

# VIEWPOINT

THE BATTALION  
TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY

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## U.S. foreign policy benefits from newfound domestic unity

By ARNOLD SAWISLAK

For the first two months of the Iranian hostage crisis, American politicians gave the world a glimpse of an almost forgotten phenomenon — a bi-partisan U.S. foreign policy.

It has been several decades since elected officials and the leadership of both major parties have united behind the president on a specific issue in the conduct of foreign affairs.

The once-honored phrase "politics ends at the water's edge" has been inoperative since the turbulent period of shifting power that followed World War II.

Every president since Harry Truman has had to operate in the international sphere with one eye cocked for domestic opposition. Several have had to modify policies when it became clear they would be under

fire at home — from the political opposition or even their own parties.

Advocates of a strong presidential foreign policy have argued that the uncertainty of a single American voice has been one of the factors that has reduced the nation's influence in world affairs. Many people feel it was U.S. dissent — in official political circles as much as on the streets — rather than communist armies that determined the outcome of the Vietnam War.

There is plenty of opposition to this view, of course. Many Americans, both in and out of government, believe debate and dissent in foreign affairs as well as in domestic matters is essential to public support of government policies.

In any case, Jimmy Carter had no reason to expect that he would get the unified support of both Democrats and Republi-

cans when the U.S. embassy in Teheran was captured and its occupants taken hostage. With more than half a dozen contenders in the GOP field and two Democrats after his scalp on the issue of leadership, Carter got bipartisan support on the hostages seemed ripe for attack.

But seemingly without prodding, everyone quickly fell in line with the president's policy. Without demanding it, Carter got bipartisan support on the hostages seemed ripe for attack.

This last view was bolstered when a couple of candidates, notably Sen. Edward Kennedy, approached the limits of the reservation during the first two months of the

crisis. The roar of outrage from the political community and the media so quick and so unanimous that it really dared go over the boundaries.

A rare joint statement of support by Democratic and Republican national committee chairmen was the unofficial partisan cease fire on Iran and the end of the truce just after New Year.

No sooner had Brock uttered the high level political criticism of Carter's policy than a number of his party's presidential aspirants joined the chorus. No one anything that might be construed as jeopardizing the hostages, such as a suggestion that armed force be used, but it came very clear that the bipartisan moon was over.



WHAT I'LL MISS MOST ABOUT COMING BACK TO SCHOOL IS 'DIALING FOR DOLLARS,' AS THE WORLD TURNS, AND 'THE EDGE OF NIGHT.'

David Broder

## Kennedy's chances plummet in Illinois

By DAVID S. BRODER

Probably nowhere in America is the dizzying downward spiral of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy's presidential campaign more visible than here in Illinois — the state where John F. Kennedy eked out his 1960 victory, thanks to the votes provided by Chicago's Mayor Richard J. Daley.

From that day to this, there has been a special link between the Kennedys and Chicago, seemingly as solid as the position of the Kennedy-owned Merchandise Mart in the center of the city's commerce.

But today, the heirs of Richard Daley do not even bother to disguise their disquiet with the Kennedy alliance and their sense of doubt about where it may be taking them. "He's in trouble," said George Dunne, the president of the Cook County Board of Commissioners and chairman of the Democratic organization. "And so are we."

Part of it is the blanket that the Iran and Afghanistan crises have thrown over Kennedy's campaigning everywhere. "It's hurt him considerably," said Dunne, noting that the Chicago organization has a history of rallying behind embattled Presidents, even when the issue was as controversial as the Vietnam war.

But that is only part of the problem that has dropped Kennedy from a strong favorite to a distinct underdog in the March 18 Illinois primary that could be pivotal in his challenge to President Carter.

The endorsement Kennedy won from Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne — who had earlier led Carter to believe she was in his corner — has turned sour.

Byrne's personal popularity has plummeted, in part because of the negative reaction to her political fickleness, and in part because "the city that worked" under Daley has suffered transit strikes, payless paydays for teachers and other embarrassments.

In return for her endorsement, Kennedy campaign manager Stephen Smith publicly promised Byrne that she would "be calling the shots," only to learn that she intended

to exclude from the Kennedy campaign anyone whose loyalty to her was in doubt. Former county assessor Thomas M. Tully, a long-time Kennedy loyalist considered a potential rival of Byrne's, was barred from the campaign at the outset. And even now, when Byrne's monopoly has reportedly been broken, campaign spokesman Terry Michael says, "I don't know what, if anything, Mr. Tully is doing."

What was worse from Kennedy's viewpoint, the mayor turned out to be unable to deliver what she promised — the full support of the organization. Just before Christmas, Dunne startled her by declaring openly that many of the ward committeemen were nervous about the Kennedy alliance and preferred to run their delegate slates uncommitted. Byrne got on the phone and quashed that threat, but was unable to force the big names in the organization to put themselves on the line for her — and Kennedy.

The result has been a spate of publicity about the "no-name" Kennedy slate: 31 of 50 aldermen, all but six of the state legislators, and all but one of the 10 Democratic congressmen are shunning the Kennedy delegate slate.

Meantime, Carter's operatives skillfully pieced together their slates from Byrne detractors in the city and Democratic loyalists downstate.

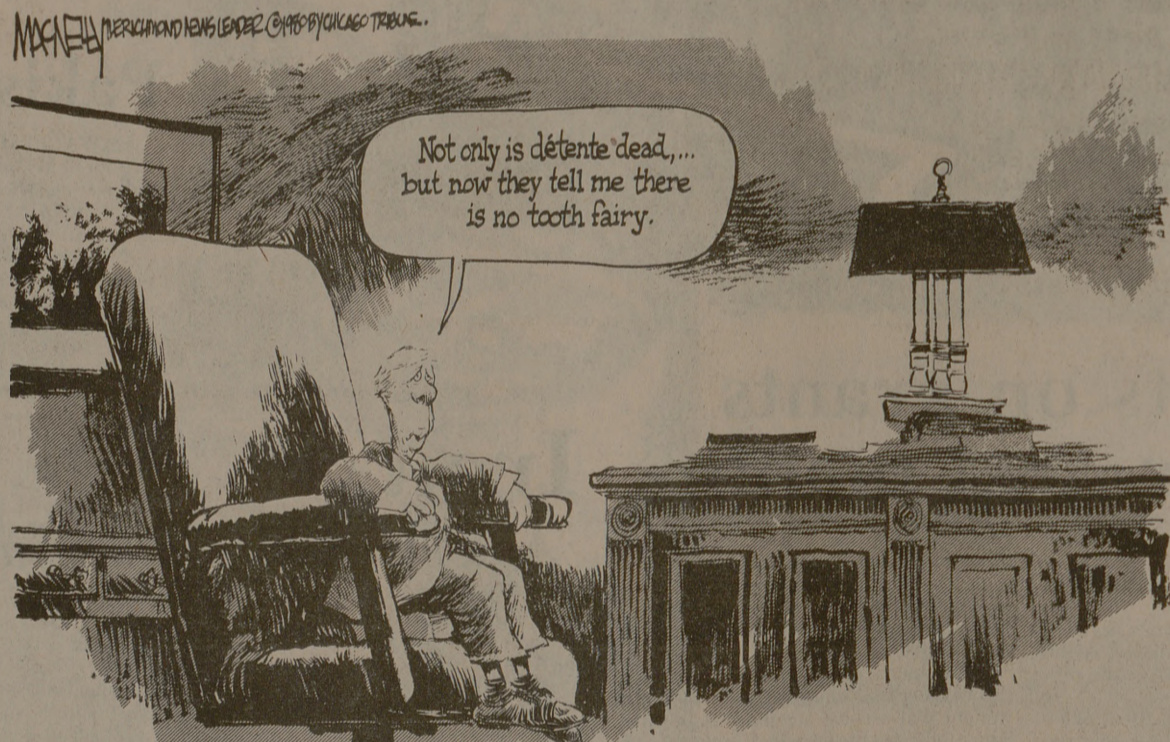
The sourness in the Kennedy campaign is such that some of his erstwhile supporters are even complaining about the location of his campaign headquarters in the high-security interior of a swanky hotel and shopping center on upper Michigan Avenue's "Magnificent Mile."

"I never thought I would see Kennedy headquarters behind the lingerie department of Lord & Taylor's," said one visitor.

Having watched Kennedy's fortunes plummet in the past two months, loyalists are clinging to the hope that the next two months could bring an equally dramatic recovery. But the problems he faces here are evidence of how far Kennedy's skid has gone.

the small society

by Brickman



## THE BATTALION

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