



Ken Regan — Camera 5

# The Portside Record Of Teddy KENNEDY

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■ **FAITH** and begorrah! Get out your green sweater. Lock up your daughters and hide the store-bought whiskey. Camelot is coming. Potatoes are in, grits are out. Cornpone palaver must be replaced by the affectation of broad a's and dropped r's. The word is that Billy will go back to pumping gas, and that Hamilton Jordan will have to open a disco where Dr. Peter Bourne

will no doubt dispense the medicine.

Suddenly, we are told, Jimmy Carter has become the biggest loser since Joe Bfbsplk, the character in the old Al Capp comic strip who was perpetually followed by a little black cloud. Jimmy, the fair-haired boy of the mass media in 1976, has now become the butt of their every joke. The same scribes, cartoonists, and television



**Senator Kennedy voted for federal funding of abortion in 1975. Two months before he stood for reelection in heavily Catholic Massachusetts in 1976, however, he voted for a cutoff of such funding. After being reelected, Kennedy then voted in 1977 and 1978 to keep the federal abortion mills going full speed ahead.**

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hype artists who made the former Georgia governor an instant statesman in 1976 are apparently now determined to send him back to the family nut farm.

Recent polls show that eighteen percent of the American people think Carter is doing an adequate job. Where the pollsters find them is the biggest mystery since Bridie Murphy. Carter supporters are now as elusive as wood snipes. You occasionally hear about one; it is even possible to meet someone in the bleary late-night hours at a watering hole who claims to have seen one; but, you never actually meet one in the flesh.

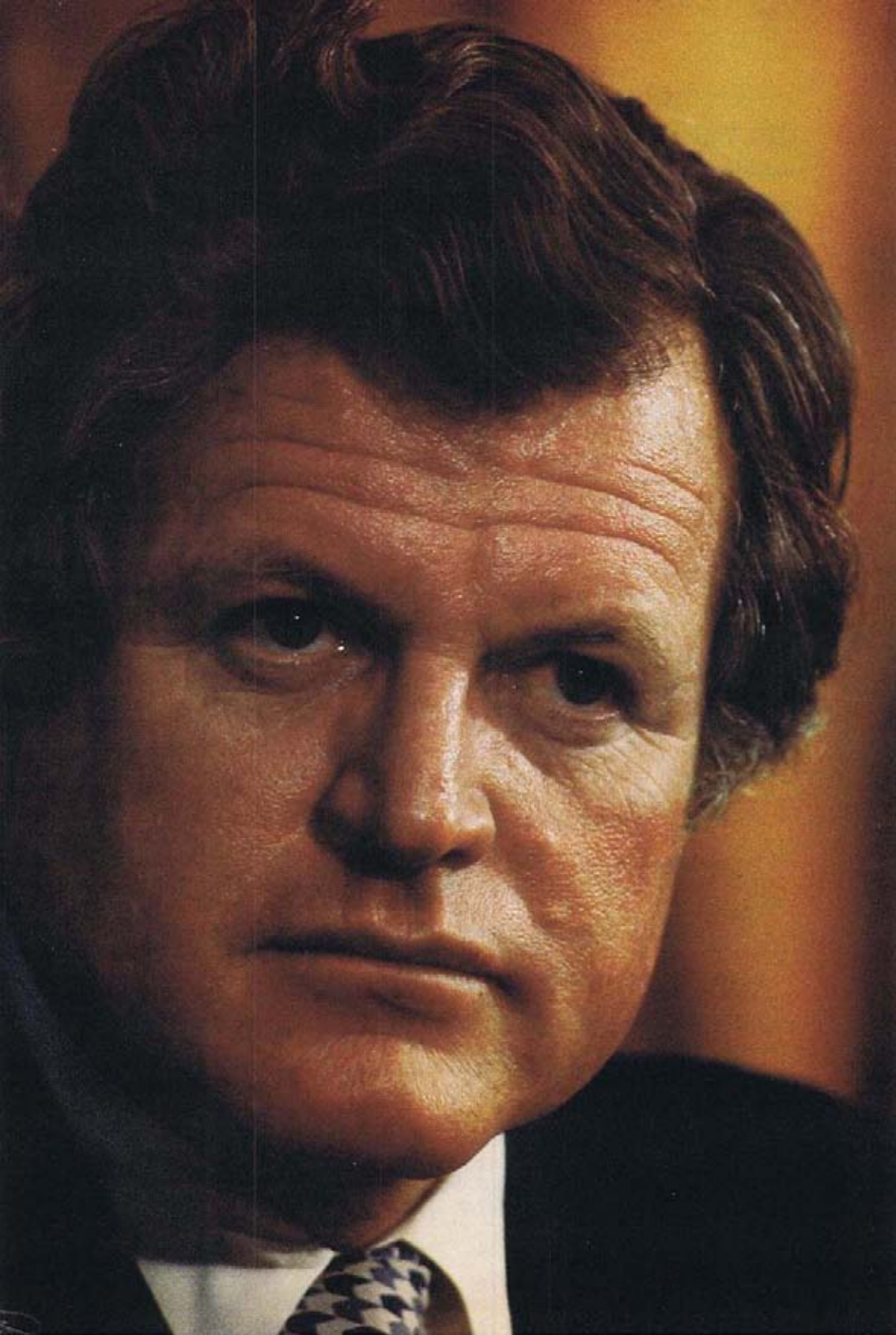
None of this has been lost on Edward Moore Kennedy, last of the storied Kennedy brothers. In view of the monumental ineptitude in the White House, Teddy Kennedy is horripilant with the prospect of at last capturing the Presidency. His friends believe he would have been elected President in 1972 or 1976 had he not gone for that infamous midnight swim in 1969. That, and attendant family problems, forced him to concentrate on developing power in the Senate during the intervening years. But Kennedy knows that Americans have notoriously short memories and that millions of aging teeny boppers who were children the night that an abandoned Mary Joe Kopechne suffo-

cated to death in the back seat of his Oldsmobile are now eligible to vote.

Americans under thirty have been raised on hero worship for rock stars and other entertainers of stunning charisma, little talent, and no morals. They are interested in the star qualities of a candidate, not his politics. And whether one worships or deplors the slickly packaged Senator from Massachusetts, nobody denies that he is fat with the intangible qualities of magnetism and charisma. In many ways the Presidential race has become a beauty contest. If Teddy Kennedy is elected President, he should be sworn in by Bert Parks.

Meanwhile, every time a new survey is released, Carter seems to be in worse trouble. His current rating of eighteen percent approval is five points below that of Richard Nixon just before he resigned over the Watergate scandals. The same polls also show that Kennedy would administer a monumental drubbing to any potential Republican opponent. Whether this lead will hold up once the public takes a close look at the Senator's voting record is unknown, but Teddy realizes that his iron is hot and he has done everything but officially announce his candidacy. In September 1979, for instance, word came from the House of Kennedy that mommy had told Teddy that he could run. Then







**Kennedy shares a laugh with Brezhnev. In the rating index of Americans for Democratic Action, Ted is revealed as the most socialist of all Senators and to the Left of even George McGovern. In 192 key Senate votes over the last decade, cheers the A.D.A., Kennedy voted against the socialist position only six times.**

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news was released from his estranged alcoholic wife Joan that she would be thrilled to hit the hustings with her long-absent husband. On September twenty-eighth, Teddy told an A.F.L.-C.I.O. convention in Massachusetts that had demanded he be a candidate: "I don't think you'll be disappointed."

Edward Kennedy has in the interim said that his decision on whether to run will depend on how the economy reacts during the last quarter of 1979. This, of course, is a self-fulfilling prophecy. No economist, including those employed by the Carter Administration, expects the economy to turn around in the next two months. In fact, we are heading into a recession while inflation continues to soar. One can expect the Senator with the runaway ego to announce soon that he is a certified candidate so that he will be able to file in all thirty-five primaries. The "President-in-Waiting" is ready.

President Carter meanwhile has more problems than brother Billy has empty beer cans. In his struggle to prove himself a strong leader, Jimmy Carter can look for little help from Congress. Twenty-four Democratic Senators face reelection next year and most of them are "Liberal" and very vulnerable. With the polls showing Carter doing disastrously in many of their states these Senators are running scared. They know that if Ken-

nedy leads the ticket in 1980 there will likely be a huge voter turnout at the polls — a turnout that favors the majority party. On the other hand, if Carter is the nominee, registered Democrats by the millions are likely to stay home and watch television.

Even as Carter is being abandoned by Democrats in the Senate he is being treated like a leper by the dons of organized labor. Big Labor loves Kennedy. If it sits on its hands, Carter can't be reelected even if he resists the Kennedy onslaught. And then there is the problem of the Jews and the blacks. Jews have long been major financial supporters of the Democratic Party, but the Jewish community thinks Carter has sold them down the Nile. And when he dropped Andy Young the blacks began to think Jimmy had sold them down the Mississippi. Now Jews and blacks are upset with each other over foreign policy and Jimmy has been caught between loss of Jewish financial support and loss of the large Democratic black vote.

Meanwhile the pollsters have discovered, to the amazement of professional politicians, that a substantial percentage of the American people who consider themselves to be moderately conservative place the philosophy of the Massachusetts Senator in the same category as their own. This sends dyed-in-the-wool Republicans





screaming up a tree. Just why so many perceive Teddy as a moderate is a bigger mystery than the origin of flying saucers. Psychologists mumble something about self-image projection and other pseudoscientific mumbo jumbo. Probably it has to do with Teddy's authentic charisma, nostalgia over the early Sixties when brother Jack was President, and teeny-bopper hero worship cranked up by the cooperating mass media. And let's not forget political naïveté. There is a lot of that going around these days. Regardless of why, it is dangerous to regard Kennedy as a charming but harmless political playboy.

The truth is that he is no more a political bumbler than he is a moderate. Edward Moore Kennedy is a dedicated and effective organizer for Big Government. There is hardly a problem from bunions to white backlash on which he has not proposed a solution involving a new or bigger government program.

And Teddy is not merely a champion "Liberal." He is regarded by many of the elitists from Wall Street, the giant foundations, and the Ivy League academic emporiums as the one and only man capable of saving their collectivist dreams. Carter has simply proved too much of a turkey to get their Big Government package through Congress even with a Democratic majority. As far as the Establishment *Insiders* and their New Class intellectuals are concerned, Kennedy is the last chance for "Liberalism." They believe that he will have long coattails and produce the most radical Congress since the New Deal. And, they also believe that, unlike Carter, Edward Moore Kennedy will be able to manage a new flock of "Liberal" sheep.

The *New Republic*, a citadel of "Limousine Liberalism" since 1915, says of the Cape Cod crusader: "Ed-

ward Kennedy favors national health insurance, as everybody knows. He also favors détente with the Soviet Union, a break-up of the big oil companies, immediate normalization of relations with Communist Cuba, the Equal Rights Amendment and Medicaid-financed abortions. He doesn't think Russian mucking about in Africa should affect our willingness to negotiate arms limitations treaties. He co-sponsored the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill. He publicly criticizes human rights violations in Chile, Argentina, South Africa and Nicaragua, but prefers the 'quiet approach' to the Soviet Union. He opposes tuition tax credits for private schools. He's spoken against the MX missile, the neutron bomb, the cruise missile and nuclear aircraft carriers. He favored getting out of Vietnam and voted to keep the U.S. out of Angola.

"Ideologically speaking, what does all this make Teddy Kennedy? If you like him president, or just like him, it makes him a liberal, a 'conventional liberal,' a 'New Deal liberal,' a 'Great Society liberal,' an 'updated 1960s liberal.' Senator Kennedy will not flinch if you call him 'a big liberal.' A Democratic Party activist calls him 'maybe the last chance for the salvation of liberalism as we knew it.'"

Teddy Kennedy has therefore united the Left from the swank penthouses of New York and Beverly Hills to the radical greenhouses of Berkeley and Madison. The New Left was at one time suspicious of him because it just couldn't believe that a man worth over a hundred million dollars could be a dedicated radical; but in the wake of Chappaquiddick the schoolboy Lenins and teenage Trotskys and their keepers re-thought their positions. Kennedy is their man.

Fortunately for the rest of us, the  
(Continued on page seventy-one.)



From page six

## TEDDY KENNEDY

New Left and the "Liberal" functionaries of the Democratic Party are now as out of step with Middle America as a man in a celluloid collar and spats. The workingman that the elitists claim to adore, but actually despise as Joe Sixpack, no longer sees Big Government as his friend and protector. Middle America now realizes that ever bigger government loots their savings, threatens their jobs, and destroys their pensions. The Welfare State and its supportive red-tape "Liberalism" are losing popularity faster than a girl with a garlic sandwich in a game of Spin The Bottle.

George McGovern, the woebegone white knight of "Liberalism" in 1972, has become an object of ridicule. The people view him and his followers as they do a yapping dog — a pest and an annoyance but no threat. After the 1972 debacle, only one percent of the members of the Democratic Party favored poor George for the 1976 nomination. Yet Ted Kennedy is virtually an ideological clone of the South Dakota tax snatcher. Most people have forgotten that Kennedy was the point man in McGovern's 1972 march into oblivion. The Massachusetts wonder boy told the *Boston Globe* on May 9, 1972: "People understand where my sympathies are in this election. They are with Senator McGovern and the positions that he takes."

In preparation for the 1972 election, Kennedy operatives were behind the scenes running the nationwide quest for the prairie populist. Undoubtedly they were using McGovern as a stalking horse in case Teddy decided to enter the race himself. As it turned out, the Chappaquiddick killing and wife Joan's alcoholism combined to convince him that he would have to wait. When it became obvious

that he could not accept the nomination that was his for the asking, Kennedy led the cheers for Big McGovern, proclaiming: "In the heat of the campaign, every Presidential election always seems the most important in our history. I feel that way about George McGovern, just as I felt that way about John Kennedy in 1960." Teddy was so closely linked with the McGovern fanaticism that his brother-in-law Sargent Shriver was named the Dakota Quixote's runningmate.

McGovern did his *Hindenburg* routine and went down in flames, but his patron from Hyannisport was there cheering McGovern's every excess. The reason is simple. Kennedy knows that his constituency is composed of the Big Labor moguls, the minorities, the New Class elitist "Liberals," and the hero worshippers of the Kennedy mystique. The latter are mostly non-political types mesmerized by the glamor that has been made to surround the royally packaged young prince who seeks the throne. Teddy has gotten away with being McGovern's ideological clone because a sizable segment of the American public paid little or no attention to his politics. If substantial numbers of this group come out from under the ether, Teddy Kennedy is in deep trouble.

As we noted, Kennedy is not just a Big Government "Liberal." He is *the* Big Government "Liberal." *The Washingtonian* for February 1979 quotes him as proclaiming: "I define liberalism in this country." That may sound like Louis XIV declaring "I am the State," but in the United States Senate "Liberal" legislation without Kennedy's backing is simply not passed.

Kennedy has become a modern-day Lyndon Johnson, strong-arming reluctant Senators into supporting one collectivist measure after another. As *Esquire* for February 1975 put it: "His



Senate role is increasingly impressive, especially as he corrals skittish liberals into tough votes . . . ." As long as the project is related to Welfare and not to national defense, no barrel is too porky for Teddy. In many ways he has been almost a kamikaze "Liberal." As the *Chicago Tribune* notes: "On issues Teddy is far bolder than his brothers, often tempting political disasters that wiser or less daring politicians would avoid." Yet even his detractors credit him with being an effective operator when it comes to translating philosophy into power.

Kennedy is a member of five Congressional Committees: Labor and Public Welfare; the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs; the Special Committee on Aging; the Joint Economic Committee; and, he is Chairman of the powerful Senate Judiciary Committee. "He gets the maximum mileage out of each," observes the *Chicago Tribune*. This man understands power. He is not in awe of it, and he does not shy away. Far from it. The trouble is that he uses every power at his disposal to expand the role of government in our lives.

Proof of the political pudding is to be found in his voting record. It is therefore good that both "Liberal" and Conservative groups supply us with indices to use as thermometers in taking the ideological temperature of our lawmakers. The best-known "Liberal" index is compiled by Americans for Democratic Action, known as the A.D.A. This group is recognized all over the political spectrum as the nation's chief advocate of democratic socialism. On the opposite side of the fence is the American Conservative Union (A.C.U.), founded in the wake of the Goldwater debacle to promote limited government and fight escalating federal spending. Let us compare what the voting tabulations of these two groups tell us about Teddy.

In 1976, in advance of the Presidential election, the A.D.A. worked up a ten-year study on the voting habits of a dozen Democrats in the Senate who might be Presidential candidates. Among this select group was the celebrated Senator from Massachusetts. The A.D.A. study considered two hundred and two roll-call votes in the Senate between 1965 and 1974. From this data the certifiers of "Liberalism" computed "liberal quotients" for each of the potential candidates. These quotients represent the percentage of votes cast in support of "Liberal" policies as defined by the socialists at the A.D.A.

Senator Kennedy was absent on ten of the key votes. On the remaining one hundred ninety-two, over the decade, he voted "wrong" in the A.D.A.'s opinion only six times, giving him an overall "Liberal" quotient of ninety-seven. This made him the champion "Liberal" of them all in the eyes of A.D.A. Kennedy had "out-Liberalled" such champion squanderers of the taxpayers' money as Hubert Humphrey, Birch Bayh, Frank Church, and even the woolly-minded George McGovern himself.

On sixty issues involving foreign policy and military affairs, the Senator's "liberal quotient" was an astronomical ninety-five percent. He championed every spending proposal in foreign economic giveaways and opposed every proposal for foreign military aid to oppose Communism. The dovish Senator voted to delay the Anti-Ballistic Missile, to reduce the funds for bombers, and to cut funds for the badly needed Trident submarine.

On fourteen issues involving federal control over consumer and environmental issues, the Senator rang up a perfect score of one hundred percent. He was for mandatory federal no-fault auto insurance, for the bu-



**Having refused to stop telling about Jesus Christ, the virtuous Liubov Ovtchinikova has been locked up by the Communists in a prison dispensary for criminals with venereal disease, where she is forced to drink from the common cup. Five million people are today suffering in Soviet prisons for religious and political reasons.**

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cret members. In the United States, Harry F. Ward, of the undeservedly prestigious Union Theological Seminary, was for fifty years one of the top Communists in the United States. So important a Communist was Harry F. Ward that he traveled regularly to Russia to plot with Stalin the infiltration of religion in America. Many of the thousands of "Christian ministers" he trained and placed during all that time are still in the woodpile.

So it was that at the World Pentecostal Conference in Dallas, in November, 1970, three official delegates from Communist-occupied Russia were permitted to speak. The three frauds represented the Soviet Baptist Union. During one of the speeches, Wurmbrand's son and daughter-in-law silently unfurled a banner which read: "Russian jails are full with Christians! Help them!" Here's what happened: The "Reverend Montgomery, the chairman of the Conference, and other leaders snatched by force the sign, twisted the arms of Judy, knocked Michael to the ground, and dragged him by the feet out of the conference room."

Indeed, *Voice Of The Martyrs* also tells us this: "Some Christian missions are careless about their personnel, even about their leaders. In our opinion they seem to lack the know-how of distinguishing an infiltrator

from a real Christian worker. They don't know the elementary secret that a Communist spy *may look like a born-again, or even like a highly spiritual pastor.*" (Emphasis added.)

In other words, if the Communists are smart enough, and devious enough, to infiltrate the left end of religion — and they are, as we have seen — then they are also smart enough and devious enough to infiltrate the right. If they are diabolical enough to manipulate the poor believers who can be manipulated into supporting blatantly Communist goals; they are also diabolical enough to manipulate the believers who can't, but who — precisely because of their fierce belief — can be conned into doing nothing to fight Communism, on the completely un-Biblical ground that it is "God's will."

Does this make you angry, friend? Welcome to the club!

Along these lines, an eighty-one-year-old lady writes from Communist-occupied Hungary: "Three of my sons have been arrested and two of them killed because of their Christian belief. So I remain alone with a bleeding heart. Why do Western Christians permit a man like Billy Graham to go to Hungary to preach when he is not able to realize what happens around him and does not speak out a single word against the terrible persecutions



reaucratic monstrosity known as the Consumer Protection Agency, against desperately needed nuclear testing, and for expanding the bureaucracy of the Federal Trade Commission.

The A.D.A. study examined twenty-six votes on the economy and tax expansion. Mr. Kennedy scored ninety-two percent in this area. He voted, in effect, to abolish state right-to-work laws, to accelerate increases in the minimum-wage laws that produce so much unemployment among the young, and to provide Food Stamps for strikers.

The Massachusetts prince scored one hundred percent on what the A.D.A. socialists call social services, civil rights, civil liberties, and miscellaneous issues. He supported giving billions in rent subsidies, gun control, racially forced housing, and racial quotas in hiring. Seen through the pink-tinted glasses of the A.D.A., his record was absolutely perfect.

Since the period of the original A.D.A. study, the Hyannisport leopard has hardly changed his spots. Occasionally he does now utter a conservative word. His rhetoric is tough on crime, although he opposed the death penalty for such offenses as treason and kidnapping. He has promoted deregulation of airlines and trucking in the name of competition, though the move on trucking could have something to do with the Kennedy family's two-decade feud with the Teamsters' Union. But these ventures into the center have been remarkably few and very recent. Nobody else in the Senate has so consistently resisted all temptations to heed a strict reading of the Constitution of the United States.

On nineteen key votes during 1978, the Senator batted nineteen for nineteen in the A.D.A.'s scorebook. He was the primary promoter of mandatory national health insurance, ever increasing Welfare payments, and ever

more forced bussing for racial purposes. He was against lifting Rhodesian sanctions.

Kennedy's A.D.A. rating, you will note, is remarkable for its consistency. He is perpetually "Liberal." This is also born out in his rating by the American Conservative Union. Since 1971, when A.C.U. began issuing its ratings, Kennedy has received a cumulative Conservative rating of three percent — a perfect match for his A.D.A. voting record of ninety-seven percent "Liberal."

Edward Kennedy may be elected President of the United States, but unless he buys it he will never head the National Taxpayers Union. The A.C.U.'s analysis indicates that E.M.K. has consistently opposed tax-reduction measures, including the Kemp-Roth bill. The A.C.U. reports that he voted against indexing the tax tables to the rate of inflation; against raising the personal tax exemption to one thousand dollars; and, against tax deductions for parents with children in private schools.

While Teddy's family believes in running its Chicago Merchandise Mart at a profit, the Senator is apparently convinced the nation must be kept constantly in the red. In both 1978 and 1979 Ted Kennedy cast a no vote on measures to balance the federal Budget, and in 1975 and 1976 he voted against across-the-board Budget cuts. Meanwhile, he supported massive increases in every conceivable spending program.

Whenever some brave Senator proposes to cut the Budget on domestic social programs, Kennedy acts like someone has just threatened to shoot his dog. When cuts were proposed in the massive Food Stamp program, the boondoggle public-housing program, and parasitic public-service jobs, he voted nay. On other budgetary matters, the A.C.U. noted, Kennedy voted



for Congressional and Executive salary increases and \$1.5 billion in loan guarantees to New York City, famous for mugging taxpayers.

Washington wags have suspected that the Kennedy family owns large amounts of stock in companies manufacturing red tape. The A.C.U.'s tabulation showed that, except for his promotion of airline deregulation, Kennedy has voted consistently for ever greater federal regulation of the private sector. Whenever relief for harassed businessmen was proposed, Kennedy did everything but bang his shoe on the table. Bills introduced to lessen the regulatory powers of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, the Environmental Protection Agency, and the Department of Energy, were all vehemently opposed by him. He is also implicated in America's energy shortage, having steadfastly opposed deregulation of natural gas even as foreign prices soared. He opposed stripping the President of authority capriciously to impose dictatorial wage and price controls on the economy. And when Americans rebelled against Naderite laws which strapped them into automobiles like a convict in the electric chair, Kennedy voted against efforts to repeal federally mandated use of automobile seat belts and Rube Goldberg ignition interlock systems.

The A.C.U. describes Teddy Kennedy's voting record on social issues as "McGovernesque." The Washington-based group points out that Kennedy has voted in favor of dictatorial forced bussing for racial balance on four separate occasions despite the fact that a majority of his own constituents vociferously oppose the destruction of the neighborhood school. Moreover, in 1977, he voted against the Hayakawa amendment to outlaw affirmative action for less qualified blacks and sex quotas for hiring.

On other social issues, A.C.U. reports Kennedy supported extension of the period of ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and opposed efforts to allow states to rescind earlier approval. He twice opposed the reimposition of the death penalty, supported federal funding for the wildly radical International Women's Year Conference, backed the pardon of Vietnam era draft dodgers, and supported the power of H.E.W. to impose sexual integration in physical education classes and groups such as fraternities and sororities.

The A.C.U.'s analysis shows that Kennedy has taken two different positions on the issue of federal funding of abortions; but, on balance, he has favored such federal funding. In 1975 the Senator voted against a cutoff in federal funding for abortion. In September 1976, two months before he stood for reelection in heavily Catholic Massachusetts, this great man of principle voted for a cutoff in federal funding for abortions. After the election he then voted against the cutoff in 1977 and 1978.

Tabulation by the A.C.U. of eighteen years of the Kennedy record revealed that the Senator has made a career of opposing Senate Conservatives on what the organization considered "key" international issues. Twice the man from Massachusetts opposed assurances of U.S. protection for Taiwan, and he opposed diplomatic and trade sanctions against Communist Cuba and Communist Vietnam, even while voting to uphold sanctions against militantly anti-Communist Rhodesia. His attacks on anti-Communist Argentina, Chile, and (before their fall) Iran and Nicaragua, are notorious.

The study shows that Kennedy even voted against appropriations for the evacuation of U.S. citizens and pro-



American Vietnamese in 1975, against a cutoff of U.S. financial support for pro-Communist U.N. welfare programs, and for the treaty providing for the payaway of the Panama Canal.

The Kennedy record on national defense is not one calculated to help one sleep well. The A.C.U. tabulation confirms that he has been a consistent opponent of desperately needed defense appropriations and new military programs. He has been against the development of weapons systems which would neutralize the increasing military power of the Soviet Union and on four occasions voted against development of the B-1 bomber. He also voted against development of the neutron warhead, production of the Trident submarine, for dismantling the Anti-Ballistic Missile (A.B.M.) air-defense system to protect our cities, and against further production of the Minuteman III missile. He even went so far as to vote for transfer to federal social programs one billion dollars from the already pauperous defense budget.

Richard Reeves, the national editor of *Esquire*, tells us where Teddy has been going domestically in an article entitled "Teddy Moves To The Left," published under date of March 13, 1979. He quotes the Senator as stating: "I think I'm the one in the mainstream. Politicians here [in Washington] are behind the times. They're catching up with yesterday's movements. I know people are worried about inflation and that there's a great concern about the waste of government, the insensitivity of bureaucracies. But I don't detect that people are less interested in the human issues — health, the poor, the cities . . . . The White House is talking about nickels and dimes."

Ahh, yes. Nickels and dimes! This year the federal government is spend-

ing somewhere in the neighborhood of three hundred billion dollars on Welfare programs and to Teddy Kennedy this is only nickels and dimes. That amounts to \$5,100 in taxes for every American family. It boggles the mind to think how much of our money Kennedy would spend on Welfare if given his druthers. Commenting on his interview with the Presidential aspirant, Reeves writes: "The most popular politician in America went on, convincing me that he is the only public official in the country with a program and that the program is redistribution of wealth."

That's right, redistribution of the wealth. Whose wealth? Certainly not that of the Kennedy family, which has its millions protected from grabby tax collectors by tax-free foundations and family trust funds that go unchallenged by the agents at I.R.S. Since corporation taxes are passed on to the public in the form of higher prices, redistribution of the wealth can *only* be paid for by those who are productively employed. In other words, Kennedy wants to take America the way of England, where ever higher taxation to support handouts to the unproductive have produced stagnation and a declining standard of living.

Reeves says that Kennedy is playing a tricky game with his oratory in this area. He writes: "In everything I've read that he has said and proposed over the last year — national health care, defense cuts, universal tuition loans, corporate breakups, and more — what is striking is that his speeches are punctuated with sounds of battle and anger: 'The dream still lives . . . . We are the soldiers . . . . Our trumpets do not know how to sound retreat . . . . We cannot surrender . . . . The flame may flicker, but it shall never die.'"

According to the astute if "Liber-



al" Mr. Reeves, most Americans begin thinking about Presidential politics about two weeks after every fourth World Series. These good folks now see Kennedy as a routine "Liberal" who is "for poor people and gun control, against constitutional amendments to balance budgets." Says Reeves: "Perhaps this is the way a new President Kennedy would turn out. But I doubt it. He is becoming more radical than routine. 'I think there is a battle going on for control of the society,' he said, and Kennedy is on the government's side."

Reeves believed that the Kennedy rhetoric would get more acidic and hyperbolic as the Senator made his move for an easy chair in the Oval Office. The *Esquire* seer prophesied: "He is the defender of government, the defender of doing. He will persist in telling us what can be done — and we will listen because he is a Kennedy. Maybe he is using the passions of the committed; maybe all he intends to do is force the flickering flame of liberalism into the line of sight of Jimmy Carter and the negative visionaries. That is a worthy endeavor. But it is not what is rallying the troops — they hear trumpets, not a distant drummer."

At the same time, however, Kennedy is trying to moderate his image by simultaneously speaking out of both sides of his mouth. While rallying his radicals he wants to emphasize style and leadership to Middle America and play down his ideology and voting record. He told the Associated Press on September 16, 1979, that in the case of Jimmy Carter: "It's back to whether the people have the sense of confidence that he can deal with issues. I think that's the matter of deepening and increasing concern to people as we come to the 1980s." Kennedy suggests that he is the one to restore confidence in the Ameri-

can people; something which Carter has obviously failed to do.

"Liberalism"? "Liberalism"? Suddenly Teddy has never heard of it. Saul Freedman of the *Long Beach Independent* Washington bureau describes Teddy's recent scrambling to keep Middle America from identifying him with the label he has earned for two decades:

"Outside the Capitol, Kennedy ran into Sen. George McGovern of South Dakota, the losing Democratic standard-bearer in 1972. McGovern reminded Kennedy of a columnist's warning against being identified as a McGovern-style liberal. 'Now, senator, don't let yourself get McGovernized,' McGovern joked. Kennedy smiled and said that he was already anticipating the charge that he was a big-spending liberal, and the following counterpoint speculation that he was moving toward the center — the traditional home of presidential candidates.

"Later, in his office, with the tape recorder on, Kennedy drew deeply on a long luxurious cigar, and gave careful, practiced answers that lent credence to such observations.

"Are you headed toward the center?"

"I don't think labels really say very much. I mean we are in an era of slogans and clichés and labels. But I don't think that really is very enlightening or revealing about any individual's position."

Freedman was aghast at this from Kennedy. Was the former "Liberal" lion turning into a careful middle of the roader? When the reporter asked him about his statement "I define liberalism in this country," the candidate waffled: "Well, I don't . . . well, that's . . . I don't have any recollection. I've never claimed myself as a leader of . . . that's a question for others to define." So much



for Mr. Forthright. Freedman continues: "Reminded that many Democrats want him to run for President because they consider him a liberal, he said: 'Well, as I say, people like to fit public officials into narrow, neat little compartments. I don't think that really adds very much of value to one's viewpoint or attitude on policy questions.'"

This from the man rated ninety-seven percent by the "Liberal" A.D.A. and three percent by the Conservative A.C.U. Whatever happened to: "The dream still lives . . . . We are the soldiers . . . . Our trumpets do not know how to sound retreat . . . . We cannot surrender . . . . The flame may flicker, but it shall never die"? It sounds like the trumpet has already tooted retreat and the flickering flame has been put under a bushel basket.

If there is any doubt in your mind that the Senator is preparing to make his move, consider the following article from the *Los Angeles Times* of September 28, 1979, headlined "Kennedy Details Program To Boost Free Enterprise: Seeks To Shed Spender Image." Can you imagine it? Teddy Kennedy praising Free Enterprise? Next thing you know Zsa Zsa Gabor will endorse monogamy and Truman Capote will be playing middle linebacker for the Pittsburgh Steelers.

If you have reached for one of those bags the airlines conveniently put in that pocket in front of your seat you can now safely read the following from Robert Shogan of the *Los Angeles Times*:

"Rejecting the proposition that 'government knows best,' Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) Thursday night outlined a broad program to reinvigorate the free enterprise system whose inequities he often has criticized. In an address to an Investment Association of New York at the

Waldorf Astoria, Kennedy offered the most detailed exposition of his approach to economic policy since he became a prospective presidential candidate early this month. By the tone and thrust of his remarks the senator sought to portray himself as a vigorous advocate of free enterprise rather than the profligate big spender that many businessmen see in him."

Sounding like Barry Goldwater in 1964, born-again conservative Kennedy told an audience that probably couldn't believe its ears: "We do not ask to bring back the New Deal or restore the New Frontier to life. Instead we seek to generate once again the 'can-do' attitude that always has been the hallmark of America at its best."

The man who for two decades has been Mr. Big Government told the astounded Investors Association: "In this area [regulation] we are making a clean break with the New Deal and even the 1960s. We reject the idea that government knows best across the board, that public planning is inherently superior or more effective than private action. There is now a growing consensus, which I share, that government intervention in the economy should come only as a last resort."

Look out the window. The sun may be rising in the west and setting in the east; it may be snowing on the Sahara and your teenage son may be picking up his room without being asked; Billy Carter may be wearing a yarmulke; Harvard may be beating Michigan in football; and, Tiny Tim may be singing bass. Anything is possible if Ted Kennedy can become a cheerleader for Free Enterprise.

Is he sincere? Is the Pope Italian? Does a bear live in the ocean? There are those who say that the Kennedy family motto translates from the Gaelic as "Be sincere whether you mean it or not." ■ ■