New York Times, interviewing Hart, treated snippets from his "futurepast" shtick as holy writ. To make matters worse, columnist Anthony Lewis seized on the interview as full of profundities for all generations of Americans. "In that interview Senator Hart broadened out his theme in a way that I thought was significant," Lewis wrote. "He spoke not only of past and future but of an American idealism seeking new ways of expression-a theme that speaks just as much to voters over 45."

Unfortunately for him, Hart is not a humble man, and he gave off the impression that he had mastered the press

in such a way that he was getting a free ride. That's something a politician should never do. Look what happened to Jesse Jackson when he thought he was so golden with reporters he could utter anti-Semitic epithets. Barbara Walters bludgeoned him during a television debate on February 23, and it took him weeks to recover. For Hart, the honeymoon ended March 12, the night before Super Tuesday, when two TV networks ran negative pieces about him, one dealing with his name and age changes. The next evening, Roger Mudd of NBC savaged him in a live interview.

"Television loves to destroy what it creates because it doesn't trust what it creates," wrote Thomas Shales, the TV critic for the Washington Post. "Last year the media scoffed at Hart's concentration on issues and dubbed him idealistic and uninteresting. Now that he is demonstrating tremendous charismatic prowess on television, they clobber him for allegedly ignoring issues and call his 'new ideas' nonexistent." Shales was half-right: television didn't create Hart, but it does love to destroy and scoff and clobber.

Hart's first two gaffes of the campaign came right after Super Tuesday, and the press was whetted. He got a solid week of negative coverage before the Illinois primary; the free media no longer grooved with the paid media. And he lost. But don't start thinking the press has become the arbiter of who is going to be the Democratic presidential nominee this year—or any other year. If that were the case, Mondale wouldn't have gotten into trouble in the first place. Or in earlier years, Jimmy Carter would never have won the nomination. Or Ronald Reagan the Republican nomination. Or Barry Goldwater. The press can help or hurt a candidate; it can't cause him to win or lose. A candidate has to do that on his own.

THE NATION'S PULSE

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by Don Herzog

WHERE THE BREAD?

Money: We may want it, more and every room, or that a hungry obsession more of it, endless gobs of it, all the time; but it makes us uneasy, too. It doesn't take much to realize that we can do without a food processor in

Don Herzog is assistant professor of political science at the University of Michigan.

with checkbook balances might not lead to the most sensible appraisals of one's friends. America may be the quintessential bourgeois paradise, a land of Babbitts with vapidly complacent grins happily salting the stuff away. But America is also the country of Thoreau, sternly insisting that we don't own our possessions, they own

In her latest book, 'Elizabeth Drew joins a long, distinguished line of indignant writers shocked by the corrupting power of money in politics. Aristophanes heaped merciless abuse on Pericles for daring to pay jurors: Instead of being another display of civic pride, Athens' jury, he thought, had become a place where tired old men with nothing to do sat to collect a few drachmas. Jonathan Swift bitterly deplored the new race of stockjobbers worming their way into Walpole's government, and cried out for the good old days when corruption hadn't reared its loathsome head, when men were motivated by a virtuous love of country. Montezuma, an Antifederalist shrewdly pretending to be a Federalist, revealed that Federalists liked the proposed Constitution because it would keep property in their hands. Edward Bellamy, as American a socialist as one could ask for, told businessmen that his Nationalist movement was really quite conservative: He was, he said, trying to rescue republican self-government from the new plutocracy, the giant corporations suddenly making a mockery of American democracy.

The list stretches on, and on, and on some more. The refrain grows rather tiresome, especially when one realizes that it sounds suspiciously like the boy who cried wolf. Since 5th-century

civilization has apparently always been about to slide down some desperate precipice of corruption. A steady stream of doomsayers has vainly alerted countless generations that now, right now, the politics of virtue is being replaced by the politics of moneygrubbing. Drew too likes to sound doomsday tones: Her book ends with, "The public knows that something is very wrong. . . . Until the problem of money is dealt with, the system will not get better. We have allowed the basic idea of our democratic processrepresentative government—to slip away. The only question is whether we are serious about trying to retrieve it." So Drew invites some higher wisdom, or some outright cynicism: The good old days never existed; money and politics have always been entwined; they always will be. Case closed.

Athens, and no doubt before, Western

Righteous indignation, of course, need not signal there's anything wrong with the world. Instead it might betray the colossal naiveté of the indignant. If Drew really thinks that once upon a time, representatives, carefully screened from the excess influence of their constituents as Publius hoped they would be, deliberated on the common good, well, we might say, so much the worse for Drew. And the case against Drew might be reinforced. Like so much else of today's muckraking, Politics and Money is an exercise in journalism by innuendo. The sources are often anonymous: On page 97, which I selected at random,

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Drew tells us what "The young lawyer-lobbyist," "A member of Congress," "Some of the interest groups," and "One lobbyist" say. And Drew's mighty stream of anecdotes never quite nails down her sweeping conclusions.

But there is a less apocalyptic way of describing the place of money in politics. Writers can focus more closely on some concrete context and refuse to draw sweeping conclusions, Maxwell Smart style, about the fate of the entire civilized world. And despite her sometimes charged rhetoric, Drew has written a book that can also be read in this less apocalyptic way. So strip away the occasionally fulsome indignation, if you like. Keep a wary eye out for the frequent appearance of mysterious sources and second-hand evidence. Remember that people have been saying something like this for a very long time. But read her book, which manages despite itself to be instructive.

Enthusiasts of money celebrate its infinite convertibility. Libertarians prize the market for multiplying our options. And indeed the range of goods up for sale is staggering. But, as Michael Walzer has been arguing for some time, some things shouldn't be for sale. I don't auction off A's to my students; they have to earn them by mastering the course material and demonstrating their mastery. A woman deciding between two suitors would rightly be irked if one offered her a down payment of \$25,000 for her hand. Politicians aren't supposed to sell lucrative contracts to old pals. Judges don't overturn jury awards of countless millions to pocket cuts from thankful corporations.

Doubtless all such sales are sometimes made. But we know they're illicit, so they're hidden. And when they come to light, not only do we get the normal wave of indignation; sometimes we actually introduce reforms, to try to block such sales in the future. It may take money to unlock options in capitalist society, but for some options money is just the wrong key.

The latest revelation of wrongdoing in high places in American politics, of course, was that curious ensemble of fiendish and silly events known as Watergate. The discovery, as Drew puts it, "that large, illegal corporate contributions had gone toward the election of Richard Nixon in 1972, that individuals had contributed enormous sums—the champion being W. Clement Stone, who contributed more than two million dollars—and that ambassadorships had been awarded to large contributors" produced the predictable lip service to purity and vir-

tue. But it also produced a Congress willing to pass a tough new law intended to insulate elections from the pernicious influence of money. So we got public financing of presidential campaigns; restrictions on how much of his own money a candidate could spend, and how much total money might be spent; all sorts of disclosure requirements for contributors and the new race of political action commit-

tees; limits on how much an individual might independently spend to help some candidate's campaign; a massively powerful Federal Election Commission to serve as all-purpose watchdog; and more. The goals were to permit elections to be decided for the right reasons—namely how attractive the candidates are to the people—and to free elected politicians from any dependence on the special inter-

ests funding their elections.

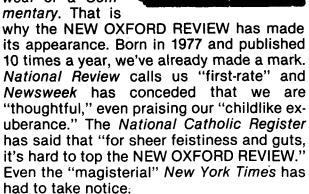
What happened? In 1976, a motley collection of litigants—Senator James Buckley, Eugene McCarthy, the New York Civil Liberties Union, Stewart Mott, and *Human Events*—finally made their way to the Supreme Court to challenge the new law. In *Buckley* v. *Valeo*, the Court agreed with some of their arguments. Under the Constitution, held the Court, a candidate

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PAYMENT MUST ACCOMPANY ORDER

may spend as much of his own money as he likes; an independent individual may spend as much as he likes to help out the candidate; and the government may not legislate ceilings to total expenditures in campaigns. Somehow in their general onslaught Buckley and company neglected to challenge the limit on independent expenditures by political action committees. But that challenge has been pressed since. The

Supreme Court bobbled the issue on a 4-4 vote in January 1982 (Justice O'Connor excused herself from the case because her husband had served on the finance committee of Americans for an Effective Presidency). But it will soon hear it again, since this past December a federal district court panel unanimously ruled the limit unconstitutional.

Some observers think the courts have taken the bite out of the law. And that may be. But I'm inclined to think the courts simply speeded up the application of one of the only valid social science generalizations I know: Reform doesn't eliminate corruption; it redirects it. Winning elections still does depend quite a bit on how much money one can muster to the cause. And legislative decisions still reflect

the influence of contributors.

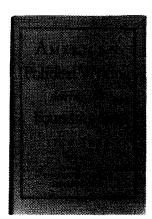
That's not to say that elections in this country are simply bought and sold, or that bills in Congress are. There's an occasional slip of her pen here, but Drew's case is more subtle. How is the influence of money exerted now? What effects does it have? And why does it matter?

Politicians need money to campaign. TV time is expensive, and so are newspaper ads, constant travel, mailings, and any sizable paid staff. So it takes a fair amount of money to mount a credible campaign for any federal office. But it's not the absolute level spent that really matters. Politicians on the hustings want to have significantly more money than their opponents. If you can get slick ads aired twice as often as your opponent can, or more often in prime time, you get a big jump on the other side. The quest for comparative advantage sets off a race. Unhappily, Drew's evidence on the amounts of money involved is anecdotal and piecemeal; but it is still stunning. The National Association of Realtors gave out \$6.7 thousand in 1970, \$1.6 million in 1980, and \$2.3 million in 1982-to congressional candidates alone.

But the money going to candidate coffers, so-called hard money, may be the tip of the iceberg. Soft money is money spent independently of the official campaign effort, money spent on such activities as getting out the vote and helping the party. The rules governing its use are, to put it charitably, porous. And then there is money spent by so-called independent committees, money spent for the candidate but not under his purview. Independent expenditures for Reagan in the 1980 campaign came to \$10.6 million (the figure for Carter was \$28 thousand). How independent? Consider Jesse Helms's description of North Carolina's independent effort: "The law forbids me to consult with [Reagan], and it's been an awkward situation. I've had to, sort of, talk indirectly with Paul Laxalt and hope that he would pass along, uh, and I think the messages have got through all right."

It should come as no surprise that Republicans raise more money than Democrats do. But, oddly enough, it apparently surprised the Democrats. They initially liked the idea of political action committees, figuring that these would let them tap labor support. Needless to say, they miscalculated; business PACs raise far more money than do labor PACs. A cynical Republican, then, might think there's good reason to be happy with the system as it stands. Every candidate needs money to run, and every candidate finds groups out there willing to

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give. Some will just happen to raise more money, and they will just happen, time and time again, to be Republicans.

Even the cynic has reason to worry, though, provided he has any commitments at all to the educating power of open democratic debate. This is politics, and the money surely doesn't come without strings. It's rare, maybe unheard of, for individual votes to be bought and sold-though used-car dealers made Congress overturn a perfectly sensible Federal Trade Commission regulation forcing them to list anything seriously wrong with an automobile. Instead, lobbyists and contributors are generally buying access. A congressman's time is precious, and if thirty people call the office to discuss the latest tax bill and he can see only six, you can be sure he won't be turning away any big contributors.

After all, it's not just past money that matters; it's the promise of future money. PACs, as Drew describes them (she doesn't use the analogy), are like drug dealers. They hand out allotments of money, and the fabled first one may indeed be more or less free. But sooner or later pressure may be exerted on some bill. It's no accident, for example, that members of committees like Ways and Means receive far more contributions than other politicians: Their votes matter more to the people disbursing the money. The pressure need not reach the point of blatant threats and promises. There seems to be a mutual understanding that one doesn't do things like that. And often there need be no explicit pressure at all. The congressman already knows whom he can antagonize with the wrong vote. But however genteel its mechanisms, the only name for the system is influencepeddling.

People invent ingenious defenses for these practices. It's just like advertising on the market: Different groups can use money and access to make their views known; then the congressman-consumer decides. Or it's old-fashioned pluralism in a new guise: Out of the buffeting blows of various interest groups comes the vector sum of the common good. But these defenses are too ingenious. They're testimony to our willingness to believe that what is, is good.

In politics right now, what is is bad. Given the race for money, and the ever-present threat of the next election, politicians have to worry about how much money they can raise. They spend more and more time raising it, and inevitably become more and more beholden to their benefactors. What's left of the '74 election reform imposes no real obstacles at all. Here Drew's argument is undeniable: The law sim-

ply makes the flow of money from donors to candidates more circuitous.

So the race goes on. Who's to blame? Not the politicians: given the situation, they're just acting rationally. Drew, I think, would blame the groups so eager to plunk down their dollars in this exhilarating political game. But her argument points in a different direction. It impeaches the kind of democracy the USA now has. More bluntly, if less accurately, it impeaches the voters.

Despite its honorable pedigree, there is something different about the corruption Drew describes. These politicians are not pocketing bribes; ABSCAM is a very different kettle of fish. Drew's corrupt politicians pour money not into their checking accounts, but into their campaigns. It's those rather mindless commercialscampaign spots, with their five or six sentences—that consume all this money. Media consultants aren't the only ones who know that these ads work, that they sell candidates as effectively as other ads sell the latest commodities. Voters are relatively uninformed, uninvolved, uninterested. So filing off to the polls, they respond to those silly commercials. In the polls, we reward the moneyraisers; we propagate the very politics Drew indicts so indignantly in the name of the

Democratic theorists sometimes worried about how rational voters are. John Stuart Mill, departing from classical liberalism's concern with good institutions, even insisted that good government depends chiefly on the traits of the citizenry. "Of what avail," Mill asked sadly, "is the most broadly popular representative government, if the electors do not care to choose the best member of parliament, but choose him who will spend most money to be elected?" Here Mill invites us to swing back to thinking of virtue and corruption, to melodramatic ruminations on the decline of

But Mill's main line of thought is far more sensible. If it takes a less than consummately rational voter to respond to mindless advertisements, it takes a steady barrage of mindless advertisements to mold a less than rational voter. We can dissent from the suggestion that American democracy is becoming rotten at the core. And we can be quite skeptical of the intimation that public policy is now simply bought and sold. A more modest conclusion will do: The use of money is now a problem in politics. I daresay there are no obvious or easy solutions, either.

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THE TALKIES



AGAINST ALL BODS

by Martha Bayles

aylor Hackford's Against All Odds is supposed to be a remake of Out of the Past, a 1947 classic of the genre known as film noir. Created largely by German émigrés during the forties, Hollywood film noir is noir in two senses: The nighttime settings are black, and so is the vision of human nature. Usually the plots revolve around a corrupted woman, the evil fellow who corrupted her, and the innocent hero whom she in turn corrupts.

Hackford has dispensed with the

Martha Bayles is film critic for The American Spectator.

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ATHLETIC CALENDAR OF TEXAS

old-fashioned visual blackness, claiming to have found a sunshiny equivalent. Having recently arrived in L.A., I was intrigued by his stated ambition "to do an unsentimental portrait of the city . . . to shoot the city as a clear, piercing reality. Los Angeles can be cold and hard and mean." I suppose he accomplishes something like that in the beginning, when the two male leads race their sportscars along Sunset Boulevard. Crazed, naked egos willing to kill for a trivial victory—it rings true, although I must say the deck was stacked; never yet have I seen Sunset Boulevard with so little traffic to dodge.

Beyond this, however, the colorful and luxurious settings combined with the presumed darkness of character and motivation remind me of nothing so much as the prime-time TV soap operas—"Dallas," "Dynasty," and

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the rest. This film's imagination of evil, of how human beings are corrupted, and to what purpose, is straight out of the J.R. Ewing school. Capitalism is the enemy, as the sicko bad guy, Jake Wise (played by James Woods) turns out to be not sicko so much as hopelessly in thrall to Big Money in the form of a real estate developer and owner of a football team, Mrs. Wyler (Jane Greer, the original femme fatale in *Out of the Past*), and her silver-haired, blackhearted attorney (Richard Widmark).

Here's the plot: Mrs. Wyler's beautiful daughter Jessie (Rachel Ward) has rebelled against her cold, hard, mean socialite mother by getting involved with the equally cold, hard, mean but socially unacceptable Jake Wise. As the movie starts, Jessie has had enough of Jake, too, and runs away to Mexico, leaving both Jake and Mrs. Wyler trying to hire the same football player, Terry Brogan (Jeff Bridges), to go hunt for her. Bitter toward Mrs. Wyler, whose ruthless policies have recently caused him to be cut unceremoniously from her football

team, Terry opts for Jake's offer, even though Jake is a creepy nightclub owner whose sleaze is barely covered by his slick.

Off Terry goes, with a few snapshots and words of Spanish, to find Jessie on a picturesque Mexican island where she lives the simple life in an immaculate white linen smock and a hundred-dollar haircut. Naturally, she is irresistible, and the love affair begins before Terry can even down his tequila. Now, lust was definitely the theme in the old film noir, but the attitude toward it was different. Back in the 1940s there was still the quaint notion floating around that sexual immorality was related to other forms of wrongdoing-that carnal indulgence with a stranger might be the first step toward losing one's social reputation, one's moral judgment, and the possession of one's soul. Hollywood has helped to liberate us from that notion—and goodness knows, we are grateful. But the movies . . . somehow the seduction movies aren't quite as suspenseful when the half-coital billboard outside advertises the fact that the stars will be getting it on in the first twenty minutes or your \$4.50 back.

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 ${f A}$ nd why shouldn't they? What else is there for them to do? Well, that's a question this movie has trouble answering. Without any moral impediment, the seduction has to be made fatal by other, more literal means. Instead of a slow, complex battle of wills between hero and siren, in which he throws away his integrity as she lures him step by step into her coils, we have a lot of photogenic, sweaty sex in a couple of photogenic Mexican settings-no hassle, until Jake and the cold, hard, mean capitalists track the lovers down. Then the bullets fly, and so does Jessie, only to reappear back in Los Angeles reunited with Jake.

If this betrayal is supposed to substitute for the calculating wickedness of the classic *film noir* heroine, then we really have come a