

## MACHINE POLITICS

## Caretaker is chosen for Metcalfe's seat

By Beth Botts &amp; John Fleming

**E**LECTION 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

**T**HE 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.

Margaret Carter is a Seattle free-lance writer.

## Socialist loses in Maine by 39 votes in House race

By Ron Williams

**R**USS 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."



## CALIFORNIA

Briggs, blacks lose,  
Brown, Bird win

By Larry Remer

**J**ERRY BROWN HANDILY WON A second term as governor of California, burying his Republican opponent, Attorney General Evella Younger, by more than 1.5 million votes. Brown's smashing victory protects his stature as a major national political figure and paves the way for a presidential bid in 1980 or 1984.

The California electorate also defeated an initiative that would have prohibited gays from teaching in the public schools. The 58-42 margin turning down this measure, which had been sponsored by fundamentalist state senator John Briggs, marks the first major defeat in the nation for an anti gay measure.

And Rose Elizabeth Bird, the first woman Chief Justice of the California Supreme Court, narrowly beat off a right-wing challenge to her confirmation and won a full 12-year term from the electorate.

But, both the corporate wing and the law-and-order wing of the California GOP made significant gains at the polls.

In the race for attorney general, state senator George Deukmejian, an ultra-conservative Republican who authored California's present death penalty statute, defeated black liberal congresswoman Yvonne Braithwaite Burke.

In addition, California's highest black elected official—Lt. Gov. Mervyn Dymally—was defeated by a 53-year-old record company executive, Mike Curb. Curb waged a vicious campaign, smearing Dymally for alleged misconduct in office, though never producing any evidence to substantiate his charges.

The political clout of big spending by

corporate interests was felt most clearly in the defeat of Prop. 5, an initiative that would have mandated the establishment of smoking and non-smoking sections in restaurants and other public places. Frightened by marketing studies showing that the passage of Prop. 5 could lead to a 15 percent drop in cigarette sales in California, tobacco interests pumped more than \$5 million into the campaign to defeat the measure.

Left-of-center and liberal forces should find little to cheer about in the results.

An analysis of the voting trends shows that the conservative shift in the electorate which began with the passage of Prop. 13 continues.

According to surveys of voters as they left their polling places, the huge Brown margin stemmed from the governor's complete turnaround on Prop. 13 and his efforts to prove himself as a tax-cutter and budget-slasher in the intervening months. Rose Bird's slim victory stemmed from the blatantly political campaign waged by the gun lobby and agribusiness in their drive to oust her.

As for the defeat of Prop. 6, the critical factor came with the endorsement of the No-on-6 efforts by Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan. Both GOP heavyweights declared that the measure posed a grave threat to individual liberties and created the specter of increased governmental interference in people's private lives.

The anti-government sentiment ran strong on all sides of the political spectrum, with the most significant development being the emergence of the Libertarians as an organized political force.

Campaigning against Prop. 6, against Prop. 5, and against the corporate establishment, Libertarian candidate Ed Clark—a Los Angeles antitrust lawyer—piled



Campaigners against the Briggs initiative.

Gary Friedman

up a surprising 500,000 votes for governor. The Libertarians embody the pro-capitalist ideology of most conservatives, with the moral overtones stripped away. It's a get-rid-of-government philosophy that encompasses both social and economic issues. And the sudden strength of their ap-

peal indicates that they could prove to be a force to be reckoned with in the future.

On the left side of the spectrum, California's progressive forces played a relatively minor role in the statewide races. The United Farm Workers worked very

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## Berkeley goes left again, but across the Bay...

By Randall Risener

**B**ERKELEY'S PROGRESSIVE ALLIANCE won surprising victories this week over the moderate-conservative dominated City Council while San Francisco's rent rebate measure was defeated by well-financed real estate interests.

In what may spell the tenor of Berkeley's political future, that city's voters enacted Prop. 1 (a property tax savings rebate for renters), turned back a landlord-backed counter measure that was designed to confuse and rejected attempts to repeal the city's campaign financing law.

As enacted, Prop. 1 mandates a rollback of commercial and residential rents to June 8 levels and requires landlords to share 80 percent of their Prop. 13 property tax savings with their tenants.

The rent rebate measure has a statutory life of only one year and allows owners of rental property to raise rents in order to cover "optimate" expenses such as property improvements and rehabilitation.

Opponents of Prop. 1 collected and spent more than \$500,000 with contributions coming from as far away as Los Angeles, while the campaign for the initiative—spearheaded by the left-oriented Berkeley Citizen's Action group (BCA)—relied on a budget of around \$7,000 and volunteers who canvassed nearly two-thirds of the city's precincts.

Berkeley voters also trounced two other ballot measures: One, supported by Vice-Mayor Sue Hone, would have repealed the provisions of the city's campaign financing law limiting contributions to \$250, while the other, backed by Mayor Warren Widener, would have provided for run-offs if no mayoral candidate received a clear majority.

This election was a shot in the arm for BCA, which suffered crippling defeats in the city's last election. Mal Warwick, BCA's coordinator, hailed the election as "showing that we are a vital political force."

But while Berkeley's left celebrated, there was no euphoria for backers of rent rebate measures in San Francisco and the peninsula city of Palo Alto.

Because the majority of San Francisco residents are renters and housing costs are some of the highest in the nation, many believed that passage of that city's rent rebate measure—Prop. U—was essential to the success of a state-wide drive for similar initiatives.

"Simple answers don't always make a lot of sense," was the reason rent rebate measures in San Francisco and Palo Alto failed, said Don Solem, who coordinated the opposition campaigns.

A more accurate assessment, say rent rebate backers, is that by the time voters went to the polls, real estate interests had spent more than \$700,000 to defeat the two measures.

Similar rent rebate measures in Davis

and Santa Cruz passed and failed respectively.

Despite these defeats, rebate activists say they intend to continue their efforts. "Tenants are still entitled to a rebate," said one Prop. U coordinator, "and we won't go away."

Mike Dieden of the Campaign for economic Democracy (CED) also said his organization will continue organizing efforts around the issue. "Real estate interests in this state," said Dieden, "have not seen the last of renter rebate."

## Other Contests.

In other contests, liberal state senator John Dunlap (D-Napa) was defeated by a well-heeled organized agribusiness campaign, limited growth candidates trounced pro-growth advocates in San Jose and the East Bay's progressive Tom Bates (D-Oakland) was, as expected, returned to the Assembly but by a numerical margin that may further fuel speculation over his political future.

Accused during the campaign of being too liberal for the rural, conservative district he represents, Dunlap was targeted for defeat by Republicans and organized agricultural interests who resented, among other things, the fact that he had co-authored the state's farm labor law.

In San Jose, incumbent Mayor Jane Grey Hayes, by a two-to-one margin, turned back a challenge by pro-growth advocate city councilman Al Garza in what had been one of the most bitter and

acrimonious campaigns in recent history. Hayes, who is an advocate of a "limited growth" policy for the city was joined in victory by a political ally, Jerry Estruth, who defeated pro-growth incumbent city councilman Joe Colla, giving limited growth proponents a majority of four in the City Council.

While Bates' reelection was never in question, supporters expressed concern over the size of his victory in what Louise Jaskulski, of Bates' advisory committee, termed a "test in a way." While handily turning back a well-financed and aggressive challenge by Republican Bob Nieman, Bates' majority (as this is written) was much smaller than previously.

In an election night interview, Bates implied what Jaskulski had already said—that changing demographics in his 12th Assembly District might well affect future contests. Bates' district comprises not only politically liberal sections of Berkeley and Oakland, but a chunk of the more conservative and rapidly growing Contra Costa County.

In addition, Bates said he has no intention of remaining in the Assembly forever and is considering running for the 8th congressional seat now held by Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Berkeley), should Dellums seek a U.S. Senate seat, as it has been widely rumored, from the District of Columbia, if Congress grants full representation to D.C. However, "I will not," Bates said, "run against Dellums," a close political ally.