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From the Editor

The Anti-establishment Candidates?

"The people of this country know from bitter experience that we are not going to get these changes merely by shifting around the same group of insiders.... The insiders have had their chance and they have not delivered."

Which anti-establishment candidate running for president of the United States uttered the above words? Was it Donald Trump? Or Ted Cruz? Or Bernie Sanders?

Actually, those words were not spoken by any of this year's presidential candidates, but by a candidate running for president in 1976 — Jimmy Carter.

When Carter threw his hat into the ring of presidential politics, he was largely unknown outside his home state of Georgia, where he had been governor. "Jimmy who?" people asked. Yet his campaign resonated with voters fed up with the political establishment dominating Washington politics, and the political outsider made it all the way to the White House, at which point, many expected, he would turn the insiders out.

But did he? A few weeks prior to the November election, top Carter advisor and strategist Hamilton Jordan averred: "If, after the inauguration, you find a Cy Vance as Secretary of State and Zbigniew Brzezinski as head of National Security, then I would say we failed. And I'd quit. You're going to see new faces and new ideas." Yet President Carter chose Vance for secretary of state and Brzezinski for head of National Security — both members of the Council on Foreign Relations, the establishment powerhouse whose members have sat at the pinnacles of power in both Republican and Democrat administrations. And Jordan, who became chief of staff in the Carter White House, did not quit.

And so it has been over the years, as both Republican and Democrat presidents who had promised "new faces and new ideas" on the campaign trail instead perpetuate and even build upon the basic policies of their predecessors, from intervening abroad to fueling Big Government at home. This includes the current occupant of the White House, who promised "change we can believe in."

How about this year's presidential race? As of this writing, two candidates in particular have surprised the pundits by the extent to which their campaigns have gotten traction. Both candidates — Republican Donald Trump and Democrat Bernie Sanders — are anti-establishment, or at least are perceived as such. On the other hand, establishment candidates such as Democrat Hillary Clinton and Republican Jeb Bush are not doing as well as once expected. Clinton, who was once presumed to be the next Democrat nominee for president, now has a race on her hands. And it does not appear that Bush's campaign is going to go anywhere, despite his connections.

Suppose either Trump or Sanders were to become president. Would either truly turn the political establishment on its head and deliver "change"? If yes, what kind of "change" would it be? Would it be "change we can believe in"? Or change even worse than the status quo?

In the two cover-story articles on Trump and Sanders, Charles Scaliger takes a hard look at both candidates. Sanders has a voting record in the Senate that sheds much light on his positions (as opposed to mere rhetoric). Trump does not have a voting record, but he does have a resumé. Scaliger surveys the publicly available information and lets the chips fall where they may.



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