

Presidential politics

Democratic convention

No love lost between Carter and Kennedy

By THOMAS JESSIMAN

The nice part about the Democratic convention was the tribute to Walter Cronkite by CBS after his last night as the network's convention anchorman. The nasty part happened about half an hour earlier when Teddy Kennedy walked to the podium to display "party unity."

As Jimmy beamed and Jerry Brown shrunk into the shadows, Teddy shook the president's outstretched hand and immediately moved on and chatted with other politicians. Two media experts kept wondering when the customary "hands-in-the-air" salute would come for Kennedy and Carter, but nothing ever happened. Both men had grins that seemed tacked to their faces. As Kennedy left Carter patted him on the back but Teddy did not even turn.

Afterwards political columnist George Will said it best: "Sometimes it's best just to be blunt. And the plain truth is that those two men simply don't like each other." Up to that last confrontation of the two men, the convention had gone very well for Carter. He had won the battle over whether to release the delegates, and after a bitter battle concerning a Kennedy plank calling for more jobs, he even appeared to win the senator over to a full endorsement.

But the differences between Carter and Kennedy on major issues were just too great for them to feign reconciliation. Their greatest source of contention lies in the economy. Kennedy's support for wage and price controls and a \$12 billion anti-recession program aimed at getting jobs for the unemployed is totally unacceptable to the Carter forces, and for Kennedy to set all these aside and wholeheartedly endorse the president would have been as hypocritical as George Bush's actions at the Republican convention four weeks ago.

No one really knows how hard Kennedy is going to

work for the Carter campaign this fall, whether he will give one or five speeches. But the icy meeting on the podium Thursday night told much about the confusion and division in the Democratic Party and highlighted the differences between the two men responsible for that split that ran deeper than issues.

Kennedy's Tuesday night speech outlining the views of the Democrats' liberal wing and recalling the heritage and stature of the party demonstrated that at long last he knows exactly where he stands. His claim that he had come "not to argue for a candidacy, but to affirm a cause" drew cheers—his cause having a strong appeal for the partisan delegates.

Carter's speech on the other hand, lacking the eloquence and power of Kennedy's, seemed to be directed more toward the threat of Ronald Reagan and was filled with pleasant though hollow-sounding promises for the future.

The plain truth is that he has sifted through four years of the presidency with so little consistency that by now no one is very sure where he stands or where his base will be in November.

Carter always has seen himself as working without the assistance of the political types and party bosses, and perhaps this was admirable in his climb to the top four years ago. But he has found out the hard way as president that it is necessary to work with those people. He needs the party this year because his opposition is so well organized, and he needs Kennedy because Kennedy is no longer a misguided senator without a base as he was seven months ago.

But at this time it looks as if he has lost Kennedy. Perhaps the sight of Carter and Kennedy on the podium was the first of many Carter and Kennedy appearances, but more likely the coldness evident there will not make such appearances frequent. Kennedy's campaign was long and hard fought, and he will not soon forget the times when Carter was a less-than-gracious winner and when the president failed to concede anything to the vanquished.

but that Kennedy won the convention with his Tuesday speech. Somebody said Carter may have won the nomination night speech. The vastly different responses to their speeches might confirm this—Kennedy drew a 37-minute ovation while Carter's was clearly less heralded.

In part, the great enthusiasm for Kennedy was due to

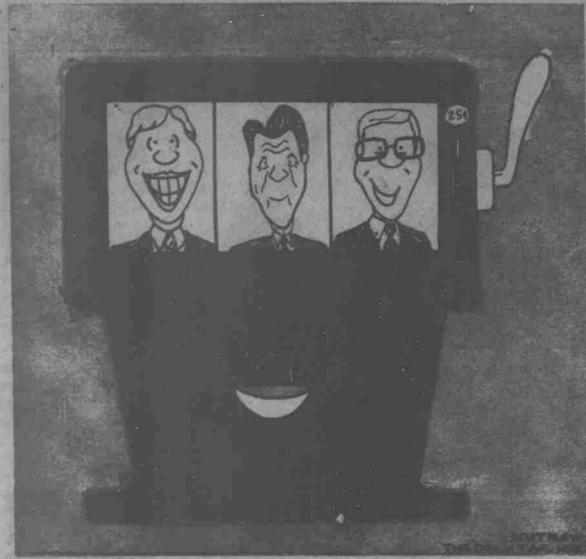


'And Carter needs Kennedy because Kennedy is no longer a misguided senator without a base.'

the eager-to-cheer delegates. Kennedy's delegates were releasing their frustration after a grueling campaign; and Carter's delegates, flushed with victory, were free to cheer the speech because Kennedy was no longer a threat.

But beyond that, the real reason Kennedy stole the show is that for the first time he struck chords that appeal to a significant portion of his party—a portion that Carter, even with his penchant for going it alone, cannot afford to let slip away.

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Partisan decision keeps Anderson out

By BRAD KUTROW

"Would you like to sign a petition for John Anderson?" they used to ask, earnestly. Last spring Anderson's supporters worked the crowds on Franklin Street, setting up shop between the Chapel Hill Anti-Nuclear Group Effort and the Kappa Alpha Theta charity balloon sale, seeking the signatures needed to put him on the ballot in November.

Although Anderson's organization hit every lick required by state law to qualify, he has been denied a place on the ballot by the State Elections Board. The decision, which is pending appeal, cites a "sore loser" clause prohibiting candidates who have participated in a party primary from running in the general election as independents. Just now, though, it's not clear precisely who is the sore loser.

The tasks set up for an independent candidate by the Elections Board are formidable, but Anderson managed to accomplish them all. First, campaign workers gathered 19,400 petition signatures—nearly twice the 10,000 required. State law also requires candidates to be affiliated with a party and nominated by a convention; but there are no guidelines specifying just what constitutes a convention.

So a "party" was formed—Independents for Anderson. Its first and presumably last convention was held June 28 at the Governor's Inn in the Research Triangle, and followed generally the format of the Republican and Democratic state conventions. Still, as reporters pointed out, the vagueness of the state election law could have permitted any kind of gathering to be called a party convention. Given the nature of Anderson's support in the state, they might as well have called a Chapel Hill town meeting.

The very ambiguity in election law that made Anderson's struggle to get on the ballot difficult eventually thwarted it—at least pending appeal. The Democratic National Committee and 11 in-state Democratic politicians, including President Carter's state campaign chairman Wallace Hyde, sued to keep Anderson off the ballot. They contended that Anderson had participated in the May presidential primary as a Republican and thus could not run as an independent in November. North Carolina is one of several states

that have a "sore loser" clause preventing candidates from switching parties between the primary and general election.

The state Elections Board voted 3-2 along party lines to bar Anderson from the ballot, Democrats for and Republicans against. That decision seemed to follow the line of thinking that holds that Anderson will draw voters from Carter, helping Reagan. The board ruled that Anderson had participated in the primary and was thus ineligible.

What is at issue, and what Anderson attorneys likely will question in their appeal is the definition of "participate." Elections laws do not define it, and the board never has had to rule on that aspect of the law. Anderson spent only \$2,400 in the state. He opened no campaign headquarters and, most importantly, asked that his name be withdrawn a week before the May 6 primary. These are not the actions of a whole-hearted primary participant.

Anderson's appeal of the board's decision was to be heard in court Wednesday, and a restraining order has been issued barring the printing and distribution of ballots. No irreversible damage has been done to his chances at presstime. Even so, the Elections Board's seemingly partisan manner of handling the Anderson case reflects poorly on the two-party system the independent strongly supports. Although voters had no real chance to assess Anderson in the primary, the board moved to deny them that chance in the general election. It is as if the Democrats were out to scuttle Anderson's candidacy and prove him wrong as well. They, it seems, are sore losers of the moderate vote.

Ironically, the Elections Board ruled that the "Independents for Anderson" party it had required campaigners to form in the first place was a "genuine" party. As such, it could name another candidate to take Anderson's place on the ballot. That seems a pointless suggestion; who could they get?

For the record, there's a John B. Anderson now living in Carrboro who says he'd be glad to help out the Illinoisian with the same name. Said the Carrboro Anderson, "That'd be kinda cool."

That would be kinda cool.

Brad Kutrow, a senior political science major from Wilmington, is associate editor for The Daily Tar Heel.

The Anderson Factor

The probability that John Anderson will win the presidency in November seems roughly approximate to a snowball's chance in hell. Still, Anderson's independent candidacy appears to be the strongest since Teddy Roosevelt ran as a Progressive in 1912, and no one is sure just how it will affect the Carter-Reagan race. What could happen, and what those of us who follow politics fret over as we fall asleep at night, is that the Anderson snowball might knock the election so far off balance that it would tumble into the House of Representatives.

The 12th Amendment, passed in 1804, gives the House authority to elect a president if no candidate wins a majority of the electoral vote. It was written after the election of 1800 was deadlocked between Aaron Burr and Thomas Jefferson, with Jefferson winning an intense political battle in the House. Since Jefferson, only one other president—quiet John Quincy Adams in 1824—has been elected by the House.

Although most polls say Reagan has a wide lead over President Carter and Anderson, both are likely to pick up steam this fall. If Carter and Reagan evenly split the electoral votes, and Anderson wins a state or two—say Massachusetts and New York—it is conceivable that none of the three could attain a majority.

The electoral votes, remember, are cast by electors; individuals who are not bound to the popular vote by anything but tradition. Assuming they do follow the lead of the electorate, the president

would be chosen by the House with each state's delegation having one vote.

Democrats now control 29 delegations, Republicans 12 with nine evenly split. But the delegations would caucus to determine their votes in January 1981, after members elected in November are seated. The GOP delegations are likely to remain in control of their 12 states, but Democrats have only one-seat margins in five. If the Republicans pick up a seat in each of those five and one in each split state, they theoretically would win control of the House presidential election.

That is about as likely as Anderson getting elected. But Republican campaign strategists hope to win enough House races in November to give them control of 26 delegations—enough for a majority—by gaining only 24 seats.

All this speculation will be apocryphal if one candidate does win a majority or if the more conservative Democratic liberal Republican delegations start compromising. And if the Anderson snowball, well, snowballs, and he wins the popular vote, there is no telling what might happen in the House.

Perhaps the most authoritative prediction yet comes from a West Virginia psychic who picked Carter in 1976 and George Bush as Ronald Reagan's running mate this year. She says the election will go to the House and that a Democrat will win.

Imagine: President Robert Byrd.

—BRAD KUTROW

A persuasive speech

Kennedy makes believers out of delegates

By ELIZABETH DANIEL

Edward Kennedy may have lost the contest for the Democratic presidential nomination, but from the cheers of the convention delegates no one would ever know.

When Carter appeared before the New York convention to accept the nomination, he was received like a poor relation. Yet, whenever Kennedy appeared the delegates cheered as if he were a savior.

On the second night of the convention, when Kennedy delivered his persuasive speech, the delegates showed an enthusiasm absent throughout the rest of the convention. For 37 minutes, they shouted "We want Teddy," and waved Kennedy placards.

During those frantic minutes of spontaneous applause, it looked as though Kennedy could have called for another vote on the "freeing-the-delegates" issue and come out a winner.

However, the chance for a Kennedy victory had passed. The delegates were telling Kennedy he had fought a good fight. They were sending a message saying they desired a candidate with an enthusiasm and vigor that Carter surely lacks. Though a loser, Teddy appealed to their hearts in a way Carter never will.

The scene at Madison Square Garden that Tuesday night was reminiscent of the days before Kennedy announced his intention to run and the whole country was waiting for the announcement. That night he spoke with a force and power that easily made one forget the babbling incoherencies of his campaign.

But Kennedy was in his element. The crowd was friendly. He was delivering a speech about a cause he truly espouses, not Teddy Kennedy himself, but what

he believes to be the true ideals of the Democratic Party. He was selling national health insurance, social security, and most of all, the government's responsibility to assure every man a job.

By calling for continued government intervention, Kennedy struck a note of pride in the souls of those Democrats in Madison Square Garden; he told them



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there really was a difference between the Republican and Democratic parties.

He told them the Democratic Party was still the party of hope and wasted no time summoning the memory of his dead brothers to lighten the emotional peak he was trying to reach.

When the delegates heard Kennedy actually proposing things and not just making poor jokes about the Republicans, they went wild. It was as if they were

determined to show the country that Democrats, too, could be happy in 1980.

The delegates were inspired by Kennedy's vision of the Democratic Party. He described a party that put the poor and friendless first in its policies and shunned the rich and powerful.

When the delegates approved the economic platform plank, cheering Kennedy at every turn, they were trying to return to the days of the liberal Democratic spirit that Kennedy embodies.

They did not seem to think about the effect of a \$12 billion job program on inflation. They wanted to be good Democrats, so they gave jobs top priority.

Those Democrats at the convention represented the core of the party, but in approving the minority platform positions they strayed from its broader base. The delegates did not acknowledge the growing national discontent with increased government intervention. Instead they returned to the "Democratic heritage" of a strong yet helpful government.

Kennedy's speech recalled all of that liberal heritage, and it was impressive. His demand for aid to the underprivileged represented an idealism that is generally absent in these days of tax cut talk. But, lower taxes, not increased government spending, seem to be what most people want.

Kennedy may have won the hearts of that band of Democrats in New York, but his platform positions proved he represents too narrow a group to have won the election in November.

Elizabeth Daniel, a sophomore political science and English major from Perry, Fla., is a staff writer for The Daily Tar Heel.

Positions a paradox

Reagan is most charismatic candidate

By GEORGE SHADROU

To many television viewers the Republican convention was nothing more than a congregation of flag-waving anti-intellectuals whose taste for apple pie made many a stomach ache. Too much pie does that, you know.

Indeed, the GOP platform and the Republican Party offer America a choice. There will be no more "half-assed" conservatism, as Barry Goldwater might say. The platform leaves little doubt as to where the likes of Sen. Jesse Helms and company would like to take this country. The unanswered question is where Ronald Reagan plans to take it should he defeat President Jimmy Carter come November.

Reagan's performance at the convention startled many of us who once carelessly labeled him an extremist. While John Anderson's politics may be more palatable to this writer, Reagan came off as a moving, gracious and sincere presidential hopeful.

He is—as CBS political analyst Jeff Greenfield dared to say—the principal political rhetorician of our time. He is a powerful presence at the podium, combining wit and charm with an enthusiasm for speaking that makes him perhaps the most charismatic presidential candidate since John F. Kennedy.

Still, Reagan is a paradox. And by no means has he proven himself ready to tackle the responsibilities of the nation's highest office.

Many critics point to his past reckless, off-the-cuff statements as proof of his extremism. They also correctly point out that should he express himself in similar fashion as president, we may come to regret his winning.

Just as importantly they cringe at Reagan's seemingly simplistic attitude toward dilemmas facing this country. He seems to lack depth in many areas,

simply because he has failed to study and understand complex problems. He brings a surprising myopia to such questions as the development of energy resources, the necessity of environmental protection and the importance of a foreign policy that encourages the participation of U.S. allies.

If Reagan is to be a successful candidate or president he must be sincere in his conviction that all people in the United States deserve equal opportunity. He must not allow extremists in the GOP to return this nation to the 1950's.

Reagan once said, "There are simple solutions, just not easy ones." With that analysis I must beg to differ. In the real world there are neither simple nor easy solutions.

Still, Reagan preaches the traditional values of family, work and peace through strength. Many people in this country, tired of the propensity on the part of certain segments of our society to overindulge in self-ridicule, are pleasantly pleased by this man who still believes this country is ripe for achieving dreams and exercising precious freedom. People looking for answers find them in Reagan's words.

However, Reagan irks liberals and Democrats with his bold appraisal of the position in the world to which this country should aspire. While they may agree with his broadest diagnosis of the ills plaguing the United States, they find the implementation of his cures misguided and potentially dangerous.

Such fears generally are overexaggerated. After all, this is politics at its finest. Since when have presidential candidates spoken in anything but platitudes and generalities? Reagan plays the game of politics as well or better than the Democrats ever could hope to.

Liberals no doubt are red-faced because moderates can talk so approvingly of Reagan. Perhaps the terms liberal and conservative no longer mean anything. Perhaps conservatism offers something some liberals have lost sight of: the power of the individual.

While Carter may well make an excellent second-term president, he has not shown an ability to motivate

or enhance the spirit of the American people.

This in itself is a frightening testimony to the rise of Reagan. Those being drawn toward him would be foolish not to ask an obvious question: Has the public turned to this man out of a desperate need for a leader who promises to reach unreachable stars?

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For whatever else Ronald Reagan is, he remains a mystery. Is he a right-wing demagogue certain to lead us into Armageddon? Is he a tough-talking politician whose bark is worse than his bite? Is he an actor, a master of disguise, who presents his conservative rhetoric in sugar-coated sentences intended to appease the masses?

These are questions every American must answer for himself in upcoming weeks. But one thing is certain. The next president of the United States will be the man who convinces the people of this nation that the malaise now crippling it and the policies of an administration bound by its own insecurity will not dictate the future of the free world.

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