They have tens of millions of activists who turn to them for guidance. These activists could be, and need to be, McCain's ground troops, but unless and until conservatives believe him, and believe in him, they will not work for his election. McCain may have the Beltway crowd in his corner, but grassroots conservatives are not sold. (Mr. Halperin should ask President Dole how well that formula works.)

Yet, through his surrogates, McCain is attacking these conservative leaders. It is beyond folly, beyond stupidity. It is political suicide.

What should McCain do? Saying he's not Hillary or Obama will not be enough, not this time. Repudiating positions he's embraced that are anathema to conservatism won't be enough, either. The liberal base of the Democratic Party is on fire. He must bring an equal passion to the table with his conservative base. It is time for McCain to be Reagan.

Sen. McCain, America is slipping into socialism. You believe in freedom. Demonstrate it. Take the yoke off the American taxpayer. You've embraced making the Bush tax cuts permanent. Good. Now pledge to end the death tax, and lower the corporate tax rate to 25 percent. In fact, call for a complete overhaul of our tax system. The Flat Tax or the Fair Tax — either is preferable to the monstrosity that is the IRS.

The federal government is out of control. Don’t talk about “reigning in the growth of government.” Those are empty words. Call for the elimination of entire sectors of the federal leviathan. Be specific. Pledge to return back to the states that which is their responsibility, and which comes under their authority. Show how you will deregulate the private sector, and how you will once again unleash America’s economic might. Champion private retirement accounts and health savings accounts.

Sen. McCain, leftist activists are running amok in the federal judiciary. Pledge an end to this abuse and place the left on notice — now — that if elected you will not tolerate congressional obstructionism with your nominations. Pledge to reverse Kelo.

Sen. McCain, our culture is rotting from within and most Republicans have been shamefully AWOL on this issue. Begin a national conversation about parents, not the state, taking responsibility for their children and their communities. Call for the entertainment industry to stop polluting America’s youth in their videos, in their music and on the Internet. Call for America to honor the sanctity of life, the sanctity of marriage and the family. Call for America to return God to the public square.

When you offer this kind of vision, Sen. McCain, those Washington elitists will scoff. Just remember that they also scoffed and dismissed Ronald Reagan, all the way to his election. And re-election.
The experts at the Media Research Center are interviewed almost every day on stories of national importance, often reaching millions of Americans daily. They provide analysis and commentary on radio, TV, the Internet, in magazines, books and in newspapers, always striving to help restore political balance to the major media. Some of the MRC’s latest media appearances include the following:

**Television**

**FNC:**
- Fox News Live, Feb. 21
- Fox Business Network, Feb. 8
- Hannity & Colmes, Feb. 7, 8, 22

**C-SPAN:**
- Washington Journal, Feb. 22

**CBN:**
- NewsWatch, Feb. 25

**CNN:**
- Headline News Glenn Beck, Feb. 11
- The Situation Room, Feb. 6, 12, 20

**MSNBC:**
- Morning News, Feb. 3

**Radio**

Rush Limbaugh Show, Feb. 5
Thom Hartmann Show, Feb. 8
Martha Zoller Show, Feb. 8
USA Radio Network, Feb. 8
Dateline, Feb. 12
Sean Hannity Show, Jan. 28
Michael Reagan Show, Feb. 1
Lars Larson Show, Feb. 6
G. Gordon Liddy Show, Feb. 7
Flipside Show, Feb. 11
Family News in Focus, Feb. 5
Faith 2 Action, Feb. 4
American Family News, Feb. 13
Kresta in the Afternoon, Feb. 21
XM Satellite Radio, Feb. 26
NRA News, Feb. 8
USA Radio Point of View, Feb. 19
WLW, Cincinnati, OH, Feb. 19
WIBA, Madison, WI, Feb. 11, 20

**Internet**

FoxNews.com, Feb. 21
Frontrunner, Feb. 22
WorldNetDaily, Feb. 15
Human Events Online, Jan. 31, Feb. 18
Townhall.com, Feb. 1, 2, 8, 12
Religion News blog, Feb. 14
OneNewsNow, Feb. 15
Entrepreneur.com, Feb. 10
WJSOnline, Feb. 13
TVNewser, Jan. 26
Kansas.com blog, Jan. 26
Drudge Report, Feb. 6

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**Print**

Washington Post, Feb. 29
Washington Times, Feb. 5, 6, 11, 14, 18, 20, 22
New York Times, Feb. 16
The Politico, Feb. 22
Cincinnati Enquirer, Feb. 22
Associated Press, Feb. 15
San Jose Mercury News, Feb. 17
Courier-Post, Feb. 18
Waterloo Cedar Falls Courier, Feb. 18
Virginia Pilot, Feb. 20
National Ledger, Feb. 19
Contra Costa Times, Feb. 22
Financial Times, Feb. 12
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Feb. 15
Pittsburgh Tribune-Review, Feb. 4
National Post, Feb. 5
Chronicle of Higher Education, Feb. 8

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POST-TAX ANALYSIS
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