

The Men Most Likely To Succeed DEMOCRAT PROSPECTS

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■ ALTHOUGH many Americans are upset with "Reaganomics," Ronald Reagan's personal popularity remains high. If this continues, we can expect Mr. Reagan to seek re-election in 1984.

We are not, of course, discounting the possibility that the President's health — robust for a man of seventy-two years — could deteriorate and

cause him to step down after one term. Certainly the stress of the Presidency has wrecked the health of much younger men who have occupied the White House. But our septuagenarian President has apparently overcome the age issue, which was heavily emphasized by his opponents during the 1980 campaign. He has proved that he can physically handle

Eddie Adams — Liaison

The December announcement by Senator Edward M. Kennedy that he would not seek the Presidency in 1984 has touched off a scramble among other Democratic contenders for the Oval Office. The frontrunners now are "Liberal" Senator John Glenn of Ohio and former Vice President Walter Mondale of Minnesota.

the job, and he is one of the most active and healthy-looking of all the potential candidates. In contrast to fellow septuagenarian Tip O'Neill, who looks like the winner of the annual W.C. Fields Boozathon, Ronald Reagan still appears wholesome, healthy, and full of energy.

But a turn for the worse in the economy might cause even a healthy Reagan to decide to ride off into the sunset. President Reagan is betting that the economy will be in full recovery by late 1984 — in time for the election. On the other hand, he knows that if double-digit inflation has returned, and/or unemployment is still at Depression-era levels, a Reagan candidacy would likely make him the Herbert Hoover of the 1980s.

What will happen to the economy in the next twenty months is anyone's guess. As measured by M-1, the money supply is increasing at a rate of almost sixteen percent, yet the economy is still full of slack, displaying all the elasticity and vitality of a wet noodle. Market analyst Richard Russell, writing in his *Dow Theory Letters*, predicts: "It will take an M-1 expansion of near 30 percent to 'float' this slumping economy out of a recession." The Fed has repeatedly lowered its discount rate since mid-July, when it stood at twelve percent, confirming a reflationary strategy.

This could show up as a rapidly rising Consumer Price Index within the next year or two, catching Reagan short before the end of his term. That, along with the growing crisis in Social Security and other time bombs, could make it very difficult for Ronald Reagan to be re-elected in 1984.

Which is just what the Democrats want. With the momentum of 1981 gone, they hope Mr. Reagan will appear as futile a leader in 1983 and 1984 as Jimmy Carter did at the end of his term in the Oval Office.*

On the other hand, it is possible that the price consequences of the Fed's reflation program might not be fully apparent until after the 1984 election. Indeed the U.S. economy could, in the months just prior to the election, be in a stage of apparent boom — giving the illusion of permanent recovery and making Ronald Reagan seem the Greatest American Hero. Timing and luck are crucially important in the uncertain game of politics.

Adding to this pail of snails, it is

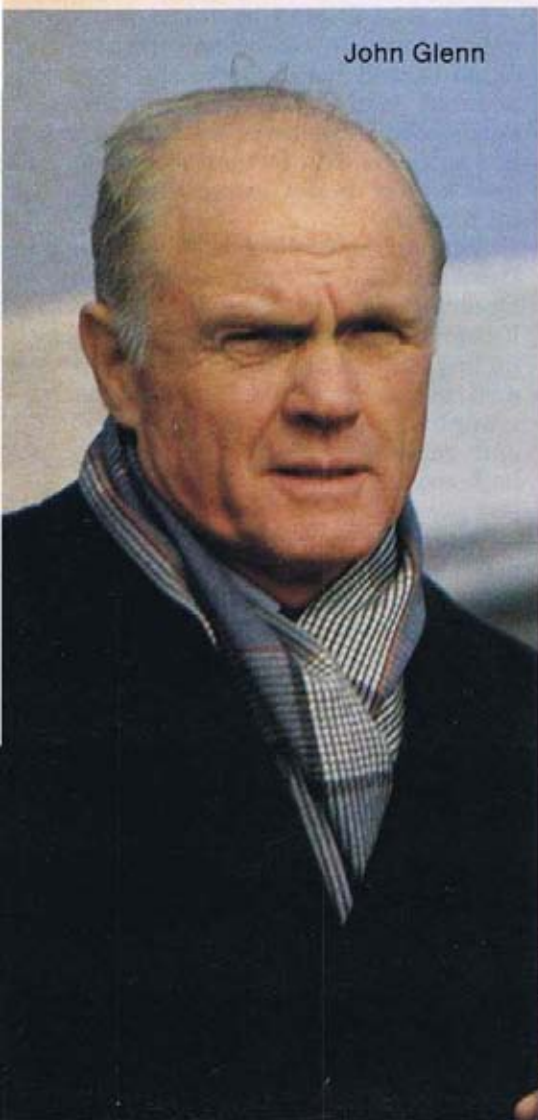
*Republican officials were embarrassed in December by the apparently unauthorized release to the public of a White House computer projection of the 1984 election. The study saw Mr. Reagan losing to both former Vice President Walter Mondale and Ohio Senator John Glenn.



FRONTRUNNERS FOR THE 1984 DEMOCRAT NOMINATION

Liaison

John Glenn



Liaison

Walter Mondale



Boyer Photo — Picture On

In the second rank of Democratic Presidential hopefuls are Senators Gary Hart of Colorado, Alan Cranston of California, Ernest Hollings of South Carolina, and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona. Former Governor Reuben Askew (C.F.R.) of Florida could well be a Dark Horse at the 1984 Convention.

increasingly clear that the President is losing credibility with the coalition of Conservatives and populists who formed the core of his support in 1980. The glaring disparity between his promises and his policies must be apparent even to Reagan himself. If the gasoline tax wasn't the last straw for movement Conservatives the appointment of Massachusetts "Liberal" Margaret Heckler to head the Department of Health and Human Services certainly was. Having failed to deliver on the pledges he made in 1980, how can the President energize the Right in 1984?

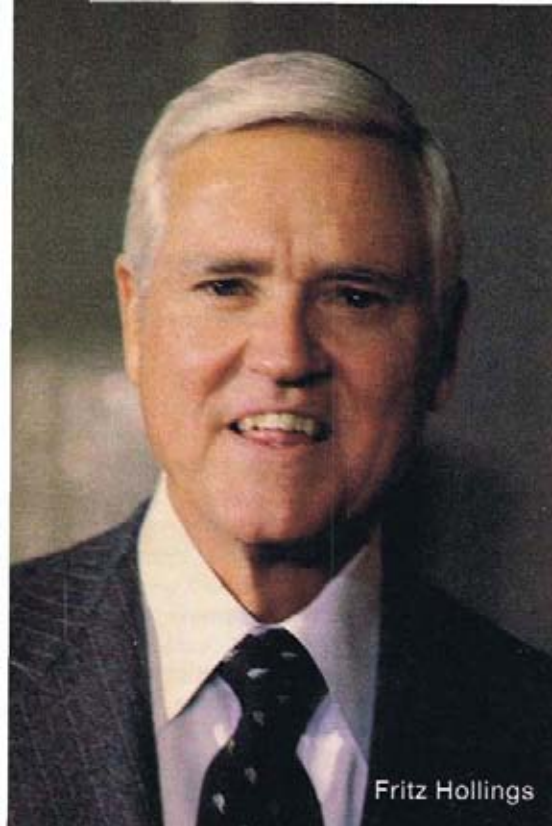
And, as Conservatives know, if something were to happen to cause Mr. Reagan to bow out of the race, "Liberals" Howard Baker and George Bush would certainly be among the first Republicans to enter the Presidential sweepstakes. Realizing this, some White House advisors have urged the President to make a formal announcement early this year of his intention to run again. Should he decide to make this his last term, electing not to seek renomination, the later he puts off the no-go announcement the more likely that George Bush would gain the G.O.P. nomination. Other possible contenders would simply not have enough time to mount an effective campaign capable of challenging the vice president's loyal

supporters in key posts of the G.O.P. party apparatus.

But a readers' poll taken by a national women's magazine recently found Ronald Reagan to be the most admired man in America. Barring debilitating ill health or a desperately bad economy, Mr. Reagan will likely have a clear shot at renomination by his party.

The big question is: Who will the Democrats select to run in 1984? The December announcement by Senator Edward M. Kennedy that he was pulling out of the running for the nomination touched off a mad scramble among other contenders and caused political strategists in both parties to juggle their carefully laid game plans.

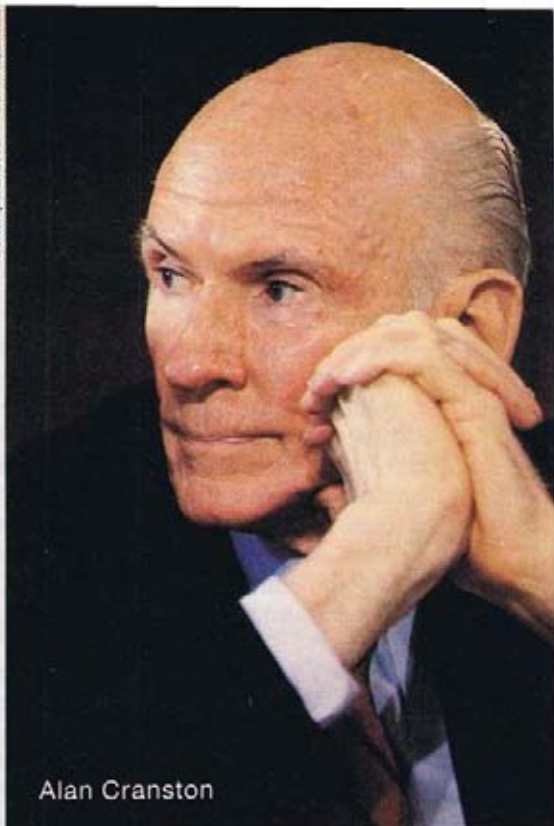
Before his dramatic pullout, Kennedy was the acknowledged front-runner, leading the pack of Democratic hopefuls. While he is feared and detested in some quarters, he is also passionately supported by many organization Democrats, particularly those on the Far Left who share Teddy's portside ideology. No one else approaches Kennedy's appeal to the activists who in 1972 engineered the disastrous nomination of George McGovern. More than any other leading Democrat, Teddy holds the affection of "Liberal" union officials, blacks, and Hispanics, who



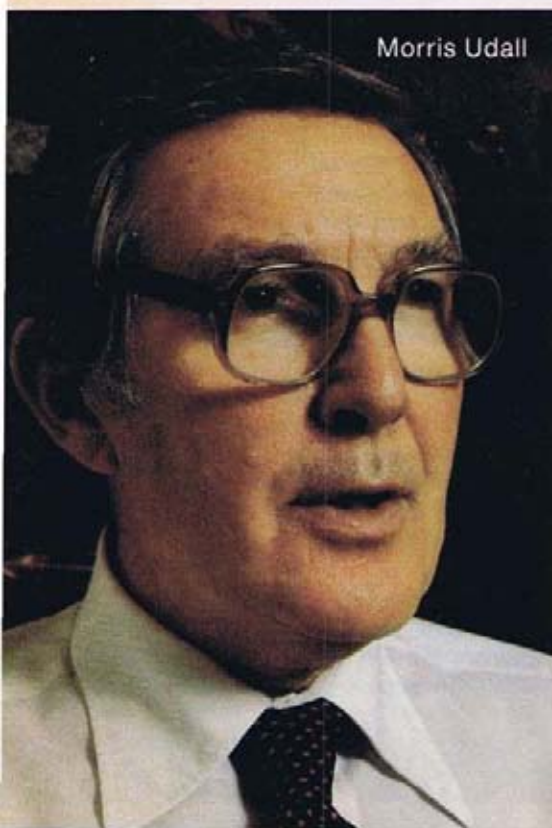
Fritz Hollings

Priscilla Beese — Gamma Liaison

Frank Fisher — Liaison



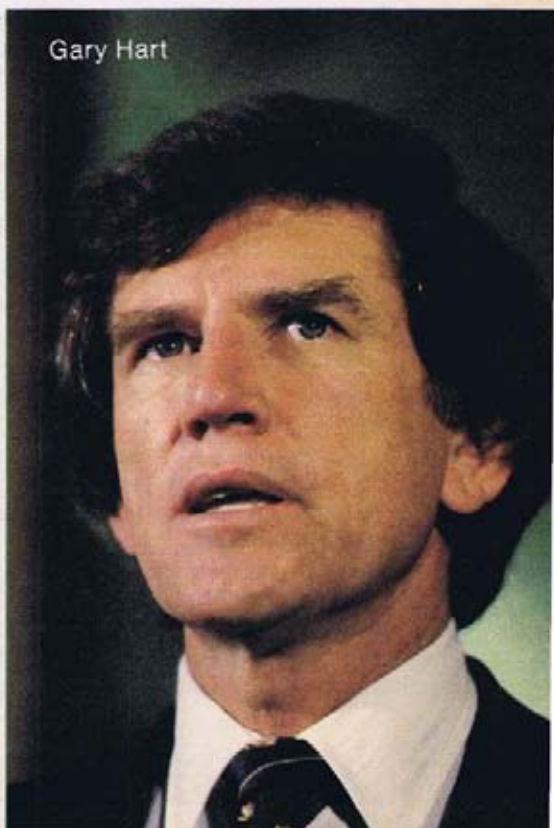
Alan Cranston



Morris Udall

Shepard Sherbell — Picture Group

Shepard Sherbell — Picture Group



Gary Hart

form the base of the Democrat coalition. By adding to this the mobilization of McGovernite activists who are still vital cogs in the party machinery, the Kennedy partisans could have dominated the 1984 Convention and captured the nomination.

Even if Kennedy had proved a shoo-in for the nomination, however, it does not follow that he could have developed a sufficient national constituency to defeat Ronald Reagan. His past certainly would have returned to haunt him. As the *Boston Herald American* put it, "What the Democrats need is not a decadent leftist showboat like Kennedy, but a solid and undoubtedly patriotic family man."

After Teddy stepped aside, it was learned that his aides had been much less optimistic in private about his chances in the general election than they had led others to believe. With the country still moving away from the discredited positions of the "Liberal" Left, some strategists had advised the Senator that 1984 was just not his year. At age fifty, Kennedy could well afford to wait.

Another concern may well have been that if Ted Kennedy ran in the primaries the long period of constant media exposure of his candidacy might again bring an assassination attempt by someone like John Hinckley wanting to mark history. With this always a possibility, and Teddy's divorce from Joan still making news, Kennedy undoubtedly made the right choice.

While rumors had been circulating in late November that Ted might pull out of the race, his formal announcement caught most by surprise. A number of Administration officials had been betting that Kennedy would be the Democratic nominee and that Reagan would defeat him in the November election no matter the shape

of the economy. Admitted one White House strategist, "We all felt it was going to be a contest of values — Reagan's style against Teddy's 'Liberalism' and his personal problems. So, we fell into the trap of counting on Kennedy's candidacy to save us. It's a good thing Kennedy made his decision early. It gives us time."

Even so, on the day of Ted Kennedy's dramatic announcement, Senator Howard Baker (R.-Tennessee) observed: "Two weeks is a lifetime in politics, let alone two years. I would not accept that as a final, irrevocable statement." Sitting out the primaries and their bitter sniping could even be part of a deliberate Kennedy game plan to emerge fresh and unscathed by Convention time. We shall see.

In any case, politics abhor a vacuum and Senator Kennedy's abrupt departure as the acknowledged frontrunner creates a void into which a new lineup of Democratic candidates has rushed like a blast of hot air. Before the "Kennedy Gap," the leaders out front in the race were Kennedy and former Vice President Walter Mondale. Robert S. Strauss, former Chairman of the Democratic Party, commented after the December announcement, "I think Walter Mondale and John Glenn obviously step up now as head to head against each other."

In the second ranks are Senator Gary Hart of Colorado, Senator Ernest Hollings of South Carolina, Senator Alan Cranston of California, former Governor Reuben Askew of Florida, and Arizona Congressman Morris K. Udall. Teddy's early "departure" has spurred their ambitions, hopes, and schemes.

Walter Mondale Of Minnesota

Walter Mondale is, like his late mentor Hubert Humphrey, the quint-
(Continued on page seventy-seven.)

DEMOCRATS

essential "Liberal" politician. He is also intelligent, professional, and very organized. Over the past couple of years, Minnesota Fritz has been pursuing the nomination with a calculated thoroughness. He has sought to heal old wounds by inviting to breakfast those with whom he has had disagreements. He has attended such events as the annual Washington Press Club dinner and courted reporters. He has been speaking in front of civic organizations and student groups from coast to coast. He has appeared on all three network morning feature programs. He has accelerated his courtship of organized labor, especially the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and the National Education Association, in hopes of cinching their coveted endorsements. And he has made trips to New York to address Jewish labor groups and the Establishment's Council on Foreign Relations, to which Mondale has belonged since 1972.*

Especially important, Walter Mondale spent almost all of last year raising money for Democratic congressional candidates — making speeches on behalf of 134 of them. The former Minnesota Senator was accumulating political I.O.U.s in anticipation of cashing them in at the 1984 Convention. And, with Kennedy out of the way, it is little wonder that most political analysts now perceive Mr. Mondale as the new Democratic frontrunner.

In addition to his lead in the polls, Mondale has an important advantage

over his Democratic opponents in terms of organization and planning — key ingredients in any successful campaign. The former Vice President has assembled far and away the best, most widely developed, campaign organization. His staff has put together a thick strategy book which details plans for winning the nomination and the White House. According to one of the staffers who helped author this strategy, "Walter Mondale is the only candidate who knows what he wants to do, how he wants to do it, and is sticking to his plan."

In the hours immediately following Ted Kennedy's announcement of his strategic withdrawal, Mondale and his top aide Jim Johnson were working the telephones, trying to sign up supporters from among the Democratic Party's leading Kennedy constituents, including such influential political organizers as Paul Tully of Philadelphia, Carl Wagner of Washington, Harold Ickes Jr. of New York, and John Sasso and Thomas P. O'Neill III of Boston.

Mondale had already begun a studied campaign to rebuild the friendship he had with Kennedy until it withered in the acrid 1980 primary campaign, when Walter was part of Jimmy Carter's National Salvation ticket against Teddy the Misbehavior. Mondale and Kennedy met for peace talks last spring to patch things up, and Fritz journeyed to Massachusetts in October to help in Teddy's Senate re-election campaign. Mondale advisor Richard Moe has also maintained good relations with top Kennedy advisors, and former Kennedy strategist Angie Martin has been administering Mondale's political action committee since last summer. So Walter Mondale's aides found it relatively easy to make connections with old rivals within the Kennedy faction.

*Walter Mondale is also a member of the notorious Trilateral Commission founded by David Rockefeller, and has attended at least one secret confab of the shadowy Bilderberger group of world planners. The man knows how the world is run.

While many erstwhile Kennedy supporters seemed to be receptive to the Mondale passes, others were slow to commit. Mondale's past association with Jimmy Carter is one of his biggest problems among Establishment "Liberal" Democrats who disliked the Georgian's style.

Other gripes of many Democrats are that Mondale is overly cautious and his personality is too bland for those favoring the "charisma" of Teddy Kennedy or wishing for the return of a Franklin D. Roosevelt. One Democrat, mourning Kennedy's decision, lamented of Mondale: "I don't know anyone who would walk through a wall for him." The Kennedys have always had disciples who would do just that. Old Walter, alas, is a bore.

Cognizant of this image problem, Mondale has made discernible attempts in his recent speeches to be more forceful and to sound more patriotic. Using words like "tough" and "fight," Tiger Fritz is out to sound as "macho" as Lyndon Johnson. "We've been running up the white flag," says the new Mondale, "when we should be running up the American flag." Will the American people buy the new act? Probably not.

Another problem which Mondale must now cope with is his early lead. It is never comfortable being a front-runner so early in a Presidential Marathon. More time is afforded opponents to find and exploit weaknesses. The glare of public attention is focused on the leader and every stumble is magnified. Democratic think-tank analyst Ted Van Dyk warned: "Being the frontrunner puts him in a difficult position. It is not easy to stay in front for so long. And with Kennedy out, that gives others in the field the opportunity to take on Mondale."

As the political pressure increases, Fritz will be more and more vulnerable to the fate of George Romney in 1968, Edmund Muskie in 1972, and Teddy Kennedy in 1980 — all early frontrunners whose "insurmountable" leads evaporated once the campaign began in earnest.

Meanwhile, Mondale is attempting to soft-peddle his Far Left background in public while maintaining his contacts with the Democratic Party's leading radicals. In 1976 he described himself as a "problem-oriented, pragmatic liberal" who has dedicated his life to what he calls "the politics of need." In 1968 he even boasted that he had the most "Liberal" voting record in the U.S. Senate. His buddies in the infamous Americans for Democratic Action lauded him in 1975 as their favorite U.S. Senator, rating him as having voted their way ninety-four percent of the time — a higher average than that of either McGovern or Kennedy. Also in 1975, out of twenty-two key issues picked by the A.F.L.-C.I.O., Fritz voted as the union directed on all except one. In that case he went to the *Left* of the union leaders to support wage and price controls.

In 1971 Walter Mondale stirred controversy when he introduced "child-care" legislation — an Orwellian plan that would have entrusted children to the federal government to be brought up by bureaucrats in federal day-care centers. The moderate columnist James J. Kilpatrick called the bill "the boldest and most far-reaching scheme ever advanced for the Sovietization of American youth."

In 1973 Mondale tried to push through another totalitarian measure, called "The Full Opportunity and National Goals and Priorities Act." Among other things, it would have set up a Council of Social Advisors and an enormous bureaucracy

empowered to snoop into every area of a citizen's life, while adopting and technocratically implementing "national goals" based on "social reports" issued by the Council.

A typical "Limousine Liberal," Walter Mondale was known in the Senate as "Mr. Busing," while sending his own children to all-white private schools in the affluent Cleveland Park section of Washington, D.C.

Not only has Mondale vigorously promoted mammoth federal programs and frightening plans for social engineering, but also he has in foreign policy demonstrated a strong tendency toward accommodating and appeasing the Communists. The sell-out of Nicaragua to the Cuban-backed Sandinistas was virtually run from his office and he was a leading figure in the betrayal of our Panama Canal. On defense, his record reveals him to be a New Left McGovernite bent on weakening America's military position vis-à-vis the Soviet Union.

Currently the Minnesota radical is stumping on the Far Left issues of arms control and disarmament, more federal money for the education bureaucracy, and protectionist restraints on foreign imports. The former Vice President is also courting the homosexual vote. He was the keynote speaker at a \$150-a-plate dinner for the New York-based Human Rights Campaign Fund, which finances candidates who call for special privileges for homosexuals. The assembly cheered Fritz gayly and clapped as loudly as limp wrists would allow. But how will these new Democratic allies be greeted by other elements of the coalition? Such as the rank and file of organized labor, blacks, family-oriented Hispanics, and Southern Democrats? How will urban ethnics feel about his advo-

cacy of abortion, social engineering, and disarmament?

Perhaps he can get the nomination, they must be saying, but can he beat Ronald Reagan?

John Glenn Of Ohio

Senator John Glenn of Ohio, widely seen as Mondale's closest rival, has the "right stuff" when images are built on paper, but his potential must be developed — along with a much wider organizational base — if the former astronaut is to win the nomination of his party. Because he was the first U.S. astronaut to orbit the earth, Glenn has a reputation of being a hero, transcending region and ideology, which should appeal to grassroots America. He is perceived as a traditional red-blooded American patriot. This, according to many, makes him the most electable Democrat in 1984 when pitted against a movie-star President. As one Washington observer told us, "Now that Kennedy has bowed out, if John Glenn were a corporation I'd buy stock in him as the Democratic nominee. Mondale is a possibility just because he's got Washington contacts and operations, but I think too many people will associate him with Jimmy Carter — and that is going to be an albatross. I think Democrats are smart enough to know that they can't win with a 'Superliberal.'"

Glenn could be the Democratic Party's best bet for winning back the Middle America swing-vote which was lost to Ronald Reagan in 1980. He is very popular in his home state of Ohio, winning re-election to the Senate in 1980 with sixty-nine percent of the vote — including fifty-five percent of those who voted for Ronald Reagan in the Presidential race. Along with his Eisenhower grin, Glenn's background as a test pilot and Marine officer could be exploited



to good advantage. Having flown 149 combat missions in World War II and Korea, never once bailing out, Glenn may have just the kind of image the country wants.

But the former space-man and MiG-downer won't have the chance to run against Reagan unless he can wrest the nomination from Mondale and the other contenders. Despite his heroic military and space record, Glenn has the personality of an Elmer Fudd and lacks the personal "star" quality that fascinates and attracts. He is certainly a lackluster speaker. Of course, with the proper coaching and packaging, the former fighter pilot might be trained to come off the TV tube like a Johnny Carson. He could then be sold to the public — but only if he first puts himself in the hands of professional image makers and dramatically improves his style — something he has so far been reluctant to do.

Moreover, many doubt that John Glenn has the requisite "fire in the gut" for a Presidential race. There is

talk that his wife, Annie, is far from enthusiastic about such a strenuous and trying campaign.

Glenn is also far behind Mondale and the other candidates in developing a campaign organization of the sort needed to run for President. But media consultant Bill Connell, who was involved in Glenn's 1980 Senate campaign, discounts the suggestion that it is too late for the Senator to make a serious race for the nomination. As Connell points out: "Everybody knows who Glenn is. With a little television exposure, he could come up very fast and be a real superstar Don't forget that win in Ohio. He only spent a quarter of what anybody would who was fighting for his political life. He spent \$300,000 to \$400,000 on media buys — that's all. He didn't have any organization, no telephone banks, none of that stuff. His big asset is his personality, which projects his true strength of character."

While not as far to the Left in his voting pattern as Mondale, Kennedy,

and Alan Cranston, the Senator from Ohio is decidedly "Liberal." He received 1980 ratings of sixty-seven from the A.D.A., seventy-two from the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s Committee On Political Education, and fifteen from the American Conservative Union. The Conservative Index gives him a cumulative score of just twenty-seven percent over the last two years. Even so, Glenn has been able to get by with projecting a more "moderate" front to the voters. This is due to his relatively strong stand on the need for a credible military capability. In the tradition of Eisenhower, John Glenn has been advertised as a man "who understands war but who loves peace." He is not for unilateral disarmament and he opposes the "nuclear freeze."

On domestic issues, however, Glenn is a doctrinaire "Liberal." He has consistently supported Welfare State programs in the tradition of the New Deal and the Great Society. He seeks an enlargement of the Department of Energy which has never produced so much as a barrel of oil. And he has strenuously opposed any attempt to reduce federal funding and local control of education. Though he is in fact a "Liberal," his strength as a potential candidate is that he can be portrayed as a "moderate" or "centrist" who is above ideological labels. Glenn's "Fright Factor" is therefore much lower than that of Kennedy or Mondale.

Assuming the Left wing of the party has learned its lesson from the 1972 debacle, John Glenn could well be the Democrat counterpart to Dwight Eisenhower. But, as with Ike in 1952, he is not likely to receive the nomination without a great deal of help and string-pulling by Establishment conspirators behind the scenes. Glenn has a reputation of being stubbornly independent; one who shies

away from making deals. Without *Insider* support, however, he will not be his party's nominee.

Gary Hart Of Colorado

Senator Gary Hart of Colorado has managed to keep his seat in the U.S. Senate by hiding his very "Liberal" voting record from his constituency. He talks like a Conservative when he is in his home state, but his legislative record is so far to the Left that he is increasingly vulnerable to losing his Senate seat. Which may well be why he is seeking the Presidential nomination of the Democratic Party.

In contrast to "redistributionist" Democrats like Kennedy, Mondale, and Tip O'Neill, Hart has been portrayed as a "growth" Democrat or "neo-Liberal." He presents himself as leader of a new breed which advocates encouraging high-technology industrialization to get the economy moving again, while retaining "traditional 'Liberal' values on social issues." Sensing that America is bored with the old rhetoric of New Deal/Great Society Welfarism, Hart seeks to convince us that he represents a new alternative in politics. He doesn't.

A former divinity student who later went into law, Gary Hart spent a year as a Justice Department attorney and two years as a special assistant to radical Interior Secretary Stewart Udall before joining a law firm in Denver. He was director of George McGovern's disastrous Presidential campaign in 1972. On the tide of the Watergate scandal, Hart then defeated Republican Peter Dominick for the U.S. Senate in 1974. Facing a weak, "Liberal," and female G.O.P. opponent in 1980, he was only narrowly re-elected but now sits on the Armed Services, Budget, and Environment and Public Works Committees.

Gary Hart is pictured by friends in the mass media as a "moderate" rather than as the McGovern clone he is. The Colorado Senator encourages the myth by stating, "My political roots are in the John Kennedy wing of the Democratic Party — pragmatic liberalism as opposed to the ideological liberalism of Eleanor Roosevelt and Adlai Stevenson." He did work for John F. Kennedy in 1960, and Bobby Kennedy in 1968, but he switched to Eugene McCarthy after R.F.K.'s assassination. Two years later he gave his heart and soul to the ideological McGovern effort.

Although Senator Hart currently feigns great concern over the need to balance the Budget and reduce the deficit, he has consistently voted for huge deficit spending and against amendments for balancing the Budget. As with most "Liberals," he is blaming the \$200 billion deficits now expected for 1983 and 1984 on the Reagan tax-rate reductions rather than on the federal spendathon. He wants to reduce the deficits by increasing taxes. The result would be to keep the federal engine chugging along as it consumes what's left of our earnings and our freedoms.

Hart has always voted for forced busing of schoolchildren for racial purposes. He supported the creation of both the Department of Energy and the Department of Education. In foreign policy, Gary Hart voted for Most Favored Nation status for Red China, for the Panama Canal giveaway treaties, and for the bail-out of the big bankers by requiring the Commodity Credit Corporation to cover the unpaid debts of Poland's Communist dictator.

But it is in the area of national defense that Senator Hart is probably most vulnerable. In sharp contrast to John Glenn, who sees the Soviet Union as "a colonialist power

on the march," Senator Hart plays down the Soviet threat as virtually non-existent. Disarmament is a top priority for Gary Hart. He has voted to cut military spending and to kill the neutron bomb and the vitally needed B-1 bomber. He claims to back an alternative to powerful and expensive weapons by going to smaller and cheaper hardware using high technology, but that is only his political cover story. McGovernites like Hart are always against whatever weapons system is under consideration. If it were bows and arrows he would favor knives. Despite the Soviet record of treaty violations, Senator Hart is even an advocate of SALT II. He is, therefore, not nearly as marketable to Middle America as John Glenn would be.

In addition to trying to secure former Kennedy backers to support his cause, Hart has enlisted big-name Hollywood stars — including Robert Redford, Goldie Hawn, Jack Nicholson, and Lee Majors. He will also be relying on McGovernite "moles" within the Democratic Party to help him to secure the nomination for President . . . or Vice President. His success will depend on whether the Democrats have learned their lesson from the 1972 debacle which Gary Hart engineered.

Ernest Hollings Of South Carolina

The least "Liberal" of the Democratic hopefuls is South Carolina Senator Ernest "Fritz" Hollings. His A.D.A. rating in 1980 was only thirty-nine percent and the A.F.L.-C.I.O. gave him just twenty-two percent for the same year. His cumulative rating in the Conservative Index for 1981-1982, however, was a sparse forty. Looking somewhat like TV's Barnaby Jones, the tall, white-haired Senator has been testing the political waters to see if the national Democrats are

ready for another Southerner. This is quite a problem considering the bad taste left by the ruinous Administration of Jimmy Carter.

The mass media have a distinctly anti-Southern bias, and this will undoubtedly hurt Hollings's chances for the nomination. Still, he insists that he has many advantages over Carter, one of them being Washington experience. Not only was "Fritz" Hollings both governor and lieutenant governor of South Carolina, he has been a mover and shaker in the U.S. Senate since 1967. And, unlike Carter, the sixty-one-year-old Hollings is considered "hawkish" on national defense. In the area of foreign policy, however, he demonstrated the usual "Liberal" weakness when he buckled under pressure and voted for the Panama Canal sellout treaties.

On domestic social issues, Senator Hollings is a bleeding-heart "Liberal" determined to ameliorate all human suffering and cure every wart with the magic of Big Government. He is especially supportive of ever-increasing federal control and aid to public schools, and he voted for creation of the Department of Education on the grounds that "public education is the keystone of our democratic government, and it is the duty of all individuals to support it." Doubtless the same argument could be made for creating a federal Department of Oxygen to nationalize the air and tax our every breath.

Because the Hollings appeal is limited outside the South, his best chance is probably to be tapped by Mondale for Vice President, geographically to balance a ticket of "Fritz and Fritz."

Alan Cranston Of California

One of the most devotedly collectivist members of the United States Senate is Alan McGregor

Cranston of California. As Minority Whip and a member of such powerful Committees as Foreign Relations, Veterans Affairs, and Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, the sixty-eight-year-old Senator is very influential. In 1980 the A.D.A. gave him an eighty-three and C.O.P.E. rated him at eighty-eight — while Conservative organizations pegged him at five (A.C.A.) and seven (A.C.U.). He earned a cumulative score of nine on the 1981-1982 Conservative Index published by *The Review Of The News*.

But this radical "Liberal" wants very much to be President. He apparently figures that he will begin to look better to the public as Reagarmortis sets in and Americans become disillusioned with the "Reagan Revolution." It is highly unlikely, however, that Middle America would suffer so dramatic a reaction as to ignore his febrile background and voting record.

From education and housing to population and gun control — you name it — Alan Cranston has voted consistently to expand government by spending ever more of our taxes and reducing our liberty. The single exception is national defense, the main legitimate expense of government. Cranston tells workers at California defense plants that the United States must be kept "militarily and technologically strong," but that is just campaign talk. Back in Washington the senior Senator from California voted against every effort to strengthen or maintain our defense posture. Cranston is even a member of the board of directors of the radical United World Federalists, which openly advocates our complete disarmament and surrender of American sovereignty to a World Government.

When one begins researching his



curious and mysterious background, Alan Cranston quickly becomes Lamont Cranston, the Shadow. He has had a lengthy history of involvement with identified Marxist-Leninists and Far Left causes. While spending the summer of 1935 in Mexico, young Cranston joined a revolutionary uprising. In 1940 he found himself working for a Leftwing lobby called the Common Council for American Unity, headed by Communist Louis Adamic. During most of the Second World War, Cranston was associated with known Communists, including some who had infiltrated the Office of War Information. An F.B.I. investigation at the time of his appointment to that agency found that he moved "in Communist circles" and that his "friends seemed to be fellow travelers . . . with Communist sympathies."

Cranston continued this pattern of support for Marxism and World Government after the war and served as national president of the infamous United World Federalists

from 1949 to 1952. He has advocated reorganization of the U.N. Charter to include a U.N. Police Force, U.N. control over all nuclear weapons, and a U.N. tax on nations.

In 1953 Cranston founded the radical California Democratic Council and served as its president for the next four years. The C.D.C. soon became controversial for its energetic devotion to pro-Communist and One World schemes and programs.

From 1958 until 1966, the Shadow kept the office of state controller of California. In 1968, because of a serious split in the Republican Party, he defeated Dr. Max Rafferty for the U.S. Senate in an amazing upset. And, despite his incredible record and background, Cranston has twice been re-elected — making him the first U.S. Senator from California ever to be elected to a third term as a Democrat.

Cranston's campaign organization is well developed — second only to that of Walter Mondale. If he can continue to fool his California con-

stituents into thinking that he is a "moderate," then why can't he fool the American people into electing him President? It depends on how well he can disguise his past and his voting record.

What evil schemes now lurk in the heart of this Presidential aspirant? Only the Shadow knows for sure.

Morris K. Udall Of Arizona

With Ted Kennedy having dropped out of the race, Congressman Morris K. Udall of Arizona says he is now considering a run for the nomination. Udall, who supported Kennedy against Carter and Mondale in 1980, suffers from Parkinson's disease and is not given much of a chance.

Udall is more candid about his "Liberalism" than Hart or Glenn. But the entry of the Arizona Congressman into the Democratic fracas could tend to divide the Left wing of the party, giving John Glenn the edge. Describing himself as a "progressive," Udall told reporters in December that he was "waiting for a sign — perhaps a comet or a new star rising in the East, or maybe three Democratic senators riding up to my house on a camel bearing gifts of myrrh, frankincense, and Extra-Strength Tylenol." Meanwhile, he said, he is "resolutely committed to a course of firm but flexible indecision."

Reubin Askew Of Florida

Who is Reubin Askew? He was one of Florida's most popular governors and its first chief executive to serve two full terms. He could also be the Democratic Party's 1984 nominee for President. Although his name is little recognized outside of Florida, the pace of Askew's preparations for his bid for the White House has shifted into a sprint. His promoters have been holding fund-raising meetings

in Miami, West Palm Beach, and Pensacola. His virtual anonymity may even be perceived as an asset by Democrats searching for someone with a low Fright Factor.

Democratic Congressman Larry McDonald (D.-Georgia) does not take Askew lightly as a possibility: "The candidacy of Reubin Askew would have to be viewed like that of Jimmy Carter. His chances really depend on whether the powers that brought Carter to the fore now want to shift behind Governor Askew. If they do, he'll be a contender. If they do not, he'll be dead as a doornail. It depends on the Establishment element — the David Rockefeller and Averell Harriman element — and where it plans to go in 1984. Conceivably, Askew could get it."

Would Askew's coming from a Southern state be a factor against him in getting the support of his fellow Democrats? McDonald replied that it would not be very significant, explaining: "Florida is not 'Deep South' by any stretch of the imagination, even though it is geographically the most southern of the Southeastern states. A lot of Northerners retire to Florida, and many Americans in the North have relatives there, so it's not viewed like Mississippi or Alabama."

Askew has been working to overcome his relative anonymity by introducing and re-introducing himself to influential Democratic leaders all over the country. He has traveled to all of the fifty states at least once, and has repeatedly journeyed to the early primary states including New Hampshire.

As governor, Reubin Askew was a "Liberal" pragmatist on most issues. Since then he has been known for advocating such bureaucratic boondoggles as National Service for the nation's young people — a kind of

domestic draft to put restless youths to work on social projects.

As a member in good standing of the internationalist Council on Foreign Relations, Reubin Askew could be another Jimmy Carter just waiting to happen. He is not well known now, but neither was Carter in 1974 and 1975. Askew is a good bet to emerge as the "Dark Horse" of 1984.

Edward M. Kennedy Revisited

Let us now reconsider the man whose official withdrawal produced all of this political scrambling. Edward M. Kennedy is important because he is a Kennedy. Not because he is Teddy; perhaps even *despite* the fact that he is Teddy. Why should Americans turn to this man for national leadership — a playboy from Hyannisport who was thrown out of Harvard for cheating, who went on to acquire a reputation for hard drinking and skirt chasing, and who cut and ran from the scene of a 1969 automobile accident at Chappaquiddick in which he caused the death of a young woman? Nothing in his personal history suggests competence, let alone greatness. Yet these facts — along with his support for such Leftist causes as national health insurance and the "nuclear freeze" — are the things best known about this Kennedy. Apart from the fact that he happens to be the brother of Jack and Bobby, and is therefore part of the concocted "Liberal" fantasy of Camelot.

Despite the shadow of Chappaquiddick, Edward M. Kennedy's support as measured in Presidential preference polls has risen over the past several years.* The surveys Kennedy commissioned in primary election states last year showed, according to his staff, that he was well ahead of the other Democratic runners, with a three-to-one margin over

Walter Mondale, his nearest rival. A *Los Angeles Times* poll, taken in the fall, concluded that Kennedy was running neck and neck with President Reagan. Teddy also reportedly received favorable feedback from his intense television campaign which was broadcast into New Hampshire from Massachusetts last year. Why, then, did he quit the race?

Are we really to believe that Kennedy has chosen to pass up what he claims was a good bet to get the nomination, defeat Ronald Reagan, and become President of the United States in 1985, because he is a man for whom family values come first? Hardly. Teddy's claimed reason for bowing out, observed *New York Times* columnist William Safire, "is a sham, an insult to his followers and a delicious example of pious duplicity to his detractors."

A more believable reason is that Teddy used the pullout to reduce Joan Kennedy's leverage in their divorce settlement. Almost from the beginning of those lengthy and tedious negotiations, believing Teddy would run for President in 1984, Joan threatened to go public with an embarrassing court battle which would kill his chances of becoming President. According to a pro-Teddy source, "That was her ace card. Her demands for cash were outrageous — as much as \$9 million. She threatened Ted with washing all his dirty linen in court, making the ordeal as humiliating as possible for him."

The situation reportedly blew up in an emotional verbal clash between the Senator and his wife which took

*Indeed, a poll taken at the time Kennedy began his campaign for the 1980 nomination revealed that while eighty percent of the public claimed to remember the killing at Chappaquiddick, only a surprising twenty percent of the electorate said it would cause them to vote against Teddy in a Presidential election.

place in front of their children at Hyannisport on Thanksgiving. Joan renewed her threat to reveal embarrassing details of Teddy's personal life, making it clear to him that she meant business. As one of Teddy's friends revealed, "Joan was assuming that Ted was going to run for President in 1984. With that in Joan's mind, it was almost a form of legal extortion."

As we know now, it was after the Thanksgiving confrontation that Kennedy decided to pull the rug out from under his outraged wife by announcing that he would not be a candidate for President in 1984. With Teddy no longer a candidate, Joan lost her ace in the settlement haggling. While she had to accept less than she wanted, Mrs. Kennedy did quite well.

According to the *National Enquirer*, which records such things, she received "\$4.2 million in up-front cash — including \$1 million in 'hush money' which Teddy offered in return for Joan not revealing secrets of their 24-year marriage; ownership of the couple's plush Boston condominium, worth about \$350,000 — plus their sprawling oceanfront home on Squaw Island in Hyannisport, Mass., valued at about \$1.2 million; all personal belongings — including valuable furnishings and antiques — in the two homes, plus items from the family home Ted will keep in McLean, Va. Altogether, the items Joan will get from the three homes are worth around \$350,000. Annual alimony of \$75,000, plus cost-of-living increases, as long as Joan doesn't remarry. In addition, Ted will pay \$25,000 a year, plus cost-of-living hikes, in child support for the couple's 15-year-old son Patrick, who will remain in their joint custody. He'll also pick up the tab for Patrick's education and medical bills,

and the education of their college-age children, Kara and Teddy Jr." And a partridge in a pear tree.

Teddy's "silence clause" had been a stumbling block during the divorce settlement negotiations before Kennedy pulled out of the Presidential Marathon. Joan, who had at first rejected this proviso, finally agreed to it at a price tag of one million dollars. This clause "cuts Joan off from ever writing a book or magazine article about their life together, or being interviewed about their marriage. It was straight-out hush money," according to an unnamed source quoted by the *Enquirer*.

There may nonetheless be other, more directly political, reasons for the Kennedy withdrawal. In his column for December 2, 1982, political analyst Bill Safire wrote that Senator Kennedy "is leaving the field now because he thinks that is a smart tactic for a man who still aspires to the Presidency. He is at his public-opinion peak, ahead of Mr. Reagan and far ahead of his Democratic competition. With nowhere to go but down — and down he would go the moment he declared his candidacy — he has chosen to remain above the battle."

By sitting out the Democratic primaries, Teddy Kennedy will avoid glaring public scrutiny and recollections of his personal life — Chappaquiddick, his failed marriage, his flagrant liaisons — and emerge fresh and unscathed by Convention time. Safire predicts: "He will go to the convention as a ghostly presence, as in 1968 and 1972, drawing affection away from the nominee. If nobody has the nomination sewn up he will stimulate a draft, replacing the modern primary trail with the old-fashioned convention coup."

Such a scenario is certainly not unheard of in the annals of nominat-

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ing history. Let us return to yesterday — the Democratic campaign of 1952. Tennessee Senator Estes Kefauver worked hard for the nomination and won eleven of the thirteen primaries that year, claiming almost two-thirds of the total votes cast in the Democratic primaries. Meanwhile, the governor of Illinois, Adlai Stevenson, shrewdly kept himself above it all. Stevenson ran dead last in New Hampshire and received less than a fifth of the vote in his own state primary. But it was he, not Kefauver, who won the Democratic nomination in 1952.*

*The same thing had happened to the Republicans in 1940. Wendell Wilkie was remote from the political fray, staying on the sidelines but remaining available just in case he was needed. This favorite of the *Insiders* of the Eastern "Liberal" Establishment accumulated only 0.7 percent of the Republican primary vote. But, when the Republicans convened in Philadelphia that summer, the galleries were packed with stooges shouting: "We want WILL-kie." And, despite their successes in the primaries, Dewey and Taft lost the nomination to the internationalist Wendell Whatshisname.

In our mind's eye we can see a similar scenario for Kennedy. With the Convention deadlocking between Glenn and Mondale — or some other combination of Democratic contenders — a Draft Kennedy move might suddenly materialize, with the galleries shouting: "We want TEDdy, We want TEDdy!" Big money would be available simply to buy up many delegates. And Kennedy would reluctantly accept the nomination, sacrificing himself and the interests of his beloved family to save the country.

At his December press conference, Senator Kennedy stated that he would not accept a draft — but what politician alive would actually refuse one? Furthermore, an analysis of Teddy's speech indicates he is not telling the truth. That is the conclusion of Charles R. McQuiston, who used a Psychological Stress Evaluator (P.S.E. for short) to examine those December remarks. The P.S.E. is a complex electronic device which can determine if a person is telling the

truth by measuring the stress in his voice. The greater the stress, the bigger the lie, according to those who are expert in using the machine. McQuiston reports that Kennedy "says he is dropping out of the race for family reasons, and not political reasons, but an analysis of his voice during those statements shows that he's lying."

A retired Army colonel and co-inventor of the P.S.E. lie detector, McQuiston also observed that according to the machine "Kennedy's statement that he would not accept the draft for the Democratic nomination is false."

When Teddy Kennedy declared in his speech that "I will not be a candidate for the President of the U.S. in 1984," his voice showed only a little stress, indicating that he was telling the truth, states McQuiston. "But when Kennedy says later on: 'Nor would I accept a draft in 1984 — either for the Presidency or Vice Presidency,' we see very heavy stress. That statement is absolutely false. It's pure baloney! The stress here is so strong that it shows without a doubt that Kennedy does not believe that statement. It shows he won't turn down a draft."

The Truth (25 Broad Street, New York City 10004), a newsletter published by Julian Snyder which examines the public statements of politicians in the light of psychological stress evaluation, provides additional evidence to support the suspicion that Kennedy isn't being any more candid now than he was after Chappaquiddick. According to Snyder, also publisher of the authoritative weekly *International Moneyline*, his own P.S.E. analysis shows Teddy Kennedy was laboring to deceive his listeners when he stated that he is not ruling out the possibility of supporting another candidate in 1984. "Rather obviously," Snyder comments,

"the senator has ruled out the possibility of supporting anyone else but himself."

And if by chance the economy has turned up by next summer, making Ronald Reagan unbeatable, Kennedy can say he never wanted to run this time anyway. Let Mondale or Glenn lose. Teddy can look forward to 1988 or beyond when Chappaquiddick will be a dim memory and people will be restless after eight years of Republican rule. After all, in the year 2000, Teddy Kennedy will be a year younger than Ronald Reagan was when he won the Presidency in 1980.

But that may not be such sound reasoning as it appears. As Associated Press columnist Walter R. Mears notes, "he would not come to a 1988 or 1992 Presidential campaign with the political strength he showed in the warmups for 1984. A new generation of Democratic politicians, and candidates, will be along by then. So will a new generation of voters, who won't remember John, Robert, Camelot, and the broken myth of Kennedy invincibility."

The year 1984 could be Teddy's best chance — especially if the American economy turns even more sour in the months to come. And much can happen between now and the time of the Democratic Convention. Kennedy claimed that deference to his children's wishes and anxieties kept him out of the running; but children grow, mature, change their minds — even over the course of a year. The divorce and the attendant publicity will have subsided by then. And Edward Kennedy's supporters cannot be expected to wait forever. For these reasons, the last of John F. Kennedy's brothers cannot be ruled out as a possible standard bearer for the Democrats in 1984. George Orwell would not be surprised. ■ ■