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By seven a.m. Monday, Bob was at his desk in the offices of Miller and Hill. Sherman Miller came in earlier than usual and sat down in Bob's office. Bob said, "Sherm, I know you are wondering about the David Mullins visit. It is all very confidential, but I have his permission to tell you. Our congressman is going to retire and the National Committee is encouraging me to run. But there is more to it than that, and it gets pretty complicated. I have made no commitments, and before I do I will want to sit down with you for several hours and get your advice. But first I need to get the pros and cons sorted out in my own mind."

Sherman said, "Bob it sounds like a great opportunity for you. Don't feel that you have any obligation to me that would stand in your way. You certainly have what it takes to be a congressman, and I will help you any way I can, even though you are a Democrat. When you are ready to talk, let me know. Meanwhile I'll keep it under my hat."

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“Thanks, Sherm, I really appreciate your attitude. I couldn’t ask for a better law partner, even though you are a Republican.”

At eleven a.m., Bob left for Jefferson City. The Senate usually convened at two p.m. on Mondays, although sometimes Bob had to be there on Monday morning for committee meetings. Maria had packed a lunch which he could eat in the car, so by driving straight through he could be there by two p.m. Bob had found a retired couple living in a large older home, who had agreed to rent him a spare bedroom with private bath and to serve him breakfast, all for \$15.00 per night. He ate his noon and evening meals at restaurants. It had been agreed that Bob would move to a motel when any of the couple’s children or grandchildren came for a visit and needed his room. Each senator was paid \$35.00 per day for expenses for those days he was required by his senatorial duties to be in Jefferson City. Some senators rented apartments and spent a good deal more than \$35.00 per day, but Bob was able to get by on his allowance. It helped when Maria packed his lunch.

When Bob reached Jefferson City, he went straight to the Capitol and took the elevator to the fourth floor. Catherine was alone in her office. Bob said, “David Mullins made it to Adamsville, and we had our talk. If you can clear out some time late this afternoon, I will tell you about it.”

The Senate convened at 2 p.m., with the President Pro Tem in the Chair. The Chaplain offered the opening prayer, and the roll was called. Several messages from the Governor were received announcing appointments to various state boards and requesting the advice and consent of the Senate. Each of these requests was referred to the Committee on Gubernatorial Appointments. Senator Harris offered Senate Resolution No. 64, regarding the death of one of his constit-

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uents, which was unanimously adopted, and a copy ordered sent to the family. The Chairman of the Committee on Gubernatorial Appointments reported that said committee had considered the appointment of Perry Sells to the Board of Regents, Missouri Southern State College, and recommends "that the Senate do give its advice and consent to said appointment." Senator Fairfield moved that the committee report be adopted, which motion prevailed.

Bob made it a point to listen carefully to each of these routine matters, and he always knew what vote was being taken — one of the few senators who did. However, the unusually large volume of routine business on this afternoon, taxed even Bob's power of concentration. Finally the Chair announced that the following message had been received from the House of Representatives through its Chief Clerk:

"Mr. President: I am instructed by the House of Representatives to inform the Senate that the House has taken up and passed HB 160, entitled: An Act requiring that no person shall perform an abortion upon any woman in this state until at least 24 hours after furnishing to said woman certain printed material as specified herein, and providing the punishment for failure to comply herewith. Mr. President, the concurrence of the Senate is respectfully requested."

HB 160 was read the first time. On motion of Senator Pinzino, the Senate adjourned under the rules.

Back at his office, Bob found a delegation from the Missouri Dairymen's Association waiting to see him. It was nearly five p.m. when these gentlemen left. Catherine said, "I'm sorry, Bob, but these men were in town just for today, so I couldn't change their appointment. But I can stay after five if you want to talk about Mr. Mullins."

Bob said, "Okay, lock the door and have a chair. Mullins said I could confide in anyone whose advice I needed and

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who could be trusted to keep it confidential. You qualify on both counts, so here goes." Catherine listened without interruption as Bob related from beginning to end, his interview with David Mullins.

Then she said, "I am not too surprised. Knowing what I do about David Mullins, and being well aware of your potential, this was about what I expected. First, I believe your election to the United States Congress would be almost a sure thing. You would make a strong candidate in your own right, and with the National Committee helping you behind the scenes, you would be able to raise the money and get the media help you would need to win. And even if you went no higher than Congress, that is no small thing. After all there are only 435 congressmen in this whole country, and you would be in a position to make a real difference and do a lot of good.

"Furthermore, I believe there is a good chance you could go higher — maybe senator, governor, cabinet member, vice-president, or even president. I base this on what I know about your own character and ability. You would make an outstanding congressman, and you would deserve to go higher. But that next step would be far less certain and far more difficult, for two reasons. In the first place, when you come to that next step up, the competition will be much tougher. David Mullins, and others like him, are constantly on the lookout for good potential candidates — white, black, Hispanic, Asiatic, and whatever. The National Committee's interest in you is sincere, but they certainly are not going to put all their eggs in one basket. Virginia has a new black governor; New York City has a new black mayor; all over the country there are more and more black mayors and congressmen. And the potential is not limited to those in public office. We have more black television and movie stars, more black college professors and scientists, and more successful black

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businessmen. Of course, the same is true of Hispanics and Asiatics and other minority groups. Attractive candidates will come forth from all these groups, and the competition will be tough."

Catherine paused and Bob asked, "What is your other reason why it will be difficult for me to advance beyond congressman?"

"Bob, I said that my belief that you can go on up, even to the top, is based on what I know about your character and ability. Yet these same qualities can work against you. For more than two years I have watched the way you operate. I have seen the way you stand by your honest convictions. Our conversations these past two years have given me a good insight as to what your convictions are. Now we both know that some of your convictions do not agree with our party's national platform. Can you go to Congress and vote against your convictions? I have my doubts. Yet if you take the wrong stand on some of these issues, you will have little chance of moving up on the national level."

Bob said, "That's the big problem. That is what Maria and I are struggling with now. HB 160 came over to the Senate today. The word is that it will be assigned to the Committee on Public Health and Welfare, so I will not have to deal with it until it is reported out to the Senate. David Mullins said this is a litmus test issue — one that I must vote against. He says that if I vote for it, not only would I not be electable to Congress, but also I might not be electable to the State Senate for a second term."

Catherine shook her head. "He is probably right about Congress, but I believe he is wrong about the State Senate. You have done a good job up here, and the people of the district know it. They will re-elect you regardless of how you vote on HB 160. So it is the congressional seat that you are

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concerned about. Can you bring yourself to vote against HB 160?"

Bob frowned. "It is a good bill. In fact, I do not see why even the pro-abortion people object to a woman being fully informed as to what she is doing when she has an abortion. But they do object, and apparently consider this to be a crucial test. Should I vote for HB 160 and forget about Congress? David believes that the fight against abortion is futile. He says that powerful interests in this country have decided that we need abortion, and that there is no way to stop them. Should I throw away my chance to do some really worthwhile things for my people and my country, by sticking stubbornly to a lost cause?"

Catherine said, "Mullins may be right about the futility of the pro-life cause, although I am not fully convinced. But regardless of that, there will be other litmus test issues that will not involve lost causes. For example, you regard the traditional family to be a God-given institution, far superior to anything man can devise. Congress will be considering many bills that would weaken the family and get the Federal Government into the business of raising the children. If you are to advance to higher office, you must support these bills. What will you do? I know that you believe in a strong national defense, but you may have to vote against defense bills in order to pass the litmus test. I am sure you can think of several other issues that would be a problem to you. Once you get into this, your problems will go far beyond the abortion issue.

"Bob, you and Maria will have to make the final decision, and knowing you both as I do, I understand just how difficult this is for you. For about 99% of the politicians in this country, it would be no problem. They would just vote the way that was necessary to advance their careers, and not worry

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about it. But you two are different. It is too bad that the quality that makes you most suited for high office, is the very thing that makes it most difficult for you to get there.”

“Catherine, you have helped me clarify my thinking, as you always do, and I appreciate all the kind things you have said about me, even though I don’t deserve them. You are right, I do disagree with the party platform on several important issues. At least, according to my present thinking I disagree. I certainly hope that my mind is open enough to listen to the other side, and to change my position if I am shown to be wrong. But in the end, on the important issues, at least, I would have to vote my conscience, and if that disqualifies me for higher office, then so be it. So I think it all comes down to the seat in Congress. Maria and I must decide if going to Congress is worth giving up my favorable vote on HB 160. We may go higher than Congress, but that is such a long shot that we must not let it become a critical factor in our decision on HB 160.”

Catherine nodded in agreement. “That narrows it down to the real issue — is the congressional seat worth it? Only you and Maria can decide that.”

“Catherine, I believe I will talk to Senator Fairfield about this. I won’t tell him about my interview with David Mullins, not because I don’t trust him, but because I don’t want to put him in the position of knowing the inter-councils of the opposing party, and yet having to keep it confidential. I want to talk to him about this whole abortion issue.”

Catherine said, “You will not find anyone with keener political insight than Richard Fairfield. He likes you, Bob, and has helped you even in ways you may not be aware of. By all means, talk to him.”

