



Right-wing Democrat Bob Short lost a close race to a moderate Republican.

Paul Shambroom

By Anthony Schmitz

MINNESOTA

Republican sweep leaves DFL groggy

IN PARTY CIRCLES WEDNESDAY morning it was said that the Minnesota Democrat Farmer Labor Party suffered a setback. The more bitter truth is that the DFL was stomped.

The state Independent Republicans won both U.S. Senate seats and took the governor's. And they pulled even with the DFL in the state legislature, where a DFL majority of 64 was changed to an even split (each party now has 67 seats).

At 1:30 a.m. Wednesday, Sen. Wendall Anderson conceded to Rudy Boschwitz, whose notoriety before this year was earned by selling plywood and paneling on local television. Anderson said only that after this abrupt end to a 20-year political career he had no plans. He avoided listing the causes of his defeat, but they included his self-appointment to Vice-President Walter Mondale's Senate seat, his alienation of northern Minnesota voters with an environmentally weighted compromise on the sensitive Boundary Waters Canoe Area issue, and his involvement in the murky affairs of the Upper Great Lakes Regional Commission. In that minor scandal it was disclosed that federal funds had been funneled to con-

sultants well connected to the governor's office. When asked about their work for the commission, some consultants could remember neither the conclusions they drew nor the specific research they did.

By the time Anderson conceded, the other DFL Senate candidate, Bob Short, had gone home to bed. Short, a millionaire businessman with a splotchy history of anti-labor activity, refused to give in to Republican David Durenberger until the next morning. Short had learned this lesson on primary night, when he went to sleep thinking that liberal Rep. Don Fraser had won. But late returns from northern and southern Minnesota gave Short the edge. On election night he left a portrait of Harry Truman hanging in the ballroom

of his Leamington Hotel as a combination vigil and shrine.

Not enough votes.

Next morning Short explained straight-faced to reporters that he lost "because I didn't get enough votes." One reason that he didn't is that he seemed more conservative than his Republican opponent. Short stridently supported constitutional limits on abortion. He favored tax cuts of over \$100 billion, and, unlike Durenberger, was opposed to controls on nuclear energy. Abandoned by the liberal wing of the DFL after a vicious campaign against Fraser, he came up short of liberal votes on election day.

Wednesday morning Gov. Rudy Per-

pich was also busy conceding his race. Perpich was edged out by Congressman Al Quie, who achieved some repute as spiritual confidante to Chuck Colson. Unlike Short, Perpich wasn't seen as sinister; he was more often portrayed as unpredictable and a bit daffy. A vintage Perpich story, appearing days before the election, told of a tantrum thrown by the governor over having to attend an important political meeting. Perpich was to be the main draw, but refused to go. His staff pestered, Perpich refused to budge. He finally slunk out of his office, around the corner of the capitol and into a wind-ow well, where he hid for an hour and a half. So much for affairs of state.

Quie, more lucid, if conservative and slightly ministerial, stressed improving the state's business climate by halving corporate income taxes and reducing personal income tax. His campaign workers distributed thousands of anti-abortion tracts in the last days of the election.

Cloudy meaning.

After allowing for wild election night claims concerning the triumph of two party democracy, the DFL's drubbing seemed more the result of personality than conservative backsliding. Short was more conservative than his opponent, Anderson was more liberal. Both lost. In Short's case the reasons were obvious. He was intemperate both in his early attacks on Fraser and in his later chain-saw analysis of cutting government fat. Short's \$1 million-plus campaign served only to remind voters of his wealth. Durenberger had the election handed to him as a reward by and large for keeping his mouth shut during the campaign.

Anderson, on the other hand, was seen by many to be a far-sighted mechanic of government. Reforms of property tax laws during his terms as governor are credited with heading off a holy war of taxpayers in the state. Anderson also increased state aid to education and froze senior citizens' property taxes. Still, Anderson's waffling on ending Reserve Mining's pollution of Lake Superior and on protection for the BWCA made him seem, above all, a political animal. His opponent Boschwitz hit hard on Anderson's abysmal attendance record in the Senate, and Anderson could put up little defense.

Very early Wednesday morning, Boschwitz took the podium in another hotel and said that he'd be the same kind of senator that Humphrey was. We are left with the impression that something is seriously off kilter in Minnesota.

Anthony Schmitz is a Minneapolis freelancer.

By Bob McMahon

RALEIGH, N.C.

JESSE HELMS MARCHED THROUGH a crowd of cheering supporters election night to announce, "I'm Senator No, and I'm glad to be here." Proudly accepting the label of negativism a Raleigh newspaper had given his Senate record, the Republican incumbent was there to claim victory by a 54-46 percent margin in the most lavishly financed senate race in U.S. history.

His easy defeat of Democrat John Ingram, North Carolina Insurance Commissioner, guaranteed that Helms, one of the arch-princes of the new right, will play a potent role in Republican presidential politics.

His outspoken role as an opponent of abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, and the Panama Canal Treaty had made Helms a well loved figure among Republican conservatives. An aggressive fund-raising drive by direct mail artist Richard Viguiera used this combination to draw over \$6.7 million from over 200,000 donors around the country.

This success that will be an important asset for the candidate Helms chooses in the 1980 primaries. Reports out of the Helms camp suggest the senator may be interested in the vice presidential spot. Meanwhile, Helms was suggesting a

week before the election that he might contest Howard Baker's hold on the post of Senate minority leader.

Helms showed strong support across the state, sustaining the coalition of Republicans and white Democratic conservatives that brought him victory in 1972 in a state that registers three-to-one Democratic.

In that year Helms ran as an anti-bus-ing candidate, after spending more than a decade on television as the voice of bitter-end resistance to desegregation. In 1978, although he emphasized opposition to racial quotas and to HEW pressure to desegregate the state universities, the racial rhetoric of his campaign was lower key. A racial joke about UN ambassador Andrew Young Helms used to open speeches was retired after drawing criticism.

Nevertheless, unlike many other Re-

publican candidates this year, Helms made no effort to develop support from the black community. His opponent, John Ingram, was overwhelmingly supported by black voters.

Helms' main campaign themes were to attack federal interference and government spending, to call for stronger measures against the Soviets, and to label his opponent as the choice of the "big labor bosses."

Ingram tried to counter by labelling his opponent "the six million dollar man," and suggesting that Helms' massive war chest showed he had sold out to special interests. A similar strategy had brought Ingram victory in the primaries against banker Luther Hodges Jr.

The sheer breadth of Helms' support among business political action committees and conservative donors, however,

undercut the credibility of linking the senator to particular groups, such as the oil lobby or the insurance industry.

Feebleness of populism.

Ingram also relied heavily on appeals for Democratic unity but many important leaders gave only token support to a candidate whose aggressive stance as a fighter for the little people offended the moderate-conservative Democratic establishment.

Ingram counted most on his image as a consumer advocate. His record as Insurance Commissioner had won him fervent support in the past, but this year the magic did not work. Helms too had established himself as a fighter for the little man by taking the conservative side on a host of social issues—abortion, the ERA, racial quotas, taxes—while North Carolinians felt threatened by.

Many of the issues that won the election for Helms were never discussed. Ingram tried to follow a classic populist approach of uniting voters on pocketbook issues while avoiding issues—race, sexism, labor unions, foreign policy—that might divide white and black, liberal and conservative.

His record on racial issues is far brighter than Helms'—but Ingram never mentioned it.

He tried to avoid the union label—often

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MACHINE POLITICS

Caretaker is chosen for Metcalfe's seat

By Beth Botts & John Fleming

ELECTION NIGHT IN CHICAGO found Bennett Stewart where he's been every election night since he went to work as a precinct captain for Mayor Daley's Democratic Party Organization in the 1950s: in a noisy, smoke-filled storefront campaign office on the South Side, crouched over a phone tabulating returns collected by the party's ward captains.

But this election was different. Stewart, a veteran alderman famous for his habit of bringing meetings to order with Amos'n'Andy imitations, was a candidate for U.S. Representative from the 1st District.

"Turn down that music!" he shouted across the crowded room to a bearded man playing disco over an enormous sound system. "I'm trying to get us some figures." The room grew quiet until Stewart got off the phone. "As it now stands," he reported, "we're on our way to Washington."

Stewart's victory, by nearly a two-to-one margin over Republican A.A. "Sammy" Rayner, ended the South Side's bitterest political fight in years. It began in early October with the death of Rep. Ralph Metcalfe. A week later, city Democratic party leaders nominated Stewart to replace Metcalfe, leaving the black community profoundly divided and more aware than ever of its powerlessness.

Metcalfe was not particularly influential on Capitol Hill, but he was a powerful symbol in local black politics. As an alderman and long-time ward committeeman Metcalfe worked his way up through the South Side's black Democratic organization to gain the 1st District seat in 1970. But shortly after his election he broke away from the party by blasting Daley

with accusations that the mayor was permitting, if not actually promoting, police brutality in the ghettos.

These charges had an emotional and political impact greater than Watergate among blacks. Attacking Daley upset the historic alliance between City Hall and the black wards forged by Metcalfe's patron and predecessor, William Dawson, a peg-legged congressman who for almost 20 years delivered huge election pluralities for Democratic candidates.

Metcalfe's death provided machine leaders with an easy opportunity to regain the congressional seat. Under Illinois law, the district's ten ward committeemen—important officials in Chicago because they control City Hall patronage jobs—are empowered to select replacement candidates. Despite intense community pressure for a special election to replace Metcalfe, the committeemen made a deal with the party's patronage secretary to nominate Stewart in exchange for jobs. "If you don't ask, you don't get," a committeeman remarked. "We got at least one more black judge."

The nomination set off three weeks of vicious name-calling and desperate maneuvering by anti-Stewart forces. To them, the slating of Stewart—a party loyalist who opposed Metcalfe's police brutality campaign along with the rest of the city council—was a blatant case of "plantation politics." In an effort to capitalize on the community outrage, Republicans went into federal court to replace their original token candidate with Rayner, a flamboyant former alderman who had earlier challenged the Democratic party establishment. Just days before the election, the various anti-Stewart forces settled on Rayner's campaign as the best way to protest.

But Rayner's short campaign was not



Bennett Stewart, the Blandic machine's nominee for the congressional seat made vacant by Ralph Metcalfe's death.

effective. Helped by a strong Democratic party showing throughout the city, Stewart carried every ward in the district. Despite the slim crowd that showed up at his headquarters for the election night vigil, Rayner spoke of his campaign as the beginning of a black independent movement in Chicago.

Stewart is plainly a caretaker for the job until the party grooms a candidate it can support for good. "At 63," he said, "I won't be there long."

The first fallout from the Stewart election will come this winter if Ralph Metcalfe Jr. runs for the city council seat his father once held. Young Metcalfe is not like other South Side politicians. The

manager of blues musician Lefty Dizz, Metcalfe is also well educated—a graduate of Choate and Columbia, where he was a leader in the 1968 demonstrations—and a serious student of astrology.

Under the pressure of his father's death, Metcalfe avoided the squabbles over the congressional seat. But on election night he was behind his father's old desk at ward headquarters collecting returns from the organization's precinct captains. "I'm appalled by Stewart," Metcalfe said. "He's not an appropriate replacement for my father. But I doubt he'll survive 1980. This community doesn't forget." ■

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Seattle breaks the anti-gay voting pattern by stopping 13

By Margaret Carter

THE MOOD WAS HIGH. IN SEATTLE'S Eagles Ballroom, jubilant gays stomped their feet and embraced in anticipated celebration. The morning returns confirmed the expected victory: Seattle had become the nation's first city to defeat an anti-gay initiative.

It was a significant triumph for gay rights advocates everywhere. Initiative 13, which could have repealed provisions protecting homosexuals under the city's fair housing and employment laws, lost by almost a two-to-one margin. In other important contests, the city passed an anti-busing proposal, Initiative 350, and reversed a restrictive gun-use policy by Seattle police, Initiative 15.

The struggle against 13 had a wide-based support. James O'Sullivan, a local gay city official who came out of the closet to help defeat 13, pointed out that "this isn't just a gay issue; the straight community is equally involved. People have a sense of community that transcends racial and sexual lines."

The most effective force for gay rights was a coalition of business, labor, political and religious leaders, and private citizens, Citizens to Retain Fair Employment. CRFE charged that passage would legitimize invasions of privacy and bigotry against all citizens.

More radical factions in the anti-gay movement were led by Seattle Citizens Against Thirteen (SCAT) and Women Against Thirteen (WAT). On election eve, these activists staged a march of 2,000 candle-carrying persons in downtown Seattle.

Not everyone was pleased with the outcome. Dennis Falk, a Seattle policeman and John Birch Society leader who co-chaired the Initiative 13 campaign remarked, "I don't think the issue of homosexuality is a dead issue at all in Seattle," he said at a gathering of SOME (Save Our Moral Ethics), the organization responsible for the initiative.

The Seattle Police Guild scored a victory on Initiative 15, a heated issue since the Aug. 9 shooting of an unarmed prowler burglary suspect, John Alfred Rodney, by officer Dennis Falk. The initiative allows the shooting of a suspect who has committed murder, manslaughter, mayhem, felonious assault, robbery, burglary, kidnapping, arson, rape or a felony involving a bomb, rejecting a recently implemented more restrictive city council policy. The council policy allowed officers to use "deadly force" only at the scene of a crime or in "hot pursuit" of a fleeing suspect who appears to have caused death or serious bodily injury to another person.

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Socialist loses in Maine by 39 votes in House race

By Ron Williams

RUSS CHRISTENSEN, RUNNING as a socialist on the Democratic ticket in Bangor, Maine (ITT, Sept. 27), came within 39 votes of winning a seat in the State House of Representatives.

His opponent, Republican Frank Carter, ran a campaign promoting "fiscal responsibility" in the tradition of Maine's conservative Gov. James Longley. This meant a crackdown on "welfare cheats," tax breaks for the paper companies that dominate the state's economy and a ceiling on government spending.

Christensen countered with a demand for guaranteed jobs in place of welfare, posing progressive taxation as an alternative to reduced spending. Striving to develop, in his words, a Marxist class analysis of the tax structure, he maintained that middle and lower income taxpayers have been penalized as the upper class "bows out of supporting social programs."

In a state where ten million out of 21 million acres of land are owned or controlled by paper giants like St. Regis, Great Northern, Diamond International or Scott, these corporate interests are the appropriate place to introduce a shift in the tax burden, Christensen told campaign audiences. "Two and a half percent of the population own all municipal bonds and pay no taxes on them."

Gov. Longley recently proposed an amendment to the state constitution that would have imposed a ceiling on state spending of approximately 10 percent over and above the last biennium. Christensen was active in a tax reform coalition of labor, university and public interest groups that successfully lobbied against the amendment in Augusta. That participation resulted in increased support for his campaign from the AFL-CIO and other groups that had initially been wary of a socialist candidate.

A major factor enabling Christensen to reach residents of the predominantly working class district in Bangor came from the grass-roots community work he has involved himself in since 1972. Christensen works as a staff attorney with Pine Tree Legal Services, an agency that offers free legal aid to low-income Maine residents, with Spruce Run, a Bangor women's crisis center providing free legal advice and with the Maine Woodsmen's Association, which organizes unrepresented paper workers.

Running an openly socialist campaign in a traditionally Republican area and emerging with 48 percent of the vote indicates that voters will respond to a socialist alternative if it is raised, says Russ Christensen. "In the last three months I have helped legitimate the discussion of socialism here. There are opportunities even in losing." ■