

Will Jimmy Carter destroy the Democratic Party?

by L. Wolfe

If the 1980 Presidential election were held today with Jimmy Carter heading the Democratic ticket and with Ronald Reagan as the GOP standardbearer, the Democratic Party would receive its worst trouncing in more than two generations.

A special team of *EIR* correspondents conducted interviews with top political leaders in both parties, from the national offices to the ward level, including delegates to the upcoming Democratic National Convention. In addition, the results of this year's primaries were reexamined.

What emerges is the shape of a political disaster for the Democratic Party. Its cause, according to party officials, is Jimmy Carter, who is variously described as the weakest Democratic candidate to come down the pike since John W. Davis in 1924.

Carter campaign strategists have made no bones about their campaign strategy for the general election should Carter be nominated in August. They plan to attempt a repeat of their 1976 success. The electoral votes of the farm heartland west of the Mississippi, with a few exceptions, are to be conceded to the "westerner" Ronald Reagan. Carter, the "South's favorite son," plans to capture nearly all the electoral votes below the Mason-Dixon line and in the "border states." With the help of organized labor, the Carter camp says that they will capture the Northeast, or a major part of it, and the key states of the Midwest. This gave Carter a bare majority in 1976.

But 1980 is a totally different ballgame. The *EIR* found that after three-and-one-half years of Jimmy Car-

ter, the Democratic "blueprint for victory" was a sure ticket to disaster. Reagan would indeed take the farm belt and the Far West. But Jimmy Carter will not carry the South; in fact he stands to be thrashed, losing some states for the Democrats for the first time in history. And in the Northwest and Midwest, Carter is in real trouble. Top labor officials, who turned out the vote for the Democratic Party in 1976, providing the crucial margins in

able to do so this time around. The Carter administration has become so unpopular with the rank and file of organized labor, that AFL-CIO officials say that while labor will still vote Democratic, it will do so by such exceedingly narrow margins that Reagan will carry much of America's industrial heartland.

The *EIR* also found that a Carter ticket will spell disaster for Democratic congressional candidates. A leading Democratic Party Capitol Hill source conceded that with Carter heading the ticket, the Democrats expect to lose more than 50 House seats. This and other sources say that the GOP will, minimally, come close to overturning the Democratic majority in the Senate. If Carter is the nominee in 1980, the Democratic leadership says that a GOP majority in both houses of Congress is possible by the 1982 elections, for the first time since the 1950s.

It is this realization of an impending disaster that is fueling a rebellion of the party rank-and-file and sections of the leadership against the Carter re-election committee and its wholly owned entity, the Democratic National Committee. The revolt is occurring on several levels in different arenas of combat.



Photo: UPI

Key sections of the Democratic congressional leadership are in trench warfare with the White House. Over the course of the last two weeks, the Democratic majority in the Senate and House have killed the Energy Mobilization Board—one of the centerpieces of the Carter energy package—and approved controversial funding measures opposed by the administration. The Senate leadership went behind the back of the White House to propose its own timetable for tax cut legislation.

If the Democrats lose control of the Senate, all committee chairmanships go over to the Republicans. Senators with seniority and power such as Senators Jackson (D-Wash.), who heads the energy committee, Russell Long (D-La.), who heads the finance committee, and Lloyd Bentsen, who heads the joint economic committee, would lose their posts. Senator Robert Byrd (D-W.Va.), the Senate Majority Leader who has been an outspoken opponent of many of Carter's policies, said bluntly that he had no desire to become the minority leader. Attacking the White House and the Republicans for their political ineptness, Byrd stated that as a senator, he was forced to "live in the real world" and deal with "reality." All but a handful of the Democratic Senate and House leadership have been quietly putting distance between themselves and the sinking Carter ship. A notable exception is House Speaker Tip O'Neill (D-Mass.) who has shown remarkable fidelity to Carter. Reports persist that O'Neill's strange behavior may have something to do with a particular blackmail item that the White House is holding over the speaker's head.

These same Congressmen are furious with the Carter

controlled DNC. They report that the DNC is refusing to adequately fund Congressional campaigns and is planning to tie funding to Carter loyalty oaths. With Carter heading the ticket, many candidates, whether incumbent or not, say that they will have to run more than 15 points ahead of the party standard bearer to keep their head above water. Without major funding this will be impossible.

'Our worst enemy'

The Democratic state party apparatuses are in total disarray. State party chairmen meeting in New York last week expressed open hostility toward the Carter DNC which is making moves to seize control of their organizations. Again, the reality principle is operative here. No one would mind if the DNC was competent and if the Democrats were fielding a strong national ticket. But the DNC is widely regarded as the party's worst enemy and Jimmy Carter is the worst possible candidate, regardless of incumbency and the power of the White House.

As several local party officials report, Carter's incumbency and his control of the Democratic National Committee is mostly being put to use for political thug operations to keep recalcitrant Democratic leaders in line. Our reports show that resentment against Carter by party officials is running higher than against any Democrat President in memory, including Lyndon Johnson before he stepped aside in 1968. It is an open secret that most state chairmen and party officials would prefer somebody—anybody—but Jimmy Carter heading the national ticket.

Since the White House still can toss some weight around, such remarks are generally confined to private meetings.

It is at the nomination level that the brawl is most apparent and most misleading. The fight over the nomination is absolutely not between Jimmy Carter and Senator Edward Kennedy. It is between Jimmy Carter and the Democratic Party. The Carter camp may very well be correct in asserting that Ted Kennedy will not get the Democratic Party nomination. But our reports indicate that Carter people—despite their threats against delegates—are

With the clear recognition that nominating Jimmy Carter is a losing proposition, a scramble is underway to avert the disaster. The fight centers around keeping the convention “open.” Contrary to some press reports and to lying assertions by the Carter campaign organization and the DNC, the convention delegates are not currently bound to any candidate. Carter campaign officials, however, will attempt to ram through the floor of the convention a proposed rule—the so-called rule 11-H—that will bind delegates on the first ballot to vote for the candidate whom they were chosen to represent. A combination of forces inside the party, including some elements of the Kennedy camp, some conservative Democrats associated with such Senate leaders as Scoop Jackson and Robert Byrd, and various urban machines, farm-based delegates, and dark horse candidate Lyndon LaRouche are now moving to make sure that the convention stays open. Much of this activity has been taking place behind the scenes and has in general been kept out of the eye of the press. At this moment there is no consensus choice for a replacement candidate for the lame Jimmy Carter, though several names including Jackson and Walter Mondale have been prominently mentioned. Should the convention open up, no choice—except Carter—can be ruled out.

As one source put it, many of the people who “fixed” the Democratic Party nomination for Carter in 1976 are putting in a counter “fix” to deny him the nomination this time around.

Whether the press reports these facts or not, they are nonetheless known by the Carter camp. It is for that reason that many knowledgeable political sources, including most interviewed for this report, fear that the desperate Carter will launch some kind of international crisis to give him the nomination. Carter, they say, will stop at nothing to keep the White House—even risking the nuclear incineration of the nation. There is “dispute” as to whether the crisis will be launched before or after the GOP convention July 14.

It is impossible to say what the outcome of this struggle between the Democratic Party and the Democratic President will be. But as the report that follows shows, there is a great deal at stake.

The regional picture

Carter's prospects not very bright

by Kathy Burdman

Interviews with Democratic Party state chairmen and other Democratic officials this week showed tremendous concern across the country about a Republican sweep in the fall, should Carter take the Democratic Party nomination. The following are EIR's regional estimates, together with comments by Democratic leaders. We have concentrated on the contested areas of the South, Midwest, and Northeast, since sentiment in the Great Plains and Pacific Far West is so overwhelmingly pro-Reagan, or at least anti-Carter.

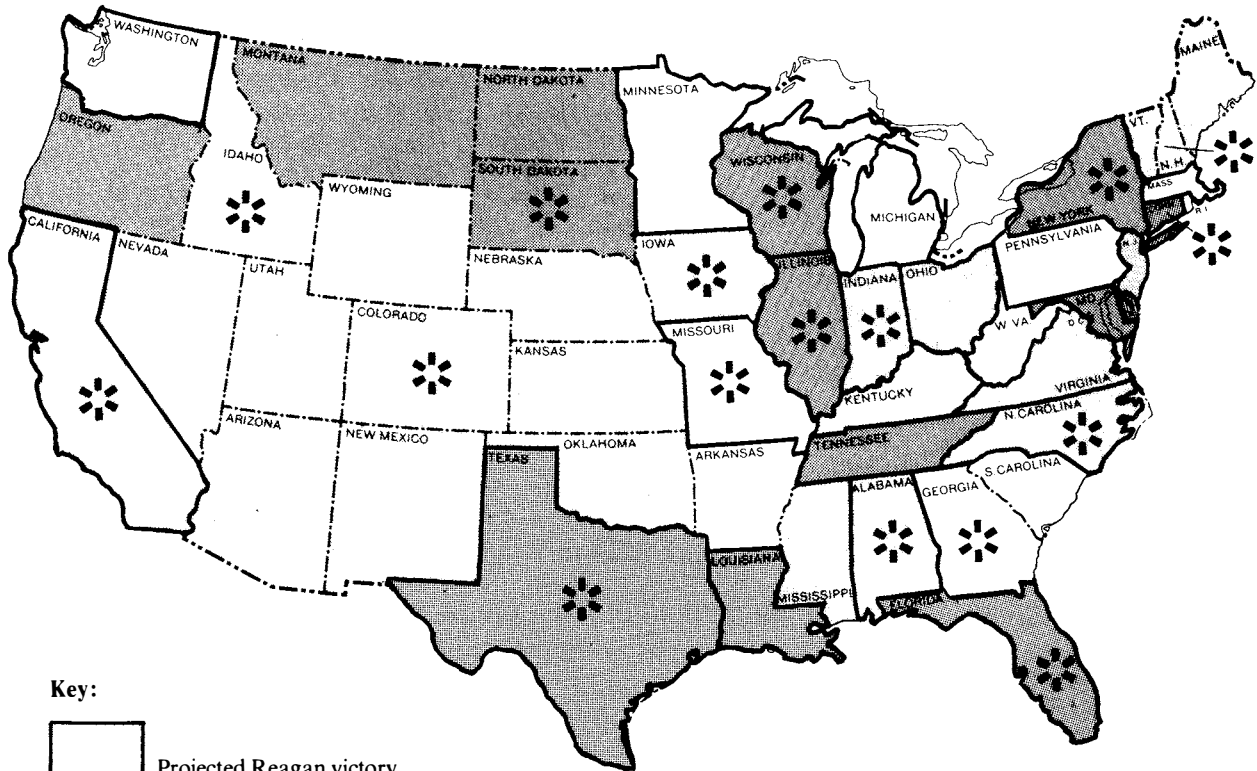
The South

The consensus is that “Jimmy Carter will be fighting for his life in the South,” as a top Democratic source on Capitol Hill summarized it this week. Carter is certain to lose Alabama and Virginia, two of his priority “key states,” as well as Mississippi, North Carolina, and Kentucky. In the South, Carter’s supposed home base, local Democratic machines are furious with the President because their constituencies of conservative labor and blacks are leaving local Democrats in what one Democrat called “the Carter dust.” “We have senators and congressmen who are going to lose their jobs,” Alabama Democratic chairman George Bailes, Jr. complained to the DNC recently. “We have Democrats running campaigns up and down our state who intend to dissociate themselves fully from the Carter-Mondale campaign.”



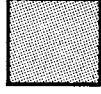


In Senate races, for example, Alabama’s Democratic freshman Senator Donald Stewart is a national-priority target for the Fund for a Conservative Majority candidate, Armisted Selden. In Carter’s home state, veteran Democratic Senator Herman Talmadge is in trouble with Democratic challenges and a heavily favored opponent, former GOP State chairman Mack Mattingly.

On the Democratic House side, Texas veteran Jim Wright is a target for Republican conservatives, who are also making Democrats feel threatened in North and South Carolina and Louisiana.

The Reagan sweep of November 1980



Key:

-  Projected Reagan victory (includes Alaska)
-  Projected Carter victory
-  Contested
-  Local Democratic candidates threatened
-  Heavily outlined states signify the Carter campaign's "Key States"

The map shows a projected sweep by Gov. Ronald Reagan of major regions of the nation, including the Far West, the industrial Midwest and the South. Included are many states which President Carter is counting on to win—identified as "Key States" by the Carter campaign. The more liberal Northeast is largely "contested" at this time, but could very well swing to Reagan, in part due to the Anderson factor. Notable are those states that are starred, where local Democrats—governors and senators on down—also face a serious threat of defeat if the Democrats go with a Carter ticket.

William W. Farris, Tennessee Democratic Party chairman, comments as follows:

Q: If President Carter is the nominee, can he take your state?

A: It will be a hard-fought battle. If Reagan chooses Howard Baker as Vice-President, that's it, it's over. . . .

Q: How do you feel about opening up the convention?

A: I'm pledged to Carter, I think the delegates should be bound, I'll go Carter on the first ballot. Carter took 75 percent in our primary.

Q: Would you rather see the election thrown to the House than Reagan?

A: Sure, it's a Democratic House. . . . I have no doubt that the Democrats would choose the best man—and not necessarily Carter.

Q: Not Carter? Do you mean Kennedy?

A: Hell no . . . Mondale, perhaps, or Jackson. I was Jackson's West Tennessee campaign manager in 1972.

A ranking Texas Democratic official told a reporter the following:

Q: What is your expectation for November, if Carter is the nominee?

A: If the race is Reagan versus Carter, it will be a tough race. Texas is always close. It will be a tough race because of two factors—the right-conservative elements are a strong factor here. Also the Republicans are spending like crazy. I predict that Carter will carry the state.

Q: What about the large uncommitted vote you had there?

A: There is a traditional group of people who vote Democratic for sheriffs, etc., but in the presidential race they go Republican. There is also some problem with the farms—traditional Dems went uncommitted. . . .

Jessie Bankston, Louisiana Democratic chairman, made these comments:

Q: If President Carter is the nominee, can he take your state?

A: Four years ago at this time Carter was down 20 points in the polls below Ford and on election day he was still behind 47 percent to 53 percent, but he took the state by 53 percent.

Q: Why was that?

A: Well, it's hard to poll the blacks and labor in this state; they're very decentralized, and they don't show up in the polls and then they always go Democrat. . . .

Other Democratic officials' comments included those of Mississippi Governor William Winter: "Carter is in trouble—it will be close"; North Carolina State executive director David Price: "The Carter ticket is in great difficulty"; and Kentucky State Democratic chairman Robert Cobb: "It's the lesser of two evils . . . it's disheartening, the alternative of Carter versus Reagan."

The Midwest

Because Carter is in deep trouble in the electoral-vote megastates of the industrial Midwest, he is certain to lose Indiana and Ohio and could easily lose Illinois and Wisconsin. Rocketing unemployment, heaviest in this area of the nation, has labor, minority, and even industrialist Democratic constituencies furious with

their local Democratic leaders. Only some serious Reagan mistake on labor issues, such as strong advocacy of his right-to-work position, could help Carter here.

In Democratic senatorial races, Indiana's fourth-term veteran Birch Bayh is rated as a top, "very vulnerable" target by the National Republican Senatorial Committee. Illinois veteran Adlai Stevenson's seat is up for grabs on his retirement, and Democrats are worried. Missouri Senator Thomas Eagleton has already distanced himself from Carter.

An official of the Illinois Democratic State Central Committee told a reporter:

Q: Will Democrats in your state suffer from a Carter ticket?

A: Look! I'm the lawyer for the UAW in this state, you don't think I'm not aware of this, do you? I'm trying to run the Dixon for Senate campaign down here and we're in real jeopardy with Carter at the top of the ticket. I'm very upset about this. We discussed a total Republican sweep of senatorial and other local races in Illinois at one of our meetings recently.

Q: Is this what Senator Byrd meant by saying he has to deal with reality and the President does not?

A: Byrd was right. This is reality. We're going to have to pick up the pieces of a destroyed Democratic Party in November. Jimmy Carter is a mean man, he doesn't care what he has to do to win this election, and he doesn't care what the end result is on the party.

Q: Would you like to see an open Democratic National Convention?

A: Certainly, but the delegates are already bound to Carter.

Q: Aren't you aware that Rule 11-H will not be binding until it is ratified by the convention itself?

A: No, I didn't realize . . . you have to understand that anyone who isn't staunchly for Carter is totally out of the information picture out here at this point. The entire regular Illinois Democratic Party either lost or decided this year not to run as delegates although they traditionally run. The party is being broken up.

Olivia Maynard, Michigan State Democratic chairman, made the following comments:

Q: If President Carter is the nominee, can Reagan take your state?

A: Now, yes. We hope not in the fall. This is not a Reagan state, and luckily not a state in which even Republicans like Reagan. . . . Reagan is very simplistic. He has no way to deal with the economy or with foreign

policy.

Of course, frankly, the question is not so much that people would be supportive of President Carter or pleased by his foreign policy, either, but the prospect of a person *even less capable* would terrify many voters in this state. . . .

An Ohio Democratic leader said: "If the economy doesn't turn around, if the auto industry is still sagging and barring any dramatic good news in foreign affairs, Carter is not going to carry Ohio." An Indiana Democratic leader stated bluntly: "Anderson will have little effect here, but Reagan will carry the state."

The Northeast

Carter would probably take organized-labor-dominated Pennsylvania and West Virginia, and also liberal Rhode Island and Massachusetts—unless the Anderson or LaRouche campaigns break through in this traditionally Democratic area.

But the rest of the region's megastates are a battleground or worse for the Democrats. Reagan could well take New Jersey, with labor swinging conservatives on the Midwest pattern, and also take the traditionally Republican Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, all small in electoral votes. New York and Connecticut are shaping up as two of the biggest national battles with a possible Liberal Party swing to Anderson in New York that would easily put Reagan over the top. Maryland is a battleground.

Dominic Baranello, New York Democratic Party chairman, commented as follows:

Q: If President Carter is the nominee, can he take your state?

A: Things are very close in New York if the election were held today. Of course, there is every prospect the President will put some things in order by November, with tax cuts, other economic resolutions. And when the electorate realizes that Reagan is simplistic, has no

'Congressmen worried—the DNC won't help'

The following interview with a leading Democratic Party official on Capitol Hill was conducted July 2.

Q: What is your perspective for the Congressional races? How many seats do you anticipate that the Democrats will lose and the Republicans will gain or vice versa?

A: There are 36 open seats where people are retiring, which we are fearful about. Probably there are 10-20 Republicans who have strong Democratic challengers, which could mean Democratic gains. There are over 40 Democrats who have tough Republican challengers. The Republicans who stand to win are in Florida, Illinois, Kansas, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Texas, two in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Michigan, Ohio, and four in California.

The Democrats we are worried about include the following states and districts: Arizona, district 2; California districts 5, 21, 35; Colorado district 3; Florida, 12; Indiana, 2, 6, 10, 11; Iowa, 4, 5; Louisiana, 4; Maryland district 8; Massachusetts, 6; Michigan, 3, 10, 12; Missouri, 10; Nevada, the at-large seat; New Jersey, 3, 4, 7; New York, 2, 3, 24, 27; North Carolina, 5, 6, 11; Oregon, 2, 4; Pennsylvania, 1, 3, 7, 8, 12; Rhode Island, 2; South Carolina, 6; South Dakota, 1; Texas, 5, 8, 12, 24; Utah, 1; Virginia, 10; Washington, 5, 7; Wisconsin, 2.

Jim Wright is in a tough race. His challenger has raised over \$100,000; they are pouring in money. The national conservative PAC [political action committees] are helping. I think they don't think they can defeat Wright, but they want to keep him home and not campaigning for other Democrats.

Q: What about Carter heading the ticket? Aren't a lot of Congressmen worried about that?

A: Most Congressmen will keep their distance from him. They will hope that their constituents remember their Congressmen and take out their frustrations on the top of the ticket, that is, with Carter. Carter will hurt a lot of Senators.

In states like Indiana there are a couple of Congressmen who have a tough race, especially if Reagan wins big. Bayh is up for reelection and he will have a tough time. For people on the fence, Republican tide won't help. If the vote is for Reagan, they they will vote the Republican ticket. If Anderson is on the ballot it will help us—he will bring out Democratic voters.

Jimmy Carter will be fighting for his life in the South. The Moral Majority organization has registered two and a half million people to vote, largely in the South.

The Jewish vote is no longer Democratic. The Republicans have spent a quarter of a million dollars for trips to Israel and ads in Jewish papers. The DNC is not doing anything to help us.

answers, and is not a viable President, whereas the President is trying hard—

Q: Do you see the possibility for an open convention?

A: Well, I do anticipate a rules fight. I certainly anticipate the people who don't want Carter getting at least a minority report out of the Rules Committee this week onto the floor of the convention. But I'm a Carter delegate and I'm committed to Carter, and I think if you run for a candidate, you've made a commitment to your electorate.

Q: But I've heard a lot of local Democratic candidates fear being swept away by a Reagan landslide.

A: Is that what people are saying nationally? Well, you're absolutely right. We're biting our nails here in New York. Our entire U.S. congressional delegation, as well as our State Senate and Assembly, are up for reelection. Losses could be very significant. . . .

Q: What effect will Anderson have on your state?

A: If he runs on the Liberal Party—devastating. If I were [Liberal Party leader] Ray Harding, and my party was at the lowest ever and I saw an opportunity to revive it, I'd look very hard at Anderson.

Q: What have the Liberals gotten from Carter, anyway?

A: That's what everyone would like to know. For that matter, I don't know what my party has gotten from him in New York, either.

Q: Are you saying the DNC isn't running the campaign well in New York?

A: Are you kidding? I'm terribly concerned. Right now the DNC has maybe three people in New York who constitute the Democratic effort. The Carter people have nothing going. I told them the time has come to get off their butts and start pulling it together. . . .

Q: What about some dramatic diplomatic crisis to rescue Carter?

A: Yes, yes. I'm hoping for that, that's the tremendous power of the incumbency.

Notable also are the comments of Democratic State chairman James Fitzgerald about Connecticut: "About as close a state as there is in the nation." He predicted a Democratic victory "by an edge," assuming the Anderson factor is "minimized by November." One Maryland Democratic leader said that "Economic issues are starting to take root much more strongly in the state. . . . The Democratic Party has to sell a very difficult case and a very difficult set of policies." New Jersey State Senate president Joseph Merlino said simply: "Reagan would win."

White House strategy

Carter's plumbers hit the 'key states'

The Democratic National Committee, nominally the executive body of the Democratic Party, has been recently transformed into a sub-branch of the Carter/Mondale election campaign. The DNC doesn't care about, and won't be supporting, Democratic senators, congressmen, any major part of the party's apparatus, or even the party's survival. The DNC will only be supporting Jimmy Carter.

That is the successful result of the Carter/Mondale campaign's creation of a "plumbers unit" within the DNC to ensure that, even before Carter really has the nomination, all party resources will be at the Carter campaign's disposal—thus ensuring that he does get the nomination.

The unit, known as Campaign Support Services, is headed by DNC Executive Director Les Francis, until recently the Deputy Chief of Staff of the Carter/Mondale Campaign.

Francis has used his control to designate 25 "Key States" or "battleground states" upon which the DNC will concentrate resources. The Key States are in the South, the industrial Midwest, and Northeast—where Reagan is expected to reverse Carter's 1976 vote. Accordingly, these states are where Democratic machines are rapidly falling away from Carter, enough of them that by August 11, the President could lose the nomination, or if he gets it, face masses of local candidates disassociating themselves from his national ticket.

To ensure against both developments, Les Francis has sent CSS "Coordinators" into each of these states. The coordinators, all former Carter campaign organizers, are now on the DNC payroll, and have orders to take over the state party machine to control local Democrats. States not designated "Key" will get no financial or other support from the Democratic National Committee.

For local congressional and other Democratic candidates, already very nervous about running under a Carter ticket, no Democratic National Committee support exists. "The DNC isn't giving the Senate Campaign Committee a red cent," said a Washington source famil-

iar with the embattled position of various Senate Democrats up for reelection in November.

"When you're about to lose control over the Senate, this is inexcusable. There is tremendous anger in the Senate, especially when they see the Republican National Committee's huge cash infusions into the Republican Senate races, targeting our seats."

With the clearly implied threat that Democratic candidates at state and local levels will disassociate from Carter if he gets the nomination, the CSS unit now controlling the DNC is taking over all aspects of state parties' preparation for the November elections.

CSS "Coordinators" in the 25 key states will "coordinate fundraising . . . general election strategy . . . schedule campaign speakers . . . and link the Presidential, Congressional and local races," says Les Francis. Obviously, distancing oneself from Carter could become impossible for a local candidate under these conditions.

Locking up the nomination

The other problem is Carter's nomination itself. DNC Campaign Support Services is working directly with the Carter/Mondale campaign's Delegate Tracking section under Tom Donilon. It is the purpose of Donilon's unit to prevent an open Democratic National Convention or any other development threatening Carter's renomination. Pressure, blackmail and any other available means are being used to pressure delegates to vote Carter on the first ballot.

Francis has made his entire Democratic National Committee field staff available to Donilon for delegate pressuring.

Says CSS head Francis, "We are of course basing our plans on the belief that the President will be renominated. . . ." Just in case, they're making sure.

Francis is a protege of California Carter/Mondale chairman Richard O'Neill. In 1977, Carter made him Deputy Assistant to the President for Congressional Liaison. In the spring of 1979, he became Deputy White House Chief of Staff under Hamilton Jordan. In October, he became Deputy Chief of Staff of the Carter/Mondale Campaign in charge of Field Operations. On May 5 he was confirmed as DNC Executive Director.

"The contest for the Democratic presidential nomination is all but over, and the President has an insurmountable lead," White told the press. For this, Senator Edward Kennedy's campaign director Paul Kirk and press chief James Flug demanded White's resignation and even "civil and criminal prosecution" for misuse of his position in the party.

The rest of the CSS staff members are also "Carter's men."

Chris Brown, Deputy Director, was 1980 coordinator of the New England primaries for the Carter campaign; Tracy Gallagher, Director of Voter Registration, was New Hampshire primary coordinator; Carl Strubel, Director of Voter Targetting, is from the Carter/Mondale Field Staff.

The state plumbers

Carter strategists under Democratic National Committee Executive Director Les Francis have designated "Key States" in which Carter must win to take the overall election. Accordingly, the Carter campaign has deployed "plumbers units" into those states under what are called "DNC Coordinators." Those named so far include:

Midwest

Curt Wiley, Michigan. Former coordinator, Michigan, Wisconsin and Maryland primaries.

Jerry Austin, Ohio. Former coordinator, Ohio primary.

Scott Burnett, Missouri. Former chief, White House Speakers Bureau.

South

Robert Beckel, Texas. Former coordinator, Texas primary.

Walter Moore, Louisiana. Former head, Labor for Carter.

Jay Beck, Alabama. Former coordinator, Alabama primary; former member, White House staff.

William Romjue, Virginia. former coordinator, Iowa, Utah, Montana and Nevada primaries.

Northeast

Joel McCleary, New York. Former coordinator, New York primary; former aide, Lloyd Cutler, White House General Counsel.

The Carter campaign will soon name chiefs for plumbers units in Illinois, Wisconsin, Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Minnesota, California, and Washington State.

State chairmen

Protests against Carter's DNC

"Our unit running the general election is called Campaign Support Services, and those of you who are from states where there are targeted Senate races already know exactly what CSS is about," said Les Francis, Executive Director of the Democratic National Committee. He was addressing the assembled chairmen of state Democratic parties at a New York meeting June 26.

Most members of the Association of State Democratic Chairs indeed knew exactly what CSS is about—it's a Carter "plumbers unit." The state chairman accused Francis and party national chairman John White of turning the DNC into a "Committee to Re-elect the President," representative of no other Democrat. In the course of the meeting, calls were raised for an open national convention—to *not* renominate Carter—although the state chairmen never used the phrase "open."

Against such sentiment, White, Francis and their supporters tried threats. Any dissent threatens to "wreck the two-party system and the Democratic Party," said White. He threatened to take control of all fundraising, and warned of a financing cutoff in November for any state party not cooperating.

"I'm shocked by what I've seen here," said one Kennedy delegate. "This is supposed to be an open party. They're trying to stampede us through the convention. . . . I think there is a sentiment of revolt brewing."

'Nondebatable instructions'

Morley Winograd was moderator of the pre-convention meeting. He had authored DNC-proposed delegate-selection rules that would bind the delegates. "This discord must cease," he stated bluntly.

A succession of state chairmen rose. "We have got to have a rules change on these delegate selection plans," said Maryland's Rosalie Abrams. "They're making the party less accessible to the voters." Nevada vice-chairman Virginia Cain declared "The media has taken over the election process and the party has been restricted to one candidate!"

Winograd deferred to Les Francis—"who'll brief you on how the general election will be run." Francis declared, "our staff works under specific, nondebatable instructions to do nothing involving pre-convention

activities, but to devote their time and effort solely to the general election. We are of course basing our plans on the belief that the President will be renominated. . . ."

He continued: "We intend to place in each of 25 'Key States' one full-time, paid DNC staff person, to help your state parties run the general election. They will have extremely broad duties, helping coordinate your fundraising, assisting you to raise money for voter registration. . . . assisting you in making your state general election plans. . . . Most important, they will serve as the link between the Presidential, Congressional, and local races in your state."

He spoke of 200 phone banks nationally, profiling 3,000 voters a day, and a massive voter registration drive.

Again, the state chairmen rose to protest. "How in hell do you define 'Key States' and how will the DNC cooperate with the plans the state parties already have in motion?" demanded David Price of North Carolina. Alabama chairman Bayles added the central thought:

I'd like to say that we have received no cooperation whatsoever from the national party . . . We have senators and congressmen who are going to lose their jobs. We have Democrats running campaigns up and down our state who intend to dissociate themselves fully from the DNC and from the Carter/Mondale campaign and intend to win in November in spite of Carter/Mondale, not with their help.

The Carter campaign's answer is to send in the CSS plumbers. "Why didn't you even notify us that these people were coming down?" complained Kentucky chairman Bob Cobb. "We tried to get you on the phone," said Francis. "That's really kind of you," retorted the southerner. "Your staff has been making calls into my state . . . telling people how the campaign will be run, and no one calls me."

"We have a general election to run," said Francis. "It is our hope that when we designate a coordinator, that person can work cooperatively with the state party. However . . . there is no provision for signoff—for you to approve or disapprove whom we send in." "Besides," added Winograd. "The DNC can only budget money for you if you file an election plan with Les."

"I don't understand this whole procedure," said David Price. "We already have our own election programs; we have our own staff. We don't need staff, just money. Are you equipped to help? How do you even know what plans we have? No inquiries have been made."

Replied Francis: "Please remember, our staff is being sent out not to just do one thing or another, but to coordinate everything." Indeed.

The rules fight

The truth about delegates' options

With a little more than five weeks to go before the Democratic National Convention, a full-scale brawl has broken out in party ranks over the efforts of the Carter/Mondale campaign committee to force delegates to vote for their "pledged" candidates on the first ballot.

Despite some confusion in the news media, the terms of the fight are fairly simple. Over the course of the last three years, the Carter-controlled Democratic National Committee (DNC) cooked up a set of proposed or interim rules for adoption by the 1980 convention. The rules were part of the implementation of the party's reform of the delegate selection process. Buried among the new "standard operating procedure" was a totally new rule—rule 11-H—which for the first time in history bound a delegate on the first ballot to vote for the candidate whom he was elected to represent by a primary election, state convention or caucus.

In all past conventions, delegates voted as their consciences dictated, sometimes ignoring the results of primaries. And that tradition, despite contrary protestations from radical "Democrats," is entirely consistent with the notion of delegates as *republican* representatives of the American people, empowered to use their informed judgment to make the best selection of nominee possible from the standpoint of the national interest.

11-H not yet law

The Carter/Mondale people, recognizing that they are in trouble with their own delegates, want the rule passed. They are even misbriefing people that the rule is already in effect. The facts are that 11-H must first be adopted by the rules committee. It then must be approved by the floor of the 1980 convention. Until such events occur, it is not party law, and the convention is in fact open.

Carter people say that they will try to apply rule 11-H to delegates who might want to vote against the proposed rules on the grounds that it indicates that they will not vote for whom they are pledged. The provisions of 11-H provide for wavering delegates to be removed *prior* to a vote by their campaign organization, and replaced by alternates. Party sources, especially those associated with efforts to open up the convention, say that this is totally

illegal.

Some media have wrongly stated that the fight to break 11-H is purely in the interest of Senator Kennedy. It is true that if all delegates are bound, Kennedy has no chance at the nomination. It is also true that *some* of his people are involved in fighting to prevent the adoption of the "binding rule."

But *EIR* found in conversations with Democratic officials and delegates—both Carter and Kennedy delegates—that Kennedy's chances for the nomination are rated between "slim and zero," according to one party insider. Nonetheless, the fight against the rules has the support of broad layers of the party. If rule 11-H or its equivalent is rejected by the convention, many people say that the convention will break open. It would be free to turn to somebody other than Carter or Kennedy. In fact, the overwhelming sentiment among those fighting for an open convention—from California unionists to Texas farmers—is that they want a chance at a "third choice."

Effort widens

For that reason, the movement for an open convention—now in battle against the Carter/Mondale efforts to ram through 11-H—is much broader than the "Kennedy campaign." Among its backers are people who might support Scoop Jackson, Walter Mondale, Edmund Muskie and dark horse Lyndon LaRouche. It is not the backers of Edward Kennedy who are the strongest organizers for the open convention, but key backers of Scoop Jackson, who has yet to announce his intentions for August, and LaRouche, who is the only candidate to publicly and repeatedly call for the open convention.

Associated Press last week released the results of a poll of Democratic delegates which purportedly showed that the Carter-proposed rules—including 11-H—would be voted up. But delegates say that AP deliberately misphrased its question, and therefore manufactured its results. Party officials who deal with facts, not manufactured news, know that the convention is now "leaning" the other way. Carter campaign officials are privately very worried that they will be defeated in the rules fight and might lose control of the convention.

The rules committee meets July 8, but nothing will really be resolved there. Both the Carter-proposed rules, including 11-H, and a version of the 1976 rules will be reported to the floor of the convention.

The real battle will take place on August 12, when the rules come up for a vote, the convention itself will then decide whether it wants to have the option to choose somebody other than Jimmy Carter or Ted Kennedy.

Carter has committed his campaign organization to do everything possible to assure that the rules are passed, including threatening delegates. He is backed by the DNC. As our report has shown, his opposition is the Democratic Party.

'The delegates can vote their conscience'

The following are excerpts from an article appearing in the June 27 Washington Post by former Michigan Congressman James O'Hara. A Kennedy delegate, O'Hara was chairman of the rules committee in 1976 and was the party parliamentarian in 1972. O'Hara has launched an organizing effort for the open convention, with the backing of several factions in the Democratic Party.

Few seem to have noticed the little paragraph tucked into the temporary convention rules that have been proposed by the Democratic National Committee. It probably looked like another technical provision, more legal language with a yawn of a name: Proposed Rule F(3)(c).

But the little paragraph tells a great deal about the struggle for the 1980 Democratic presidential nomination, which is by no means over. Indeed, it tells you why it is not over, regardless of what is popularly believed about "binding" state primary laws or state party rules.

The simple fact is this: Those state laws and state party rules have never dictated the votes of any delegates to any National Democratic Party Convention since the first one was held in Baltimore in 1832. While those provisions surely carry important weight, they have never prevented any delegates from voting for whichever presidential candidate they deemed best for the party and the country, whether on the first ballot or later.

That is doubtless why the Carter-controlled Democratic National Committee has been inching toward a dramatic attempt to change the convention rules. Some might be tempted to call this a Carter effort to "threaten" or "stack" the convention, while others might simply see it as "smart politics" by the President's men. But there is no question that the temporary proposal is a stunning departure from the past: It would empower a presidential candidate to remove any delegate who once expressed a preference for him but whose vote the candidate might no longer feel confident of getting.

In other words, if President Carter—or, for that matter, Sen. Kennedy—even thought that some delegates in their column might change their minds during the balloting in New York, they could simply boot them out and replace them. That would be the effect if the little-noticed paragraph known as Proposed Rule F(3)(c) becomes a permanent rule at the August convention, and

its fate might well decide who will be this year's Democratic nominee for President.

* * *

The Carter people obviously have a fondness for F(3)(c), even though it could reduce the Democratic Party's convention to a deliberative body with little more to deliberate than delegates do at the Supreme Soviet. In fact, the same paragraph was proposed in 1977 by Carter operative Rick Hutchison to the party's Commission on Presidential Nomination and Party Structure, known as the Winograd Commission, and it was adopted, though merely as one of the party's delegate selection rules. . . .

They were well aware that the supreme authority governing the national convention is the convention itself—the permanent rules it adopts shortly after it meets. This is recognized in the Democratic Party's charter, which states that "The National Convention shall be the highest authority of the Democratic Party," and it has been given added weight by the U.S. Supreme Court. In its *Cousings v. Wigoda* decision in 1975, the High Court ruled that actions by national party conventions supersede state statutes.

That, of course, is why the Carter forces are struggling to overturn the convention rules: They know full well that national Democratic Party conventions have always recognized that delegates sometimes must make painful choices between conflicting obligations, that what was true in the snows of a winter primary may no longer be true in the heat of a summer convention, that circumstances, people, and opinions change.

The proposed rule is difficult to believe. It would not only be deeply offensive to those of us who support Sen. Kennedy and his effort to stop the Carter camp from changing the rules this late in the game. It would be an affront to every delegate.

These are the people, after all, who have long paid their dues to the party, not merely with money but with time, often many years spent attending party meetings, walking door-to-door to promote the party's candidates and platforms, manning its phones to help raise funds and doing any other chores necessary. They are the backbone of the party.

They know what politics is about. They know the people in their own neighborhoods and towns and counties and parties. If they are bound by state provisions, they are not going to change their votes merely because of some passing whim. But they do have minds. They are not children. If President Carter is determined to treat them like children, ready to yank delegates suspected of misbehaving, why have them there to participate in the presidential nomination process at all?

Whether the delegates in New York are willing to swallow all this may well be the decisive factor in who becomes the Democratic candidate for President this year.

In Congress

A revolt against the President

One-and-a-half months before the opening of the Democratic Party National Convention in New York City, an anti-Carter revolt is sweeping the Democrat-controlled Congress. The revolt stepped up after the trouncing accorded Carter at the recent Venice summit. As one leading Capitol Hill source declared "Let's face it, Venice was the turning point. Carter was humiliated, he was smashed at Venice. People are no longer resigned to accepting certain defeat in November by renominating Carter."

On Thursday, while Carter was en route back to the United States, Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd (D-W.Va.) joined by 21 Democratic senators, convened a press conference to announce that Senate Democrats have begun working on a tax cut package, scheduled to be ready by September. The move came as a complete surprise to the White House.

Senator Byrd announced that he had commissioned Texas Democrat Lloyd Bentsen to head up a newly formed Senate Task Force on Economic Policy, which includes the 21 senators, to draft a new economic program. Finance chairman Russell Long of Louisiana then declared that he would convene hearings after the July 4 recess on the tax cut measure, which would be between \$20-30 billion. In a calculated rebuff to the White House, Long declared that he would "seek advice from the best experts in the country" in fashioning the tax package.

On July 1 the House Ways and Means Committee announced that they too would be holding hearings on proposals for a tax cut shortly after the holiday recess. The House had previously refused to discuss the issue out of loyalty to the White House. "I have to deal with a world of reality," declared Senator Byrd in explaining the tax cut plan.

The White House has been scurrying about in a desperate effort to control the revolt. While White House economic policy advisors meeting on Friday June 27 decided the administration should propose a tax cut plan this year, another high level spokesman said on national television two days later that such a plan was not in the

cards. Treasury Secretary Miller on "Issues and Answers" June 29 said, "our preference would be that it be studied next year outside of the heat of an election year."

On July 1 Jody Powell told reporters that the White House had "no plans to submit a tax cut plan." Yet on the same day President Carter met with Congressional leaders saying that he had not ruled out support for a Congressional tax cut in 1981 and agreed to set up a joint committee of the administration and Congress to consider the cut.

However Congressional sources would only say that Carter had "not ruled out" a tax cut this year, and they are in no mood to compromise with him on this. "We'll work with them, but we're not going to wait for them" declared Bentsen. The Senate plans hearings after the recess and to go ahead with their own bill by Labor Day.

Congress moves against Democratic National Committee

The revolt has surfaced on other issues. Ten Democratic senators led by Robert Byrd and Scoop Jackson on June 27 also blasted the leadership of the Democratic National Committee for the DNC's moves to launch court cases to prevent John Anderson from gaining ballot status in a number of states. It is a well-known secret in Democratic leadership layers that the DNC's campaign, camouflaged as "anti-Anderson," was consciously designed to aid Anderson by giving him enormous publicity and national media attention. Jackson called the DNC's moves "foolish and counterproductive," and Missouri Senator Eagleton warned that "the operation will backfire."

As these developments demonstrate, the anti-Carter campaign is being led by Senate leaders Byrd and Jackson who represent the party's largest national current—the moderate-conservative mainstream of the party with a powerful labor-ethnic and entrepreneurial businessman base. Byrd, as majority leader, and Jackson as chairman of the Senate Energy Committee and second-ranking Democrat on the Senate Armed Services Committee, are two of the most prestigious Democrats in Congress. Additional jolts recently included the bipartisan drive to repeal Carter's grain embargo, launched a week ago by GOP Senator Dole of Kansas, that recruited 20 cosponsors, with the Democratic farm-belt representatives and senators in open revolt against Carter.

The House, by the whopping margin 232-131, defeated Carter's Energy Mobilization Board (EMB), which would be able to waive federal and state laws to push the construction of coal gasification and related regressive energy 'technologies' associated with Carter's energy program. A majority of the House Democratic delegation voted against Carter or abstained in the floor vote.