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FIGURATION A NEO-ART MODE

PROFESSOR McGOVERN *at* UCSB

PSYCHEDELICS TODAY



THE POLITICAL TECHNOLOGY OF THE RADICAL right fascinates George McGovern. Lecturing to his Religion and Politics class at UCSB, he describes with some awe the gleaming rows of phone banks handling calls during Jerry Falwell's "Old Time Gospel Hour," the Christian Voice's upto-date computerized mailing lists, Richard Viguerie's direct mail genius.

To McGovern, the New Right didn't defeat liberalism in November, 1980; it beat its antiquated electoral machine. Packaged differently, defended more valiantly, championed by articulate, experienced politicians, the politics McGovern stands for could triumph again, he believes—it just takes the right strategy, and more money.

Monday night students in the class McGovern teaches with Religious Studies professor Walter Capps-the exsenator will show up for two three-hour lectures-packed Robertson Gym to hear the lesson their illustrious professor learned from the Democrats' defeat. Most were too young to be involved in his campaign for president 10 years ago, but they remember vividly the election that saw McGovern and other big name liberals lose their Senate seats to Republican challengers in the conservative tidal wave that swept the country in 1980. On religion and politics, McGovern has become an expert.

Jerry Falwell called Ronald Reagan's victory over Jimmy Carter "my finest hour," but not everyone gives the TV minister that much credit, Nevertheless, McGovern believes the role of the religious right was decisive in many of the 1980 races, if only because of the money the fundamentalist Christian groups raised and spent in several close contests.

"Falwell controls money on a scale comparable to a national presidential campaign," McGovern said. In 1972 his own presidential bid cost \$30 million; Richard Nixon spent \$65 million. Falwell's television show brings in more than \$60 million annually. And there are 90 shows like Falwell's around the country. Even though none nets as much money as the "Old Time Gospel Hour," nearly all make financial pitches to help spread their religious and political message.

That political message, McGovern said, "is opposed to every vestige of liberalism: to the SALT and Panama Canal treaties, government assistance programs, organized labor. They support all increases in military spending, but believe social welfare is the responsibility of the church."

So is monitoring the morality of politicians. For supporting the Equal Rights Amendment and the SALT II treaty, McGovern said, he got a 0 morality rating from the Christian Voice, as did the only Jesuit priest in Congress, former U.S. Rep. Robert Drinan (D-Mass.). Among the Congressmembers who earned



PROFESSOR McGOVERN'S POLITICAL EDUCATION

McGovern believes he may be the man to redeem liberalism in the 1984 presidential election. 'I hope there's someone in the race I can support, but if no one comes along, I'll seriously consider making another race.'

BY JOAN WALSH N&R STAFF WRITER

100 percent in morality from the Voice was Florida's Rep. Robert Kelly. He was convicted last year in the FBI's Abscam probe.

NEW RIGHT WHO'S WHO AS HEAD OF THE NEWLY-FORMED AMERICANS for Common Sense, McGovern has studied the network of 50 or so right-wing groups that wielded such clout in the '80 election. He offered his students a Who's Who of the radical right: Howard Phillips of the Conservative Caucus, Terry Dolan of the National Conservative Political Action Committee, Paul Weyrich of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress ("The worse they are, the loftier the utle," he noted). To fight such groups, McGovern believes, liberals will have to adopt some of their political methods and strategies. Already, groups like his own are springing up among liberals—Norman Lear formed People for the American Way and U.S. Senators Morris Udall and Ted Kennedy have their own political action committees to funnel money to liberal candidates. Come 1982, McGovern believes the liberals targeted for defeat by the right will have a fighting chance. "The religious right crested in 1980—their '82 targets are ready for them."

But McGovern is generally displeased with the Democratic Party's response to a year of Reaganism. "The Democrats have done a terrible job—they've mostly gone along with Reagan. I don't know anything he's wanted and hasn't gotten except Social Security [cuts]. The Democrats have to get off their duffs and offer some alternatives."

To this point, though, McGovern's alternatives have been tactical. Now that Americans for Common Sense has had time to develop electoral strategies to compete with those of the right, McGovern said it will work on formulating competing ideas. First among them will be a foreign policy that doesn't bank on fighting and winning nuclear war.

"If you're discussing morality in politics, I think it's a moral concern to resist this country's drift toward nuclear war. We haven't had one yet because of the knowledge that no matter who struck first both sides would be destroyed." he said 'A position paper propoing "a reaconable defense policy" will be issued in the next month, and other alternative policy proposals will be drafted each month thereafter.

But none of those proposals, McGovern made it clear, "will be radical." When a student asked what the former senator was doing to unite the various groups on the left to fight the Republican menace, he responded emphatically that his was "not a left group. We have no basic quarrel with moderates and conservatives who are offended by the New Right. This isn't 'Left vs. Right,' but the effort by forces of fairness, tolerance and decency that are very much in the mainstream."

His defense of women's rights, welfare programs, detente and civil liberties is hardly mainstream politics, of course, but that's a measure of how far to the right the center has moved. Deep down, McGovern believes liberalism will be vindicated, that articulated sincerely and sold correctly it can fend off threats from the radical left and right.

He believes also that he may be the man to keep the promises of liberalism. While he told reporters Monday afternoon that he has "no plans to run" for president, he "hasn't shut the door, either. I hope there's someone in the race I can support, but if no one comes along, I'll scriously consider making another race."

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