

IN THESE TIMES

By David Moberg

DES MOINES

DEMOCRATIC PARTY ESTABLISHMENT figures did nearly all they could to prevent the long-shot outsider from having a chance at the nomination this year. But Iowa's February 20 caucuses and the February 28 New Hampshire primary still provide brief opportunities for the dark horses in "the battle of perceptions." It will also be a test of organizational mettle, with the relatively united labor movement facing close scrutiny of its effectiveness.

No one doubts that former Vice-President Walter Mondale will win by a substantial margin in Iowa, but all his opponents are hoping that the expectation will be high enough that Mondale could fall short and thus be seen as "losing" even as he wins. Sen. John Glenn will be fighting hard even to hold his claim on second place and will be looking to more conservative Democrats in New Hampshire to save his image.

Officially, Sen. Alan Cranston wants to emerge as the clear winner of the "second tier," but his organizers hope that his strong organization, support from dedicated peace groups and a moderate turnout will push him into second place. Both Sen. Gary Hart and former Sen. George McGovern feel they must come in fourth to keep their campaigns alive.

The others are even more also-rans. Rev. Jesse Jackson has made few appearances in Iowa and has no real organization here. Former Gov. Reuben Askew has recruited some of the anti-abortion forces, but since he is not for total abolition of abortion, he stirs little enthusiasm among the hard core. Sen. Ernest Hollings has made a few forays into the state but has no organization and virtually no support.

Mondale opponents say that anything less than a 50-60 percent victory would demonstrate weakness in a state that neighbors his home, where he has long-standing ties and where a well-financed campaign backed by a greater than usual labor effort give him impressive advantages. But Joe Trippi, the new state campaign manager, cautions that as many as 30 percent of Democrats are uncommitted and independents could swing the open caucus meetings toward other candidates.

"Our problem isn't the candidate, the job he's doing or the campaign," he insisted. "Our problem is making sure our folks get there [to the caucus meetings]. There's this idea among our supporters that we've got it sewed up."

So each weekend the campaign brings 250 or more volunteers down from Minnesota for a "Fritz Blitz" door-to-door canvass, asks supporters to write personal letters to voters who tell telephone callers they are undecided and maintains a statewide network of 60 paid coordinators (out of a staff of 80, second only to Cranston's in size). Self-labeled "hogs" ("because we want it all," one coordinator explained), the coordinators complement a similar structure organized by the Iowa Federation of Labor and various individual unions.

The campaign stresses "pragmatism" in its bid for the wavering. "This is no time to make a statement," Trippi said. "You can make a statement or you can beat Reagan. Alan Cranston and George McGovern are fine men, but there's nothing today that shows they could beat Reagan."

Glenn's campaign organization has been troubled, but Trippi maintains that "it's not the organization, it's him" that is the problem. "People think there's something exciting about him because he's an astronaut. Then they find there isn't, and they turn to someone else—usually us."

Glenn's Iowa press secretary, Larry Rasky, acknowledges that the astronaut

image, which is the main reason Glenn is a major contender, is also a source of weakness. "The problem so far is that he's not been running against Mondale, Cranston and others but against John Glenn, American hero. Our polling shows people really draw a blank on what John Glenn has done for the last 20 years."

TV ads consequently show a brief biography—Marine, astronaut, businessman, senator, a mushroom cloud shrinking (with reference to his work against nuclear proliferation), magnet schools (more support for education is one of Glenn's safe cure-alls) and an encounter with a distraught woman in which Glenn assures her he'll work for peace. Rasky says that the campaign wants to combat the Mondale-created image of Glenn as not a "real Democrat," but at the same time it is working to recruit more conservative Democrats and independents who are not regular caucus participants.

Their targets are blue-collar workers ("We think the voting profile of blue-collar workers is closer to someone who would vote for John Glenn than someone who would vote for Walter Mondale"), "middle Americans," "shot-guns and pick-ups" and "agribusiness." But Rasky acknowledged that "it's the curse of the moderate candidate that you don't get enthusiastic volunteers." Supporters like Rasky had hoped Glenn would "repatriate"—make more patriotic—the Democratic Party, but Glenn's usual stump speech, in which he declaims at length on the meaning of the pledge of allegiance, doesn't succeed in stirring the juices and obscuring clear

to reach people who are not regular Democratic Party participants. Hart, who talks about the need for new ideas but so far has not made any of his own issues in the campaign (and often does not even indicate what they are), competes with Cranston and McGovern for the peace vote, which is very important in the caucuses in this state.

But Hart wants to occupy a more centrist position than his old friend, McGovern, whose 1972 campaign he managed. Glaser admits that even after more than a year of campaigning in Iowa, Hart is unknown to many voters. Although Hart has a record that could appeal to many liberal and centrist voters, his technocratic "neo-liberalism" has little emotional fire.

His "new ideas" for the economy rely heavily on market forces, but use government policies to encourage new technologies and job retraining. Although he would cut many weapons programs that he believes are wasteful and ineffective, he still favors a real increase in military spending and modernization of strategic weapons that some disarmament advocates criticize. Although like all of the candidates he can claim a few local labor officials who support him, his appeals for labor-management cooperation, vocal opposition to auto domestic content legislation and overall orientation does not have strong blue-collar appeal. Yet Hart, like McGovern, does compete well with the front-runners for the small but important farm vote.

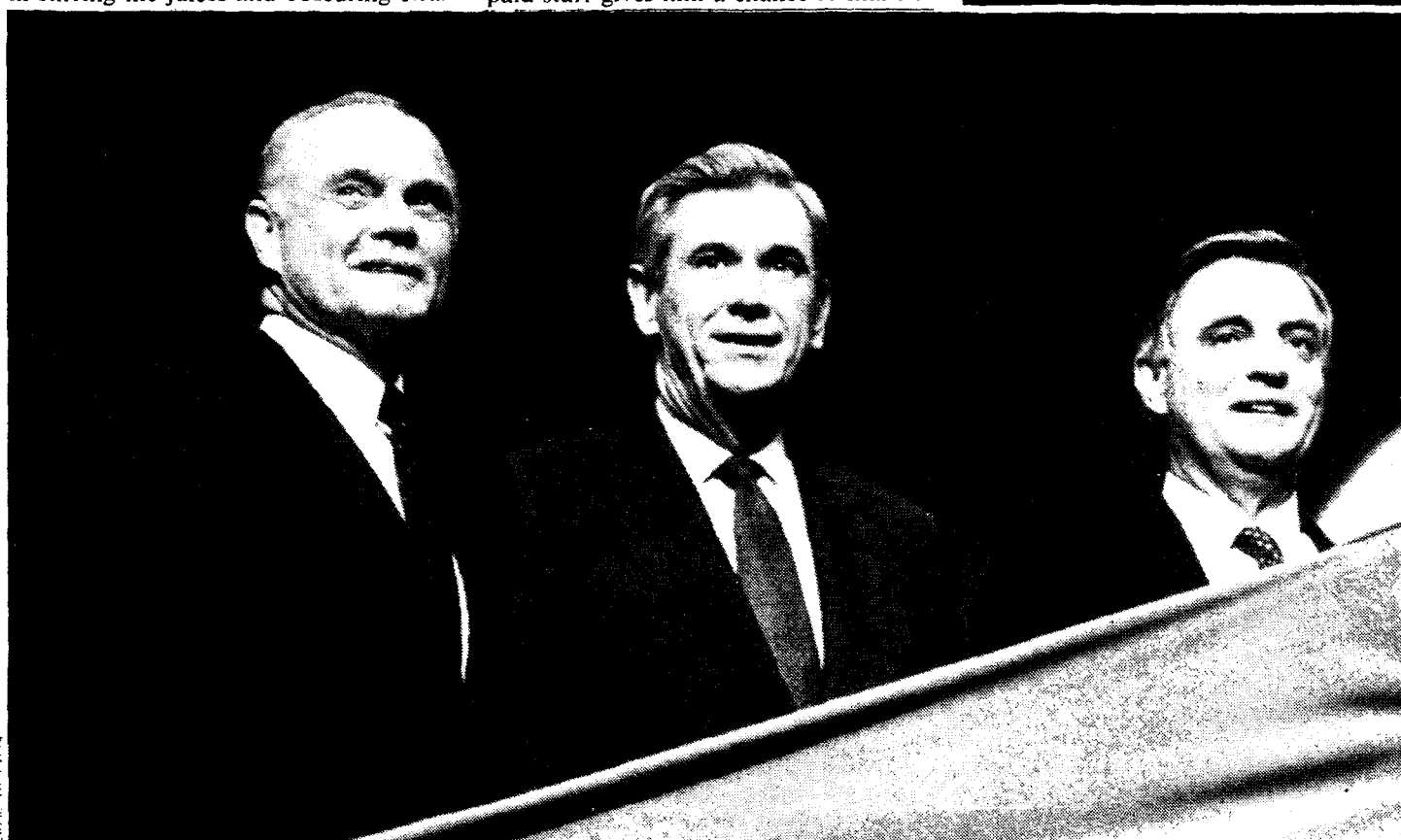
Nearly everyone acknowledges that Cranston's organization of 127 full-time paid staff gives him a chance to make a

who want to make more than a statement and have a shot at winning will be with us. Cranston has a political case. McGovern has no political case."

Cranston's case—which Law admits "is less than golden"—is that the Democrats must deny the West to Reagan to have a chance at winning, and Cranston, who outpolled Carter and Reagan when he was running for Senate in 1980, is the only Democrat who could win California. McGovern, on the other hand, has high negative ratings among as many as half of Iowa voters, Law maintains.

David Fogarty, Cranston field coordinator in northeast Iowa, sees the peace and environmentalist voters as the core of Cranston's constituency. The campaign tries to turn doubts about his age into an asset by stressing experience and argues that eventually Cranston would get labor support if he won the nomination. But Fogarty admits that in Dubuque, a strong labor town, union members are now strongly for Mondale. But Betty Koch, shop chair of her UAW local at a toy factory in Dyersville, Iowa, backs Cranston

Alan Cranston wants to emerge as the clear winner of the "second tier."



Democratic contenders Glenn, Askew and Mondale

In Iowa, the issue is: how much will Mondale win by?

thought the way Reagan's flag-waving does.

"I just don't see the numbers here for us," Rasky conceded, but he hopes to finish second and "show steady growth." They console themselves that Mondale is still working hard. "I'm amazed at Mondale spending as much effort, resources and time as he is," field director Sam Vitali said. "I think the reason is he sees what we see: it's not solid for anybody."

Hart's coordinator, Keith Glaser, thinks that his candidate is finally picking up support after a long effort of playing the back roads and attempting

strong showing in Iowa. (Some competitors complain that Cranston and Mondale will both overspend their limits.) Cranston was endorsed by STAR-PAC, a major peace group, and has other freeze supporters behind him. But clearly his staff is worried about McGovern's new appeal to that constituency.

"On the left fringe we've got people who are undecided between us and McGovern," Iowa coordinator John Law said with a touch of impatience in his voice. "McGovern wins the ones who are ideologically pure. We win the ones with any practical instinct—those

"because I feel he's a more progressive liberal than Mondale is. Mondale is stuck in the middle that's nice, calm and quiet. With the climate in this country, it's time for a person to speak out and say some things that aren't necessarily popular."

McGovern appeals to that sentiment, not only among the "lefty fringe" but among farmers and part of labor (see *In These Times*, Feb. 1 for a profile of his campaign). Campaign coordinator Judy Wilson says that many people are drawn to McGovern "almost like they wanted to make amends for what happened to him in 1972." Despite the late start, McGovern's support has grown among what Wilson claims is a varied constituency. The staff is small and mostly volunteer. There are the old negative images of McGovern to overcome plus the sense that a McGovern victory is a long shot.

Also, although McGovern has many programs to address labor concerns (his proposal for rebuilding the railroads won

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INSHORT

Domesticity

What Reagan calls a "modest retrenchment" in domestic spending—\$9.2 billion in domestic cuts for fiscal year 1984, 40 percent of that coming from programs targeted for low-income people—puts certain groups and programs under the knife:

- This year's funding for Women, Infants and Children (WIC) will run out in early spring, yet for FY '85 the administration is asking for \$217 million less than this year's outlay. National Organization for Women (NOW) estimates that half of the women eligible for the nutrition assistance aren't even on the 1984 WIC roles, and an additional 500,000 will be dropped when the money runs out this year.

- NOW also estimates that every time the Pentagon's budget goes up \$1 billion, 9,500 jobs for women disappear in the transfer from civilian to military production. The 13 percent suggested increase in the military budget looks less "modest" when seen as part of the continuing spiral of arms funding: when Reagan took office, the U.S. spent \$18 million an hour, presently that figure is \$27 million an hour and climbing rapidly.

- VISTA, the only full-time government anti-poverty program for volunteers, is slated by the White House to receive \$5.8 million despite the House's attempt to revitalize the program last year with a \$25 million "funding floor."

A fusillade of opposition has already erupted over the new budget. NOW's Judy Goldsmith has noted the increasing feminization of poverty and says that Reagan must be conceding the women's vote without a fight. A 91-member Coalition on Block Grants and Human Needs, the Interfaith Action for Economic Justice and the Friends of VISTA are busily lobbying Congress to reject the proposed cuts. WIC is being supported by most groups and even has an inadvertent ally: when Sen. Jesse Helms asked the General Accounting Office (GAO) to determine whether the milk and cheese program really was beneficial for mothers and their babies, he was told flatly that it was. According to six health studies summarized by the GAO: "The proportion of infants who are at risk at birth because of low birth weight decreased as much as 20 percent [after the WIC program]."

Numbers don't lie

With the "frontwork" done by the Kissinger Report and Secretary of State George Shultz's pronouncement that El Salvador has made "considerable progress" in curbing right-wing death squads, Reagan's recent request to triple military aid to that country was no surprise. Even though the aid no longer legally hinges on human rights improvements, Americas Watch likes to keep the record straight with vigilant reporting. In the last six months of 1983, the number of civilian murders by government forces has actually increased from the first of the year (2,527 to 2,615). The independent human rights agency gets its numbers from the *Tutela Legal*, the Salvadoran archdiocesan human rights office, which compiles its statistics by talking to relatives or other first-hand witnesses. Shultz apparently got his figures from the U.S. embassy, which culls its statistics from reports in the local state-controlled press. One fact that Shultz did get right—that disappearances have decreased slightly—is minimized by a sharp increase in political prisoners in El Salvador last year (from 200 to 491).

Robbing Peter to rob Paul

And while Americas Watch is dirtying up the administration's laundered human rights records, 19 Massachusetts AFL-CIO unions are trying to distance themselves from Lane Kirkland's endorsement of the Kissinger Report and the administration's subsequent aid proposal. The unions base their opposition to an increase in military aid and their "dismay at Brother Kirkland" on their 1983 national convention's resolution to tie aid to the end of death squads, progress in union rights and land reform. Ed Clark of the ACTWU says that unions across the country will be reminded that El Salvador is a trade union issue because of the unionists killed there (more than a thousand people in the last year) and the economic policies that make the country into a sweatshop for the U.S. "The North American working class is not represented by our policy there—last year the Manhattan Shirt Company closed up shop here and moved to San Salvador where they pay workers 25 cents an hour to work in subhuman conditions."

With the House vote last week favoring human rights "conditionality," and (as *In These Times* went to press) the question put once again before the Senate, Reagan may have to confront the sticky rights issue one more time.

"God Bless America"?

With Reagan promising in his pumping-for-re-election speech to "see if we can't find room in our schools for God," perhaps the jazz great Sarah Vaughan has found a harmonious solution. She intends to record "an English language version" of Pope John Paul's poetry later this year. The administration should begin to work on distribution—public schools are sure to holler for more.

—Beth Maschinot

Bosses need not comply

WASHINGTON—Union-busting efforts by businesses and the rapidly proliferating band of anti-union consultants has been on the rise in recent years, but the Department of Labor has drastically cut back enforcement of legal requirements for reporting such activity under the Reagan administration, according to a staff study of the House Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations released last week.

Under the 1959 Landrum-Griffin Act employers and any consultant directly or indirectly involved in trying to persuade employees about organizing or collective bargaining have to report their actions and expenditures fully and promptly. The same law demands even more extensive disclosure by unions. The requirements on managers and consultants weren't vigorously enforced in the first 20 years, but after hearings in 1979 and 1980 on consultant abuses, enforcement was stepped up.

Then under the Reagan administration the budget for guaranteeing management compliance with the law took a nose-dive—from \$305,788 in 1980 to \$21,638 in 1983. The number of reports filed and investigations initiated also dropped sharply. At the same time, the requirements for unions—always more comprehensive—were enforced much more vigorously. For example, a random audit of unions initiated in 1980 had a budget in its first year of \$39,396 and an estimated 1984 budget of \$972,808.

Labor department procedures and interpretations of the law also undermined enforcement of the law on union-busters. Instead of seeking information that might give a clue of management or consultant failures to report, labor officials now will act only on an official complaint. The department even dropped about 100 cases, many of which already were shown to involve violations, because they had not been initiated by a complaint. Witnesses scheduled to appear before the committee also report that the Department of Labor often does not respond to complaints. One survey of National Labor Relations Board cases in California over a seven-year period showed that less than 1 percent of employers and consultants who should have reported actually did so. But the Labor Department now will not even cross-check with those records.

Enforcement has also been narrowed by limiting what is judged to be covered by the law, dropping any reporting requirements for indirect consultant influence (such as behind-the-scenes management of an anti-union campaign), and no longer requiring companies to report separately anti-union persuasion done by supervisors or others who had some other regular job.

"The inescapable conclusion of our preliminary examination is that while some 70,000 unions dutifully register every year with the Department of Labor con-

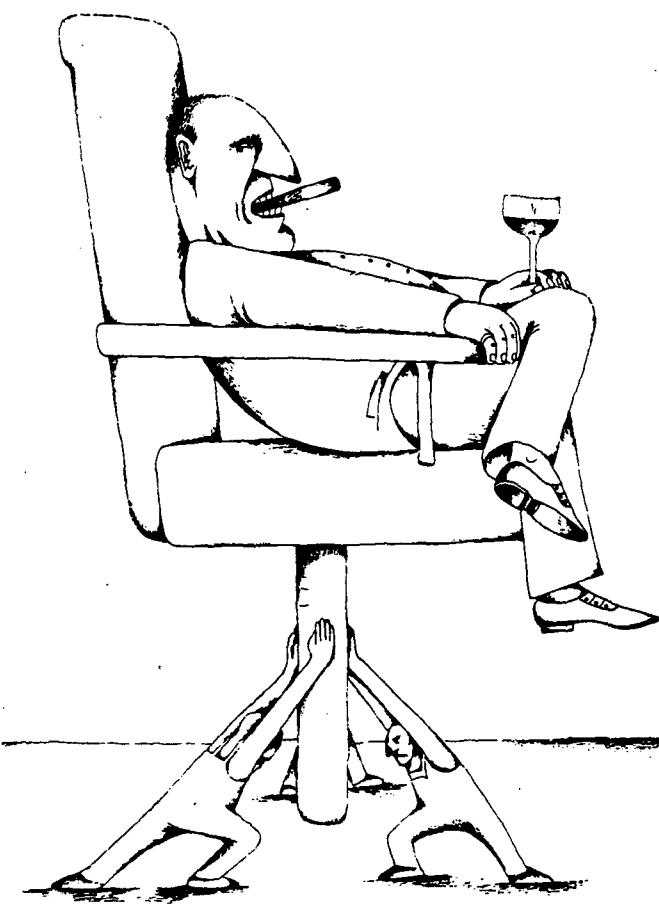
cerning their activities and finances, there is almost a total lack of compliance by employers and consultants," the committee staff reported. "In spite of this apparent lopsidedness in compliance, the department has systematically dismantled its employer and consultant reporting enforcement program. The Department of Labor is outright failing to enforce important provisions of the law."

Anti-union consultants regularly use the material that unions disclose in their reports in their campaigns, for example, showing how much a union organizer gets paid in an attempt to dis-

credit him or her. Fred Feinstein, counsel to the subcommittee, said that union organizers can also use such reported information in their organizing campaigns, telling workers how much their boss is spending to keep out a union, for example. But the information often isn't available, and at times unions are not even aware of the presence of such consultants.

Also, full disclosure would help accomplish what the Landrum-Griffin Act intended—easier discovery of illegal activities of both management and their union-busting consultants.

—David Moberg



Women pose peace plans

NEW YORK—Belying the pronouncements that the European peace movement is splintered and dying, on February 1 a dozen women peace activists came to New York to see Soviet Deputy UN Ambassador Shustov and their own European UN ambassadors, following a meeting in Washington with chief U.S. arms negotiator Paul Nitze and members of Congress.

The 12 women—including British actress Julie Christie, a member of the German Bundestag, a Belgian theologian, a member of Holland's parliament and the chair of the international peace camp in Comiso, Italy, Francesca Piatti—crossed the Atlantic to protest the deployment of Euromissiles.

Besides bringing reports of European fear and outrage at being used as a military staging area for both the U.S. and the USSR, the women also put forth three proposals:

- that the U.S. government make a bold moratorium initiative, similar to John Kennedy's 1963 proposal for a moratorium on above-ground testing, which was signed by the Russians within 15 days;

- that, as a gesture of peace, the U.S. withdraw the Pershing II and Cruise missiles from Britain, Italy and West Germany and

halt any further deployment;

- that future arms talks not be just between the U.S. and USSR, but include the countries they represented and East Germany and Czechoslovakia as well.

The group also planned to draw up a list of proposals for Soviet Ambassador Shustov.

Back home, referenda in Germany and Italy are in the works to bring the force of public opinion about the missiles to the ballot box. A human chain linking peace activists in Belgium and Holland is scheduled, and Dutch member of parliament Dr. Frouwka Laning hopes her nation's parliament—yet to vote on deploying the Euromissiles—would "vote no, to be a crowbar between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, not as a concession to the other side, but as a concession to world opinion."

Italy's Piatti is also inviting people (for a mere \$30) to buy a square meter of land around the NATO missile site in Comiso where the Cruise missiles will be based. According to Piatti, NATO usually expropriates 500 meters of land around military installations. When the women in Italy's peace movement first got wind of NATO's plans, they bought up the land around the base in Comiso and began selling shares. Should NATO begin expropriation proceedings, expected this spring, all bondholders will be notified and asked to join a court case to block the expropriation.

—Rochelle Lefkowitz