

LATE RETURNS

New rightwinger loses big in Seattle

By Michelle Celarier
and Walter Hatch

IN A 1976 SPECIAL ELECTION, FORMER plastics manufacturer Jack Cunningham bought Washington state's seventh congressional district for half a million dollars. A protege of new right fundraiser Richard Viguerie, Cunningham was among those picked and groomed by the Republican right to win targeted special elections across the country that year.

This election, voters in Seattle's most urban industrial district didn't resubscribe to Cunningham's gold-plated populist promises.

"The public is not as dumb as some think," boasted Mike Lowry after the liberal Democrat ousted Cunningham with a New Deal-style coalition of labor, women, minorities and senior citizens. Again and again, the former King County councilman asserted that the ultra-conservative Republican didn't represent the interests of the traditionally Democratic district.

Cunningham did represent the irony of corporate wealth ostentatiously housed in the backyards of urban squalor. This is Boeing country, home of the state's multi-billion dollar aerospace contractor. It is also home for 90 percent of the state's blacks and 85,000 union families.

Taking 53 percent of the vote, Mike Lowry's margin of victory (9,000 votes) surpassed even the hopeful projections of his campaign strategists. A high turnout in this off-year election, coupled with the effective exposure of Cunningham's political views and financing, and Lowry's successful coalition-building, contributed to the victory.

On the same ballot, Seattle voted to halt mandatory busing, better arm its police force, and retain a ordinance outlawing discrimination in housing and employment on the basis of sexual preference. Gays and supporters went to the polls in unprecedented numbers. And when they did, they voted against Jack Cunningham. In solid gay rights neighborhoods where occasional voters were enlivened and new voters registered—Lowry garnered 78 percent of the vote.

Lowry also carried the white, union stronghold of West Seattle where opposition to school busing has been militant. And the pivotal district backed him despite a last-minute Cunningham mailing depicting Lowry as a proponent of "mandatory, forced busing."

Campaigning in a district with rapidly rising crime rates, Cunningham hoped to tap prevailing fears. His anti-big government slogan declared, "Taxes are killing America."

But in public debates, Lowry attacked his opponent's voting record on consumer, welfare and civil rights. Cunningham, Lowry said, received a zero rating from the National Council of Senior Citizens and had voted against the black political caucus 90 percent of the time.

Cunningham's money-making schemes—what the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education labeled "the right wing machine"—were discredited by both labor and local media. Over half of the incumbent's '78 campaign coffer of \$500,000 came from out of state direct mailings.

And voters grimaced at Cunningham's corporate support, which included multinationals like Honeywell, Texaco and Rockwell International, and Lowry attacked him for voting for oil company rebates, government subsidies to corporate farms and support for expensive weapons systems.

Cunningham concentrated on cultivating an agreeable, plain folks image: the Marlborough cowboy, gun-slinging for free enterprise. It was an unfortunately appropriate image for the man who introduced into Congress three bills aimed at abrogating Indian treaty rights (an action Lowry called "a clear case of this



Mike Lowry, who ran against one of rightwing fundraiser Richard Viguerie's proteges, was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, with endorsement from former senator Eugene McCarthy and other liberals.

country breaking its word").

But part of the Republican new right strategy was to downplay conservatism. The day before the election Cunningham workers distributed a broadside at Boeing's factory gates stating, "Aerospace Workers Support Cunningham." It quoted Machinists' president William Winpinger, who had thanked the Republican for his vote on labor law reform.

In fact, Cunningham had backed all the crippling amendments to labor law reform. Then, with the bill's defeat ensured,

he voted for it and came home claiming he had supported the working-class "interests of the district."

But the plan backfired. On election day, the Machinists took out a full-page newspaper ad supporting Lowry and denouncing Cunningham's leaflet as "misleading propaganda." He "supports the aims of huge corporations and financial interests," the ad said.

While Cunningham, a Clint Eastwood look-alike, attempted to cash in on the tax revolt, the affable and somewhat awkward

Lowry talked fiscal responsibility. Unlike Cunningham's liberal environmentalist opponent in 1976, Lowry discussed jobs and environment in the same breath. In this district dominated by Boeing's military sales, he maintained clear priorities towards the social services that his disenfranchised minority, women, senior citizen and gay supporters demanded.

It will be a difficult coalition to hold together. But Lowry doesn't seem to think so. "People voted for me knowing where I stood on the issues. I don't vacillate." ■

Third-party vote in California shows widespread dissatisfaction

By Larry Remer

"There is a new political alternative in California. The alternative is libertarianism, a movement to roll back the size of government and let people run their own lives. We intend to get government out of our pocketbooks, out of our bedrooms, and out of our private lives."

—Ed Clark, Libertarian Party candidate for California governor who received almost 400,000 votes

CALIFORNIA VOTERS SENT THE nation a message in this month's election. It was a complex message, the gist of which was not simply that the country should prepare for the anointment of Jerry Brown as the next president.

Millions of Californians expressed their dismay with Brown and the other choices put forth by the Republicans and Democrats. They stayed away from the polls in droves. An estimated four million people never even bothered to register to vote. And the 7.4 million who made it to the polls accounted for less than 70 percent of the electorate, which means that about 53 percent of the total eligible participated in the election.

Among those who did vote, there was widespread disenchantment with the choices on the ballot. In every statewide race, third and fourth party candidates received a sizeable vote—at least 6 percent. In fact, Brown's much heralded 20-point landslide was really a 56-36 win over Attorney General Evelle Younger.

Had the GOP nominated a less lackluster candidate, Brown could easily have been held to under 50 percent of the vote.

The big winner in the third party sweepstakes was Ed Clark, the Libertarian Party candidate for governor. Clark started out a political unknown—an obscure San Marino antitrust lawyer. But on election day he racked up nearly 400,000 votes (5 percent of the total). In the process the Libertarians have been transformed from a loose network of debating clubs into California's third largest political party and one of the brightest rising stars of the new right.

Several factors underscore the importance of the Clark vote. He spent less than \$375,000 on the race—a tenth the total spent by Younger. He had zero name identification with the public. And his libertarian philosophy is poorly understood and perceived as just pro-free enterprise boosterism.

Nevertheless, had Brown faced a tough challenge from the Republicans, Clark might have emerged as the "spoiler." More importantly, as an emerging political force the Libertarians are off and running for 1980 and 1982.

As in most states, the deck in California is stacked against third parties. Usually it takes an issue like Vietnam for one to spring to life. During the '60s, the anti-war, populist sentiment of the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) gained a wide following in California. The growth of the PFP was so explosive in the mid-'60s that its potential for splitting the Democratic vote in 1968 is cited by many historians as one key reason for the resignation of Lyndon Johnson.

But ten years have passed since then, and the PFP today is a shell of its former self. Most of the left-oriented electoral energy has since been directed to reshaping the Democratic Party. In 1972, the PFP platform was indistinguishable from McGovern's. In 1976, Tom Hayden—running a populist campaign—captured one million votes in a primary for the U.S. Senate nomination. The Campaign for Economic Democracy, founded by Hayden, has since become the focus for most left electoral activism in the state.

Even so, what's left of the PFP, although unable to get more than 70,000 votes for governor, was able to get 292,799 for state controller—4.5 percent of the vote, which is more than double the amount needed to remain on the ballot. And the PFP candidate for Secretary of State rolled up 268,616. Clearly many voters, left, right and nondescript, wanted to express their lack of satisfaction with both major parties.

Libertarianism is on the rise because it speaks directly to California's current tide of middle class discontent. Overtaxed and weary of inflation, the electorate seems receptive to the message that government spending and interference in the so-called free enterprise system are at the root of our current ills.

It's the same message that gave Proposition 13 such a landslide victory last spring. And it's directed at the same audience: entrepreneurs, small business, and homeowners.

What makes the Libertarians such a political anomaly is that they remain true to their anti-government rhetoric on social

TAXES

Anti-growth mayor wins in San Jose

By Rasa Gustaitis

ADVOCATES OF LIMITED growth won a victory with the election of Mayor Janet Grey Hayes to a second four-year term in San Jose, Calif., Nov. 7. The mayor and her limited growth supporters were aided by the deep cut Proposition 13 has made into property tax revenues. Because new residential development now provides only a fraction of the tax base required to pay for the additional services, including schools, streets, sewers and parks, growth has slowed throughout California, according to Donald C. Benninghoven of the League of California Cities.

Expected to surpass nearby San Francisco by the 1980s, San Jose, with 600,000 people, is California's fastest-growing city.

Rapid growth during the decade before the Hayes administration spread into farmland, converting orchards and vegetable fields into tract housing and bringing smog, congestion and double school sessions. Builders had little interference from city government.

Calling the results a "clear mandate" from voters, Hayes said "the message I get again is that people in San Jose don't want another Los Angeles." The 52-year-old Hayes took 70.8 percent of the vote in a landslide over city councilman Al Garza in the non-partisan contest.

Garza, who was bankrolled by builders and developers, will remain on the city council. But the power he once wielded as a member of a pro-growth faction is disappearing.

The case for or against growth has been argued in terms of quality of life as well as cost to the community. But the deep cut into property tax revenues made the financial argument stronger.

Voters who tried to choose on the basis of campaign rhetoric alone were confused, however. Garza, with a pro-growth record, sounded as if he was trying to outdo Hayes as an advocate of growth limitation.

He charged that Hayes had failed to slow the city's expansion, pointing to a chart that showed units built between 1965 and 1967 and contrasting those figures with 1975 through 1977—the years of the first Hayes administration.

Scrutiny of the chart, however, revealed the omission of the years 1968 through 1974—the period of most rapid growth.

During that time, Hayes noted, annual building rose to 10,600 units. It has dropped to an average of 6,100 units since then.

The numbers game reflected the fact that few voters were likely to choose a candidate who openly advocated more subdivision for San Jose, especially since Proposition 13.

Under Hayes, the city master plan was revised and strengthened. "We put economics together with land planning and set in place the best framework of any large city I know of for controlling the direction of growth," said former city manager Ted Tedesco.

"Since 1974, we held the policy that there was to be no more expansion until we could say it would be of net benefit to the city," he added.

Tedesco, who came from Boulder, Colo., set up an office of economic development to bring in more industry and jobs.

"We were overly dependent on single-family homes for taxes," he said.

There was no commercial-industrial-residential balance, but the office did attract several new industries.

That, according to California's director of local economic development, put San Jose "out front."

The director, Wayne Schell, said, "They were the first in doing some things

Proposition 13's tax limitation prevents new developments from generating the revenue to pay for themselves.

—such as with the one-stop business center idea."

The center channels a variety of building permits through one central office. "Only in the last couple of years have other cities gotten onto this as a matter of city concern," Schell added.

Residential developers are charged a construction-conveyance tax to pay back the city for the full cost of building services, including parks and libraries. Instead of continuing to reach into new agricultural lands, the city began to fill in already developed sections, holding the line on expansion for three years in a row.

After passage of Proposition 13, however, Tedesco said, San Jose can no longer continue to grow.

"It costs \$500,000 to build an area fire station and \$600,000 a year to run it," he said.

Shortly after the construction-conveyance tax, however, Tedesco was fired—the victim of what he called a council coup by pro-growth forces that included Garza.

The Council then voted to spend most of the \$10 million accumulated in the construction-conveyance fund on roadbuilding, much of it to open the way for new residential development.

Garza has denied charges that his \$400,000 campaign for mayor was partially financed by developers in exchange for the new road construction.

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Janet Grey Hayes won re-election as San Jose mayor on a limited growth platform. The election of a Hayes ally to the city council gives the limited growth forces a majority.

DEATH

California death penalty toughens

By Seth Rosenfeld

The nation's most extreme death penalty was put on the books in California last week after a silent campaign that left voters largely ignorant about the life-and-death decisions involved.

Proposition 7, which replaces a more limited capital punishment law passed last year over Gov. Jerry Brown's veto, broadens the application of the death sentence and radically alters the judicial process that determines who dies.

The measure passed two to one. In Oregon, the only other state where the issue was on the ballot this last election, voters also chose two-to-one to restore capital punishment.

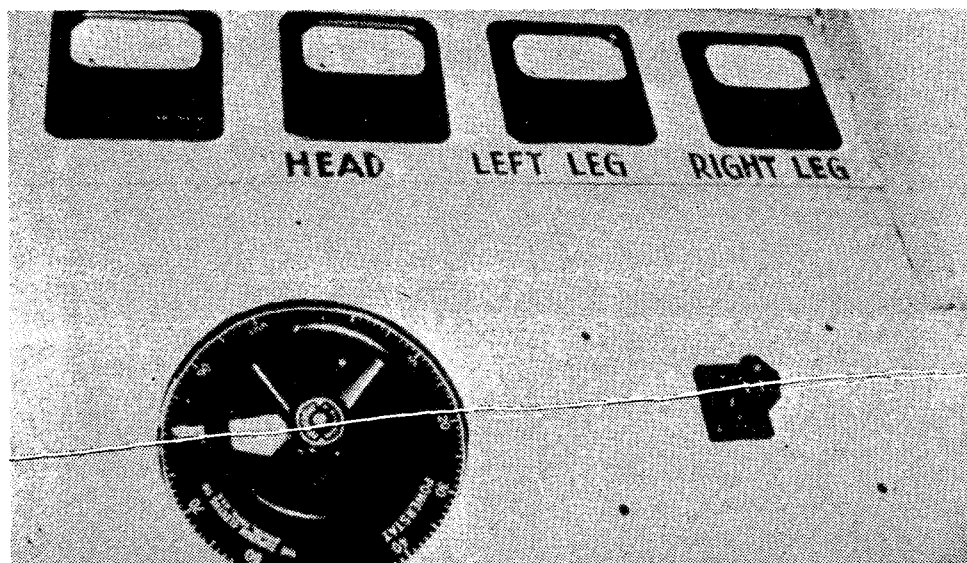
The bill extends the crime categories punishable by death from 11 to 19.

One of the controversial new provisions states that death may be ordered if "the victim was intentionally killed because of his race, color, religion, nationality or city of origin."

San Francisco Assemblyman Willie Brown has called this clause "racist," arguing that "if there is any evidence at all that the homicide was racially motivated, the defendant could be sentenced to death."

The list of peace officers whose killing can now draw the penalty is stretched to include toll bridge operators, food and drug inspectors and 44 others.

The new law also curtails discretion of both judges and juries in deciding whether to apply the death penalty. It imposes mandatory requirements on each



Death penalty statutes are currently on the books in 35 states, a number that may increase in 1979.

Media attention focused on Briggs' other initiative, Proposition 6, which demanded the firing of homosexual teachers, and Proposition 5, which would have restricted smoking in public places. Both measures failed.

Proposition 7 supporters spent about \$500,000 to get the measure on the ballot but almost nothing during the campaign, according to Briggs' administrative assistant, Don Sizemore.

"Debate sometimes makes voters uncomfortable," he explained. "Nobody likes a strong clash of opinion. They like nice things. They like to be told how to vote. They like authoritative statements."

Computer-personalized letters and pet-

ition forms based on this philosophy were sent to voters selected with modern marketing methods from precinct lists. A typical message read: "Peggy, you can protect yourself from ruthless killers who are walking the streets of Castro Valley if you sign this petition and return it to Citizens for an Effective Death Penalty today."

An accompanying brochure showed a long-haired man, with a sign suggesting a swastika on his forehead, who was pointing a gun at the reader.

"If Charles Manson sent his 'family' of drug-crazed killers to slaughter your family, Manson would not face the death penalty under California law," the brochure advised. Nor would Sirhan Sirhan, it maintained, were he to kill Bobby Kennedy today.

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