

The Tar Heel

The University of North Carolina Summer Weekly

WILLIAM A. RUSSO, Editor

WILLIAM MIGNIUOLO, Business Manager

REBEL GOOD, Managing Editor

An Apology

Friends, an apology is in order.

Its due to that old nemesis of the Tar Heel and that recipient of many summer sallies by the students.

Namely to Graham Memorial—yes to old GM.

We have complained time and time again this summer about the lack of social fare offered to the Carolina summer students.

Like they say in the movies, no more baby, no more.

You see, there was this dance last week, on Thursday to be exact, before the weekend migration to fields afar began.

There was even a reputable band playing.

All the ingredients of a good dance were in attendance—with one noticeable exception.

There weren't any students there. (That is, to be sure, a mild exaggeration; there were at least ten of the faithful on that lonely floor.)

As we said an apology is in order.

So . . . we're sorry GM.

We made the goof this time . . . we weren't there.

We'll take the watermelon and ice cream lawn parties as they come.

And we won't forget the billiards. That's every Friday and Saturday night . . . Right?

Lin Davis

The New Politics

The "Peasant Revolution" may not stand for all the people. But it is, by any standard, their most viable representative.

When the "people's representatives" gather in Chicago in the next few weeks, the future of 200 million Americans will depend on the votes of these 1,312 delegates. There can be no excuse or uncertainty on their parts as to where the people stand.

It is certain that Richard Nixon and Hubert Humphrey are not what this election is all about. They may very well be what the political parties are all about. But the political parties in today's diction are the delegates. True, the political parties used to be the people, but not anymore.

In the United States, it takes power to seize a political party's nomination, much less win the Presidency. And power is something which both Nixon and Humphrey seem to have. But they don't have the most important thing—the people.

And who does represent the people? The Peasant Revolution echoes—McCarthy, McCarthy, McCarthy. But all this appears much simpler than it really is—for McCarthy's representation is not without flaws, either.

It was McCarthy and Kennedy together who so effectively opposed the war in Vietnam that President Johnson was forced to alter his policy and withdraw from the election campaign. And if McCarthy was first in that endeavor, it was Kennedy who most effectively dramatized the plight of the poor and downtrodden for which the candidates indicted the Johnson administration.

Thus, one of McCarthy's major obstacles has been the shadow of Bobby Kennedy which always seems superimposed upon him and his campaign.

The real trouble with McCarthy is his lack of political orthodoxy. His willingness and determination to break with the past—not only past policies, but past attitudes make his army appear rather amateurish. This in turn makes them openly suspect to the Democrats who backed Kennedy, for McCarthy seems not only to ignore the professional party organization, but in many cases to threaten it. His "coalition of conscience" instead of a coalition of interest groups is perhaps just not practical American politics.

Robert Kennedy, on the other hand, was quite adept at "straddling the fence." He could challenge LBJ and arouse the ghetto and expound on programs and ideas that were indeed radical—while simultaneously courting the old-fashioned pros like Mayor Daley and offering enough personal appeal and party regularity to touch off the voting blocs at the base.

McCarthy perhaps does not try hard enough to exercise the abovementioned "straddling." For he must talk to the delegates in the only language they have any respect for—power. At the convention, with a power momentum having been built up, the fights on credentials and

platform planks will have all the more impact because the McCarthy delegates will be speaking for a large, voluble, angry constituency that will be able to convert its anger into retaliation if Humphrey is nominated.

Indeed, McCarthy might do better at this point to learn from the past rather than separate himself from it. And, too,

perhaps both McCarthy and former Kennedy supporters would do wisely to give more significance to the words of Robert Kennedy last March 16 when he entered the presidential race—"the disastrous and divisive policies of the Johnson Administration at home and abroad can be changed only by changing the men who are now making them."

Bob Hunter

Ronald Reagan's Outside Chance

After watching the maneuvering at the National Governor's conference, this observer is becoming more convinced that the Republicans will have a rerun of the 1964 convention at Miami Beach. The big question will be if the rest of the year will prove to be true to the 1964 plot.

No longer are the national newsmags and the national news media proclaiming the inevitability thesis. Something has changed, it could be that Hubert and Dick have just shut up and stopped talking, but a quiet anxiety seems to be the prevailing National mood. Time magazine, surprisingly enough, has given an excellent essay this week concerning what Americans want in a president. Basically the essay states they want a messiah, an actor in a morality play, or as Northrup Frye might have it—a hero king. The only other attribute I could add is that they earnestly desire a New Hero—King. Dick Nixon and HHH just aren't right for that role.

Now comes the question, who is? The coming man to watch at the convention in Miami Beach is going to be Ronald Reagan. Recent moves by Republican governors almost assure that Nixon will not get a first ballot victory. The Southern delegations, the basis of Nixon support, are waning. Take the example of North Carolina where Jim Gardner is considering running as a favorite son. Indeed a Gardner move to hold delegates for Reagan is clearly in the cards even if Jim won't admit it. All over the south Republicans are going to be killed by George Wallace unless they steal his thunder by nominating Reagan.

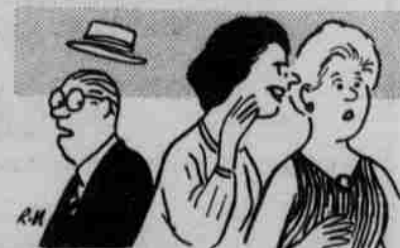
As to Reagan's novelty, Reagan is going to play his newness for all that it is worth. He refrains from t.v. interviews, won't definitively discuss the race, and meekly has dropped the pretense—"I'm not a candidate." The irony of Reagan is that the more he is quiet the more the press hounds him. He is not-so-surprisingly going about the South and West rounding up delegates in a relaxing way. He can count on all the old Goldwater support in the party which is clearly looking for a new bag. He goes over well on television and could generate a

clean-cut Lochinvar image. Indeed he is anything but an old professional.

The old pro in his group is Clifton White, the strategist who engineered the Goldwater coup in 1964. This time White will do it something like this: Reagan will start with a few delegates in the South and West. California will enthusiastically nominate her favorite son—Ronald's first great exposure (not counting the late movies, will begin in earnest). The mid-western governors will begin to hold out their delegations until a breaking point is reached Rocky will hold the Eastern establishment in line, refusing to cut Reagan down while attacking Nixon. Reagan will tie Rocky on about the third ballot, Nixon will drop to third on the fourth round and finally disappear. The former Nixon professionals and rank-and-file will go to Reagan while the larger names, Percy, Hatfield, etc. will withhold endorsement. By about the eighth ballot Reagan, after a compromise with Rocky, will receive the nomination. A liberal will be named to fill the vice-presidential slot, perhaps Percy of Illinois.

How different are things from 1964? Well to begin with Reagan does not have the image that Goldwater had and has kept up his popularity (contrary to the recall petition) in California. He has kept the budget in line and been a moderate success in administrative decisions. He has been noticeably quieter than Barry has about foreign policy. He's good, clean, and middle class. When he campaigns on television he would kill Humphrey.

In fact, he fits what most Americans think of when they think of the presidential image. The Republican convention—pick Ronald Reagan, as the two dollar long shot, Nixon as a five dollar win, and Rocky as a ten-cent long shot.



"A gossip doesn't wait for opportunity—does her own knocking!"