PIR National

Power brokers issue Kennedy minority report

by Konstantin George

Three weeks before the start of the Democratic National Convention, key Democratic Party power brokers, reflecting a decision taken by sections of the labor movement and "Dixiecrats," have decided to maintain the option of an open convention. The move by the power brokers expressed itself through a decision by the Kennedy campaign to wage a convention floor fight to retain the 1976 party rules.

Retention of the 1976 rules would unbind the delegates, and ensure the means for easy placement of additional candidates' names into nomination including "favorite sons." It would also help eliminate debate-throttling "gag rules," and would throw the convention open to an as yet undetermined "dark horse" candidate.

The Kennedy campaign's decision to fight for the 1976 rules was announced by Kennedy's campaign operations director, Carl Wagner, at a press conference held in front of Democratic National Committee head-quarters on July 12. Wagner declared that the Kennedy campaign had filed seven "Minority Reports" on convention rules with the Democratic Rules Committee, which on July 9 had concluded their pre-convention session at Washington, D.C.'s Mayflower Hotel.

The five Kennedy "Minority Reports," each embracing a section of the 1976 convention rules, were filed in opposition to seven Carter-Mondale amendments to the 1976 rules, which were railroaded through the rules committee session. The five Carter amendments would, if voted up by the convention floor, seal off any possibility of an open convention, and assure Carter's nomination.

The five Carter amendments would: 1) bind all delegates to the candidate of their preference at the time of their selection as delegates, thus overthrowing the historically ironclad party rule that 'the delegates are supreme over the candidates,' and that the party nominating convention is the highest body of party law; 2) install the machinery for a wholesale purge of delegates before and during the convention proceedings, using any flimsy pretext under the hitherto unheard of phrase, "those who seek to violate" the enslavement rule; 3) foreclose any means for placing additional candidates' names in nomination, by imposing a requirement that any prospective candidate must acquire the signatures of 10 percent (333) of the delegates on the convention floor (the current rule is 50). Given that far fewer than 10 percent of the delegates are neither Carter nor Kennedy, the placing of other prospective or existing candidates' names into nomination would become impossible.

The reversal

The rules committee session had ended with a flat statement by Kennedy spokesmen that they would not contest any of the adopted Carter amendments, except for a pro forma challenge to Carter's proposed Rule "F-3C," which would bind delegates to a candidate. Even if the Kennedy proposal to scrap F-3C were adopted by the convention, the non-opposition to the other Carter amendments would ensure a "two-candidate" convention (giving Carter delegates no choice but to choose between Carter and Kennedy), with the same assured result of a Carter renomination.

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Somewhere between late Wednesday and Friday, a clear reversal of course had been dictated to the Kennedy campaign. The reversal reflected a direct intervention upon the Kennedy camp by what are commonly referred to as Democratic Party "fixers," power brokers of the moderate-conservative mainstream of the party, anchored heavily among Southern "Dixiecrats" and strong layers of organized labor, who fear the consequences of a Carter renomination, and desire to keep open the option for "eleventh-hour" emergence of a strong dark horse candidate.

The "fixers" were forced to act for several key reasons:

- A Carter renomination means a certain nuclear confrontation between the convention and the November election. With near-unanimity, inside Washington sources from both parties are convinced Carter will stage a "missile-style" crisis to gain reelection.
- A Reagan-Carter contest spells to many influential politicians and power brokers two presidential candidates with identical policies of deepening strategic-military entanglement with Red China. The fear is based on a combined reading of China being close to provoking a U.S.-Soviet nuclear war (China's recognized policy goal) and the "capture" of both Reagan and Carter by advisers committed to a de facto deadly alliance with Communist China.
- A Carter renomination would spell electoral disaster for the Democratic Party, with massive congressional, state and local losses. This, in combination with a convention divorcing the party from its constituencies through delegate binding, would destroy the Democratic Party.
- Given the above life-and-death considerations, a very strong sentiment is emerging for a third candidate, or additional candidates, as rallying points for staging an open convention.

The most common name mentioned as a prospective third candidate is that of Senator Henry M. Jackson. At this point, the only candidate actively organizing for an open convention is Lyndon H. LaRouche. LaRouche, though a long shot for the nomination, has earned wide respect among some key party figures for his decisive role in preventing a locked convention. The formulation of the Kennedy minority report upholding the 1976 rules, was a near verbatim copy of a Minority Report drafted and circulated during the rules committee proceedings by LaRouche campaign representatives. The same demands were discussed by LaRouche representatives and Democratic officials across the country.

During the rules committee proceedings themselves, Kennedy representatives present politely but firmly rejected the LaRouche Minority Report formulations. Then came the now famous reversal at Wagner's press conference. The power brokers had acted.

Documentation

Kennedy men promise a confrontation

The following is the full text of a release by the Kennedy '80 Campaign dated July 12, under the title, "Kennedy Campaign Files Rules Reports—Sets Stage for Convention Confrontation in August." The press release, in effect, was an announcement of an abrupt reversal in the position of Kennedy campaign officials. When the Carter "majority" report was pushed through a July 9 session of the Democratic Party's rules committee, Kennedy representatives allowed it to pass without debate, as did Senator Henry Jackson's contingent and other supporters of an open convention. Meeting afterwards, the Kennedy caucus decided not to issue a "minority report" by rules specialist Jim O'Hara, and issued a challenge to only one Carter rule, 11-H, binding all delegates on the first ballot.

Now, however, it appears that Kennedy will even attempt to unseat many Carter delegates, in addition to the comprehensive challenge to Carter rules as outlined in this release. All emphasis is in the original.

The Kennedy for President Campaign today filed seven minority reports taking issue with recommendations of the Democratic Convention's Rules Committee, which met in Washington earlier this week. Five of the reports relate to the proposed Procedural Rules of the 1980 Democratic National Convention, and the other two relate to amendments to the Party Charter.

The major item in contention is a Kennedy Campaign recommendation that the 1980 convention utilize the rules which applied to the 1976 convention, while the Carter campaign wants the 1980 convention to adopt a new rule which would deny delegates the traditional right to vote at the convention in accord with the current views of their constituencies, and instead lock them into their initial candidate preference.

Commenting on the Rules Committee meeting this week, Kennedy Field Director Carl Wagner said that "the public is now much more aware of the true context for the rules discussion at the convention:"

- 1. "It is the Carter campaign, not ours, which is seeking to change what has been the rule at every previous Democratic convention, namely that the delegates are the agents of the party members, instead of being, in the words of one Carter official, 'the agents of the candidate.'
- 2. "Despite the recommendations of the DNC and the Rules Committee, both of which were Carter con-

trolled, that the delegates be denied their hard-won right to participate fully in the Party's deliberations, it is the Convention itself which makes its own rules, and unless a majority of the delegates want to be turned into mere puppets in the hands of the candidate staffs, that will not happen.

3. "The candidates' rights are fully protected by the fact that the makeup of each state's delegation fairly reflected the opinions of the voters at the time they voted and by the power of each candidate to approve each delegate and thus assure that they were bona fide supporters when selected.

"But," Wagner said, speaking to reporters outside the DNC Headquarters in Washington, "of course, the members of the Party have rights that go beyond the candidates' rights: the rank and file Democrats have a right to know that their interests will not be frozen forever at a point in time as much as seven months before the convention, that their delegates will have the flexibility to reflect and represent the evolving interests and opinions of the voters on a continuous basis in the light of all the facts and circumstances that develop until the convention."

Wagner added: "If there is no significant shift in opinion over the course of the seven months, then the convention delegates will have no reason to shift their preferences. If, however, there is among Democrats a shift in sentiment, up or down, as to the performance, and policies, and prospects, of a candidate, then the delegates have always had, and should keep on having, full power—and responsibility—to reflect that shift in their actions at the convention. Surely a year when the early leader has seen his support erode to the point where he was unable to get half his party to endorse him in 20 out of the last 34 contests, and when the polls now show he will get the vote of only 42 percent of the registered Democrats in November, is not a year to turn a convention of thinking party activists into a mere tabulation of obsolete punchcards, required to take an action that they know is contrary to the interests of their constituencies, their party, and their country."

"The issues are now clear," Wagner concluded, "and the differing points of view well understood. The decision is now up to the delegates."

'No debate, no choices'

The following are amendments proposed by the Carter-Mondale Campaign to the proposed Procedural Rules of the 1980 Democratic National Convention:

Section C(1)(b): The chair shall arrange for the orderly presentation of amendments and of minority reports

offered at the direction of the committee. Twenty minutes shall be allowed for the presentation of each committee amendment or minority report unless a longer period for any committee amendment or minority report is provided in special orders of business agreed to by the Convention. Time shall be equally allotted to no more than two proponents and opponents of each committee amendment or minority report [emphasis in original]. The question shall be put on each committee amendment or minority report immediately following its presentation without intervening motion.

Section C(6)(a): Each such request [to nominate a presidential candidate—ed.] must be accompanied by a petition indicating support for the proposed nominee signed by delegates representing not less than 10 percent of the total delegate votes . . . No delegate may sign more than one nominating petition.

Section F(3)(b): Such roll call votes shall, at the discretion of the chair, be conducted by having the chair for each delegation telephone in the vote of his or her delegation to the podium [emphasis in original]. Business shall be permitted to proceed during the telephone roll call.

Section F(3)(c): All delegates to the National Convention shall be bound to vote for the presidential candidate whom they were elected to support for at least the first Convention ballot, unless released in writing by the presidential candidate. Delegates who seek to violate this rule may be replaced with an alternate of the same presidential preference by the presidential candidate or that candidate's authorized representative(s) at any time up to and including the presidential balloting at the National Convention.

'Restore the '76 rules'

In a letter dated July 11, 1980 to Rules Committee Chairman Senator Inouye and Democratic National Committee Secretary Dorothy Bush, Kennedy campaign officials Carl Wagner and Harold Ickes detailed the five minority reports they were filing as amendments to the proposed Procedural Rules of the 1980 Democratic National Convention. Excerpts from the letter follow:

Deletion of the provision added to Section C(1)(b) of the Rules by the Rules Committee which would limit the number of speakers on any minority report to 2 proponents and 2 opponents.

Deletion of the amendment to Section C(6)(b) of the Rules adopted by the Rules Committee and insertion of the provision originally adopted by the Democratic National Committee providing that delegates representing not less than 50 nor more than 200 delegate votes, not more than 20 of which may come from one delegation, must sign a petition for a presidential candidate before his or her name may be placed in nomination.

Addition of a new subparagraph C(6)(c) which requires the presidential candidates to present written pledges to carry out the recommendations and fulfill the principles contained in the Democratic Party's platform along with any reservations to specific provisions. Such pledges and reservations would then be distributed to all delegates prior to the balloting.

Amend Section F(3)(b) by adding a provision that a traditional alphabetical roll call shall be required instead of a telephone roll call in the event that 20 percent of the delegates request the traditional roll call.

Substitution of the Procedural Rules of the 1976 Democratic National Convention as the Rules of the 1980 Democratic National Convention with the exception that the Chairperson for the 1980 Convention shall be a male instead of a female.

Wagner and Ickes also stated that they were submitting two minority reports to the Charter:

Amendment of Article 2, Section 4 of the Charter by adding a provision requiring all steps in all states' delegate selection processes to begin no earlier than the first Tuesday in March and end no later than the second Tuesday in June.

Addition of a new Section 6, Article 2 of the Charter which would permit delegates to bring up matters relating to the Party's platform and rules directly from the convention floor if they have the support of 15 percent of the delegates coming from at least 5 states.

'Only delegates can decide'

Morley Winograd was the legal expert behind Jimmy Carter's new rules, notably 11-H binding the delegates. Carter officials have claimed their changes are legitimate. But Morley Winograd, according to Kennedy officials, has himself stated:

"Rule 11-H is a delegate selection rule which has no effect at the Democratic National Convention. Our commission had no mandate to write a rule which would govern the behavior of the delegates once they arrived at Madison Square Garden in August. Only the delegates themselves, acting collectively at the convention, can decide what procedural rules should govern them."

The GOP Platform:

Praise for Peking, threats to Europe

by L. Wolfe

As we go to press, the Republican Convention in Detroit has nominated Ronald Reagan, who selected George Bush as the Vice-Presidential candidate. A special team of EIR correspondents is on the scene and will provide our readers with an in-depth report on the proceedings and their full implications for the world strategic situation and domestic politics in our next issue. The following report on the GOP platform was prepared with the assistance of Susan Kokinda, now in Detroit, and our Washington and New York bureaus.

Delegates and alternates gathering in Detroit for the coronation of Ronald Reagan as the Republican Party's 1980 Presidential nominee were brimming with confidence about the party's prospects for the November elections. If Jimmy Carter becomes the Democratic nominee—and that is the fervent wish among the Republicans—they feel certain that the GOP will reclaim the White House. Many are talking of that rare occurrence—a Republican landslide that could sweep control of the Congress away from the Democrats.

The polls seem to support their confidence. Most have Reagan ahead in a three-way race with Carter and independent John Anderson.

Most of the delegates are a conservative bunch, much in the mold of standard-bearer Reagan. They dislike the Eastern Establishment as epitomized by individuals like former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and organizations like the Council on Foreign Relations and the Trilateral Commission.

Most of this has been said in the seemingly endless commentaries in the press. What has not been said and what is not really known to all but those in Reagan's inner circle, is that Ronald Reagan and the Republican Party have been firmly captured by the so-called Eastern Establishment.

Gang of Four

Sources at the convention and in Washington report that Reagan is fully under the control of a "gang of four" consisting of former National Security Council

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