

*In , Republican Party leaders were terrified by the ascent of the conservative Arizona senator Barry Goldwater.*

The statue of Sen. Capitol is quietest early on a Sunday morning. Not even overnight maintenance crews, curators or custodial workers. The House remains on a five-week hiatus. The Capitol subsists in solitude on Sunday morning. Bereft of the hair-on-fire bustle which dominates the other days. A deafening hush cloaked the vacant Capitol in the wee hours of Sunday morning. I was there to report on the Saturday night death of Sen. I passed a couple of U. Capitol Police officers in the underground tunnels and at the door. But as far as I could tell, we were the only people present in the immense expanse of the most-famous building in the world. I cut through the center of the Capitol Rotunda, a cavern of emptiness on Sunday morning. The nation will focus its attention on the middle of the Rotunda on Friday. The most recent was Sen. And I always remember the sound. The muffled shuffling of feet as the crowd pinwheels around the casket. I wanted to snap a picture of the statue of Sen. McCain came to the Senate in after two-terms in the House. McCain was stepping into the shadow of a legend in Goldwater. Yet their careers featured symbiotic parallels. Both earned the Republican nomination for president and lost. There were questions about whether both men met the Constitutional qualifications for president. McCain was born in the U. Both chaired the Senate Armed Services Committee. I arrived at the Goldwater statue and stared for a moment. And in the Sunday silence of Statuary Hall, I heard something. A singular sound echoing off the marble of the Capitol. Not white noise, filling the acoustical void. There was no air conditioning blowing. No distant sound of a vacuum, or car horns, or voices ricocheting around the columns. Just a solitary ticking, inaudible during the daily commotion at the Capitol. She clasps a book in her left hand, documenting the events she witnesses in her journal. The clock on the wheel of the chariot, positioned dead center above the doorway. The daily chaos which consumes the Capitol typically dampened the ticking. But this was Sunday morning. The ticking was muted. But there it was. The only audible thing in the cavernous, empty Capitol. The silent desolation of the building seemingly ballooned the milliseconds between each tick, filling a temporal chasm which seemed longer than a second. The ticking reminded me that the longer I stood there, I was losing time. The Capitol was barren, otherwise frozen in suspended animation. But appearances can be deceiving. John McCain ran out of time the night before. I covered McCain for years. But what I remember most about McCain is that he was always in a hurry. After votes on the Senate floor, McCain would dash down to the Senate subway station, hustling to a hearing or an important meeting in his office. And then a third time. Maybe a fourth, practically punching it. John McCain was known to always be in a hurry, and would hit a little call button nearby to summon a car in the Senate subway station. I often wondered if McCain was always in such a rush to make up for his years of captivity in Vietnam. And McCain was in a hurry. Cyber Command could provide satellite and drone imagery about what went down. Days spilled off the calendar. Perhaps in more ways than one. He lost a lot of time in Vietnam. To McCain, every moment was precious. Back in Statuary Hall, the clock on the chariot wheel ticks. The seconds melt unrelentingly into the silence. What will Clio scribble down in her book? He was running out of time. And we are, too.

**Chapter 2 : Barry Goldwater's Curious Campaign | Alicia Patterson Foundation**

*But just as the shadow of defeat minimized Goldwater's achievement, the bright sun of victory has tended to exaggerate it. There is by no means a straight line from the to the campaign. Like another seminal political event, Franklin D. Roosevelt's "balance the budget" campaign in , Goldwater's campaign achieved its larger impact.*

It came at a time after a presidential assassination, after race riots and uprisings injuring thousands and killing dozens. It came at a time when civil disobedience in response to unfair laws and governmental practices had become an anticipated and daily occurrence. Ironically, this same sort of rhetoric under similar political conditions would help sail Trump into victory over 50 years later. On the surface, America had taken more steps closer to greatness than it had ever taken before; not because America had resolved its ugly past and present global contradictions, but because for once, a black man could stand before America and say in good conscience that he believed the United States Constitution also applied to him. It was a short-lived window of progress. Although the election of President Obama brought together progressives from around the world, it also unified racist hatred inspiring hundreds of incidents of anti-Obama violence. Nooses were hung from trees, Obama signs and crosses were burned on lawns, and people were assaulted. The country became polarized. At my own job at the time, the office split down the middle. Blacks and whites that had once considered each other friends, shared joint lunches and chatted on a regular basis became reticent towards one another. One person even reported an Obama t-shirt to human resources. With oppressive policies and discrimination came mobilization and civil disobedience in ways reminiscent of the s. The Occupy Movement was mobilized against capitalism in Black Lives Matter began as a hashtag in following the murder of Trayvon Martin and galvanized the country in following the police murder of Mike Brown and the uprisings in Ferguson, Baltimore, and other cities across the United States. Americans were no longer accepting things as they were. Unfortunately, not all who resist are on the right side of history. First, fear and anxiety towards a Trump administration among Blacks was no longer sure-fire support for the Democratic Party in As much as the mostly white Republican Party had grown tired of the middle of the road Republicans they felt had not had their backs, many black Democrats had grown wary of a middle of the road Democratic Party they realized could not represent the full scope of their humanity. Their attraction to Bernie Sanders and the failure to elect Hillary Clinton showed proof of that. Trump has managed to channel both Barry Goldwater and Nelson Rockefeller seemingly archenemies into one mighty titan rolled into one. What better way to secure a global oil fortune? Trump is a capitalist and American capitalism is intertwined with racism. She was born and raised in Detroit, Michigan and is intricately involved in water rights, digital justice and visionary organizing work in Detroit. You can learn more about Tawana "Honeycomb" Petty by visiting [honeycombthepoet](http://honeycombthepoet). Follow her on Twitter at [CombsThePoet](https://twitter.com/CombsThePoet). Help support nearly ad-free blogging at [Eclectablog](http://Eclectablog) With YOUR support, all regular contributors at [Eclectablog](http://Eclectablog) are paid for their work. If you would like to send a check to avoid fees being taken out, send it to: Box 32, Dexter, MI Otherwise, you can use this Paypal form: Want to make a recurring monthly donation? Enter the amount you want to pay each month:

**Chapter 3 : Walt Disney: Hollywood's Dark Prince - Wikipedia**

*The Goldwater legacy that has weighed so heavily on Barry Jr. began with his great-grandfather in Michael Goldwasser, then 14 and one of 22 children of a poor Jewish family, set out from.*

The author is a left-wing Catholic, but he respects and empathizes with some aspects of conservatism - at least in the Burkean sense of a need for preservation and moderation. To an outside, the beliefs of modern American conservatism seem perverse and contradictory. Dionne says, of course, that they mean it - they do want to reduce government to the minimum level possible, and they do blame it for social alienation or economic want. This is a daring investigation into the American politics of resentment. Dionne says, of course, that they mean it - they do want to reduce government to the minimum level possible, and they do blame it for social alienation or economic want. But this is selective - much of this conservative base prefers to keep their Social Security or Medicare. The problem then is the difference between their reactionary idealism and the demands of government as it exists. The history of conservative politics, Dionne argues, is full of appeals to this base, and then perceived betrayals or failures - first Goldwater who suffered a staggering loss in , Richard Nixon Vietnam, China, Watergate , H. Bush taxation , or W. Even Reagan, the standard bearer of conservative resurgence, would now be treated with some betrayal or suspicion - which one of the leading Republican candidates in would dare to suggest reducing the nuclear arsenal or amnesty for illegal immigrants or the benefits of diplomacy? Another element of conservative fear is that of being left behind by demographic and social changes of the rest of the country. Likewise, there is also a degree of alienation in a sea of generational change - take the rapid progress of LGBT rights, for another example, which would have been unthinkable ten years ago. This is made manifest in resentment of political elites. Much has been made about political polarization and the inability of the political parties to cooperate. But Dionne says this is an uneven polarization. Bernie Sanders stands almost alone with even a return to FDR-style social democracy; but there are many Tea Party candidates, self styled conservative revolutionaries, already in government who steadfastly refuse to compromise. This yields an environment where compromise and deliberate government is nearly impossible, where even incomplete market liberalism is considered a betrayal, or a long road down to the continual boogeyman of socialism. For them, this ideology cannot fail, it can only ever be failed. A further invocation of its principles, this time, will therefore lead to its real success. If not now, then they will do it again. They, who are not real Americans, have made America weak, we will make it great again. Dionne proposes a different paths. But what will make them change their minds, or how will anyone else win? How can anyone negotiate with them? As well defeat them as often as we can, challenge the narrative at every chance, push through campaign finance reform, guarantee the right to vote for all, mobilize them, and let demographics do its work - or what, make a covenant with Leviathan? This book has a staggering amount of political detail. This is a convincing story.

Chapter 4 : NPR Choice page

*Beginning with the extremism of Barry Goldwater in his campaign, Dionne charts the course taken by an unyielding conservative political ideology that has effectively eliminated more moderate and centrist Republicans from the party.*

His father was a licensed pharmacist who served as mayor and a town council member; he also served briefly in the South Dakota state legislature and was a South Dakota delegate to the and Democratic National Conventions. A sign featuring a wooden pig was hung over the drugstore to tell the public about this unusual service. I felt ours were better. Long , a future U. He then became an instructor and doctoral student at the University of Minnesota from to joining the American Federation of Teachers , and was a supervisor for the Works Progress Administration WPA. Roosevelt , the Democratic nominee, and Wendell Willkie , the Republican nominee, on a Minneapolis radio station. In , the Humphreys used their savings and his speaking fees to build a lakefront home in Waverly, Minnesota , about 40 miles west of Minneapolis. He was rejected both times for color blindness. In , he was the state director of new production training and reemployment and chief of the Minnesota war service program. Humphrey gained national fame by becoming one of the founders of the liberal anticommunist Americans for Democratic Action ADA , and he served as chairman from to White , "I was mayor once, in Minneapolis It is all or nothing. Shelley , all of whom would later become known as leading progressives in the Democratic Party. They proposed adding a "minority plank" to the party platform that would commit the Democratic Party to more aggressive opposition to racial segregation. Although seen as conservatives, the urban bosses believed that Northern Democrats could gain many black votes by supporting civil rights, with only comparatively small losses from Southern Democrats. As a result, Truman won an upset victory over his Republican opponent, Thomas E. Pulitzer Prize -winning historian David McCullough has written that Humphrey probably did more to get Truman elected in than anyone other than Truman himself. He was reelected in and Senator Richard Russell Jr. In addition, Humphrey sponsored the clause in the McCarran Act of threatening concentration camps for "subversives", [69] and in proposed to make mere membership in the Communist Party a felony, a proposal that failed. It was Humphrey, not Senator [Everett] Dirksen, who played the crucial part in the complex parliamentary games that were needed to pass the Civil Rights Act of He worked for Federal aid to education from , and for a nuclear-test ban treaty from These are the solid monuments of twenty years of effective work for liberal causes in the Senate. Hubert Humphrey is among the whales. The President, knowing how I felt, asked me to introduce legislation for all three. I introduced the first Peace Corps bill in It did not meet with much enthusiasm. Some traditional diplomats quaked at the thought of thousands of young Americans scattered across their world. Many senators, including liberal ones, thought the idea was silly and unworkable. Now, with a young president urging its passage, it became possible and we pushed it rapidly through the Senate. It is fashionable now to suggest that Peace Corps Volunteers gained as much or more, from their experience as the countries they worked. That may be true, but it ought not demean their work. They touched many lives and made them better. Humphrey ran for the Democratic presidential nomination twice before his election to the Vice Presidency in In between these two bids, Humphrey was part of the free-for-all for the vice-presidential nomination at the Democratic National Convention , where he received votes on the first ballot and 74 on the second. Kennedy in the primaries. At one point Humphrey memorably complained that he "felt like an independent merchant competing against a chain store". Jack Kennedy brought family and Hollywood to Wisconsin. The people loved it and the press ate it up. As a result, Humphrey refused to quit the race and decided to run against Kennedy again in the West Virginia primary. According to one biographer "Humphrey thought his chances were good in West Virginia, one of the few states that had backed him in his losing race for vice-president four years earlier The state, moreover, was a citadel of labor. In radio broadcasts, he carefully redefined the issue from Catholic versus Protestant to tolerance versus intolerance. Roosevelt said later that it was the biggest political mistake of his career. He traveled around the state in a rented bus while Kennedy and his staff flew in a large, family-owned airplane. But underneath the beautiful exterior, there was an element of ruthlessness and toughness that I had trouble either accepting or forgetting. Martin Luther King

Jr. At the Democratic National Convention , Johnson kept the three likely vice-presidential candidates, Connecticut Senator Thomas Dodd , fellow Minnesota Senator Eugene McCarthy , and Humphrey, [] as well as the rest of the nation, in suspense before announcing his choice of Humphrey with much fanfare, praising his qualifications at considerable length before announcing his name. Hubert warmed up with a long tribute to the President, then hit his stride as he began a rhythmic jabbing and chopping at Barry Goldwater. Most Democrats and Republicans in the Senate " in fact four-fifths of the members of his own party " voted for the Civil Rights Act, but not Senator Goldwater. Hubert was in fine form. The delegates knew it. And no one could deny that Hubert Humphrey would be a formidable political antagonist in the weeks ahead. Johnson assumed the Presidency after the assassination of John F. Following a successful Viet Cong hit-and-run attack on a US military installation at Pleiku on February 7, where 7 Americans were killed and wounded , Humphrey returned from Georgia to Washington D. In response to this advice, President Johnson punished Humphrey by treating him coldly and restricting him from his inner circle for a number of months, until Humphrey decided to "get back on the team" and fully support the war effort. The nickname referred not to his military hawkishness, but rather to his crusading for social welfare and civil rights programs. I had lost some of my personal identity and personal forcefulness. I ought not to have let a man [Johnson] who was going to be a former President dictate my future. The song goes "Whatever became of Hubert? Has anyone heard a thing? Once he shone on his own, now he sits home alone and waits for the phone to ring. Once a fiery liberal spirit, ah, but now when he speaks he must clear it. On April 15, , Humphrey delivered an address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, pledging the incumbent session of Congress would "do more for the lasting long-term health of this nation" since the initial session in office at the time of Franklin D. During the visit, Humphrey was imposed tight security as a result of the JFK assassination a year and a half prior and the mother of Lee Harvey Oswald was placed under surveillance by Police Chief Cato Hightower. Branton as executive director. Dallek wrote the shift in role was in line with the change in policy the Johnson administration underwent in response to "the changing political mood in the country on aid to African Americans. He said the councils should include representation from all minority groups and religions, state governments, the national guard, and law enforcement agencies and that the United States would see itself out of trouble only when law and order was reestablished. At the time of its beginning, Humphrey indicated that he was "ready to explain and ready to listen. Ahead of the meeting, Humphrey said they would discuss multiple topics including the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, European events, Atlantic alliance strengthening, and "the situation in the far east".

**Chapter 5 : Core Conservative Values After Goldwater | Building a Better GOP**

*The story of conservatism, from the Goldwater s to the present day Tea Party that has resulted in broken promises and an ideological purity that drives moderate Republicans away.*

To get this done we have to recognize a set of changes in the world around us. It will disappoint many in the GOP to discover that conflict is over. The Democrats have struggled to offer a clear definition of themselves in the decades after they accomplished all the things that defined them – Civil Rights, Medicare, Social Security, and so on. For almost fifty years they have been incapable of offering anything to the public beyond extensions or reinventions of what they have already done. Opposing bank regulation and health care reform on the basis of Big Brother hysteria sounds positively loopy. In the wake of our victory over Communism, we are back to an age-old and much less sexy ideological standoff between the rural individualism of Thomas Jefferson and the capitalist values of Alexander Hamilton. If we are to remain relevant as a Party – not just winning elections, but moving the country in a positive direction, we have to strike a balance between the individual liberty that animates Jeffersonian politics, and the Hamiltonian need to harness government power to develop a vibrant and powerful free marketplace. Strike the wrong balance, as we are doing now, and the country goes into a ditch. The anti-government mania that drives the Party as we speak will not curb government spending, it will not curb government expansion, it will not protect civil liberties, and it will not prevent the government from becoming an obstacle rather than an enabler of competitive markets. The Confederate Libertarianism of goofball politicians like Sarah Palin and the Religious Right would make government impotent to accomplish anything besides fighting wars and spying on its citizens. Infrastructure upgrades, updated energy policy, meaningful market regulation, and sensible foreign policy would be out the window. While, if the past administration is any example, we can expect pork-barrel spending to climb through the roof, revenues to decline, and deficits to balloon. So why not just vote Democratic? No, my friends, the Democratic Party is not going to save us. The future of America depends on the outcome of a struggle within the Republican Party that is unlikely to be worked out soon. Conservatives must define themselves positively in favor of individual liberty, a focus on reality over ideology, and in support of people and politicians who are willing to take courageous, intelligent positions on difficult issues. Figures like Ann Coulter, Rush Limbaugh, and Michael Savage long ago unhitched themselves from the dull anchor of reality and make a living selling politics as entertainment. It should be a comedy watching these folks trip over themselves in an endless race to the farthest fringes of political imagination. Anyone who would take seriously the need to reestablish genuinely Conservative values in the Republican Party will have to reckon with this lucrative noise machine. Merely flirting with them or attempting to appease them will lead to continued failure. The McCain campaigns in and are glaring examples. Conservatives will have to find both their senses and their spines if they are going to regain their voice inside the GOP and begin to take the country toward sanity and strength.

**Chapter 6 : Republicans: Toward the Day of Reckoning - TIME**

*The Tea Partiers are the true heirs to Goldwater ideology. The purity movement did more than drive moderates out of the Republican Party--it beat back alternative definitions of conservatism. --Publisher.*

Could he win the presidency in the shadow of John F. He would need help. They put conservative, anti-JFK, anti-Democrat lyrics to old public-domain folk songs, which were becoming all the rage among young liberals thanks to groups like the Weavers and the Kingston Trio. The Bates brothers tracked down a few old friends known to have some musical interest, and after calls to a few school chums, the four-piece was complete. The album cover is a classic. Four squeaky-clean-cut young men, sporting matching AuH<sub>2</sub>O sweaters get it? The album wavers from somewhat clever satire to bad jokes and head-scratching allusions to forgotten talking points. Listen to it at the link below. Much of the topics are familiar, however - welfare, the liberal media, the national debt, foreign wars. The songs are interspersed with a canned laugh track that has uproarious laughter and cheering at particularly unfunny occasions. The release of the Goldwaters album caused an immediate sensation in the Goldwater campaign. The band went on tour, playing at political speeches and rallies in support of Goldwater. Thousands of records were sold. As November approached, the Goldwaters began receiving radio airplay and even a clip on the Huntley-Brinkley Report. The band attracted a following, including a group of cowgirl-clad ladies called the Goldwater Girls. The Goldwaters were on track to become superstars, the next Peter, Paul, and Mary. But history had other plans. In the election, Barry Goldwater lost to Lyndon Johnson in one of the worst landslides in presidential history. The Goldwaters packed away their banjos and matching sweaters, never to be heard from again. In a recent interview with the Conelrad music blog , lead singer Ken Crook admits, "I have played the album for very few people. I have had entire relationships, including marriage, where the other person has no idea of this part of my life.

Chapter 7 : Cutout Bin: The Goldwaters' Liberal-Baiting Folk Songs | Houston Press

*Protests in Franklin, Ohio over Robert E. Lee Monument Taken Down in the Shadow of Darkness. Ohio was a Union state during the Civil War, but as per terms of surrender the stipulations that were met was a promise to honor all Veterans of both the Confederacy and the Union troops equally as American Veterans.*

Print this Updated on Wed, Fifteen years ago Barry Goldwater was a forgotten man, his only claim to posterity that he was routed for the presidency by a vulgar Texan who was forced out of office four years later. There is by no means a straight line from the to the campaign. Like another seminal political event, Franklin D. But in , Goldwater was an extremely reluctant candidate, probably the least ambitious man to seek the presidency in the twentieth century. In withdrawing his name, Goldwater offered a challenge for the future. At a private meeting called six weeks after the campaign by six close supporters, Goldwater refused even to discuss the possibility of a run in He refused again at a private meeting in Palm Beach in December According to Goldwater staff members, he only briefly warmed to the possibility of running for the presidency -during the summer of when President John F. Kennedy appeared vulnerable and when the Draft Committee had begun to make serious inroads among Republican delegates. But after Kennedy was assassinated, Goldwater lost interest again in running for president. Members of the Young Americans for Freedom, which had filled Madison Square Garden to capacity for Goldwater, began petitioning him not to pull out. Finally at a meeting in December with what had become his inner circle Goldwater gave in. In his autobiography, Goldwater summed up the decision, "I had planted the flag on top the hilltop; now I must defend that flag. It was always a kind of pulling him, not quite kicking and screaming, but with a fair amount of resistance. DeToledano calls him a "gut conservative. They had a different psychology than those of us who came out of the East. He never saw real poverty and that sort of thing. Instinctively, Western Republicans felt a lot of government stuff was unnecessary and burdensome. Unlike many other conservatives, Goldwater also remained a loyal Republican. An internationalist, he backed Eisenhower rather than Taft in This has led some conservatives like National Review publisher William Rusher to conclude that Goldwater was never a conservative. During the campaign, Goldwater and his staff froze the two most prominent groups of conservatives out of the campaign. The organizer of the draft Goldwater movement, Clifton White, was retained through the convention at San Francisco, but then relegated to running a "Citizens Committee" for Goldwater. Goldwater resented the pressure that National Review and the Draft Committee brought upon him. Both Goldwater and his principal staff members had tried to move the campaign to the center. It was only the bitterness of the convention that caused Goldwater to make his "extremism" speech and to select conservative William Miller rather than a moderate as his running mate. Kitchel later said, "We figured that National Review readers would all be with us anyway. According to DeToledano and others close to the campaign, Baroody rather than Kitchel was the real power behind the campaign. But he largely operated in what Lichenstein called an "informal back room" manner. And after the campaign, fearful that AEI would lose its tax exemption, he even further played down his own role. Baroody was an "intellectual entrepreneur" who tried to bring expert analysis to bear on behalf of conservative issues and candidates. But he was also a political operator, who, well before , had seized upon Goldwater as his candidate for the presidency. Out of what Burch called "professional jealousy," Baroody saw to it that Buckley and National Review were kept out of the campaign. He not only made sure that Buckley did not appear with Goldwater; he also was probably responsible for the "boarding party" story in the New York Times. After the disastrous San Francisco convention, Baroody also became the most determined to push Goldwater toward the center. The onset of the Vietnam War and the. At the May 12 Garden rally, the young conservatives gave Goldwater almost an hour-long ovation before he spoke -testimony to the depth of their affection and admiration for him. Of course, Eisenhower had done well in the South, but not against a popular Southern Democrat. But he did so almost accidentally. He was very sensitive about his position. But some Goldwater campaign officials, including Executive Director Richard Grenier, an Alabama native, wanted Goldwater to oppose the bill because it would help him in the South. Others were simply opposed to equal rights for Negroes. His analysis started from the

point of view of political science not how are you going to keep these folks in their proper position. In , black riots began to sweep Northern cities, but Goldwater refused even to mention them in his campaign. On July 24, , Goldwater approached Johnson privately and agreed that neither candidate would try to exploit the issue during the campaign. The film, produced under the banner of "Mothers for a Moral America," featured shots of black rioters, beatniks, and bare-breasted women. It was precisely the appeal -if in more veiled forms -that Nixon would make in his campaigns for "law and order" and against "permissiveness" and that would undergird "New Right" electoral successes in the s and early s. Goldwater rejected the film because he thought it would enflame racism. And his campaign for governor would be crafted by political consultants who had backed Rockefeller in and who were determined to avoid the pitfalls of the Goldwater campaign. The and campaigns were both what political scientists call "critical elections. But there was an important difference between the two campaigns. In , a candidate and a coalition emerged, but not a distinct politics -that would take another four years to develop. In , a politics already existed. It would take fully 16 years for the right candidate and the full coalition to be joined with the conservative politics of the period. In retrospect, it is not surprising that Goldwater found much that was unfamiliar and even unpalatable in the politics that he was said to have created. Goldwater, the Arizona businessman, also cast a skeptical eye on the claims of supply-side Republicans who claimed that they could balance the budget by reducing taxes. Jerry Falwell were not evidence that he had not been a conservative all along, but only that the man credited with being the political father of the conservative realignment was, like Roosevelt in , an instrument of larger historical forces, the outcome of which he could neither determine nor control.

### Chapter 8 : Trump: The unfinished business of Goldwater & Rockefeller | Eclectablog

*The Goldwaters Sing Folk Songs to Bug the Liberals (, Greenleaf) The presidential election was a pivotal point in our nation's history. After years of the liberal leadership and acronym.*

### Chapter 9 : Protests in Franklin, Ohio over Robert E. Lee Monument Taken Down in the Shadow of Darkne

*The Goldwater - Trump's First assist in his end goal of "draining the swamp," removing the threat to liberty from within the government and the shadow.*