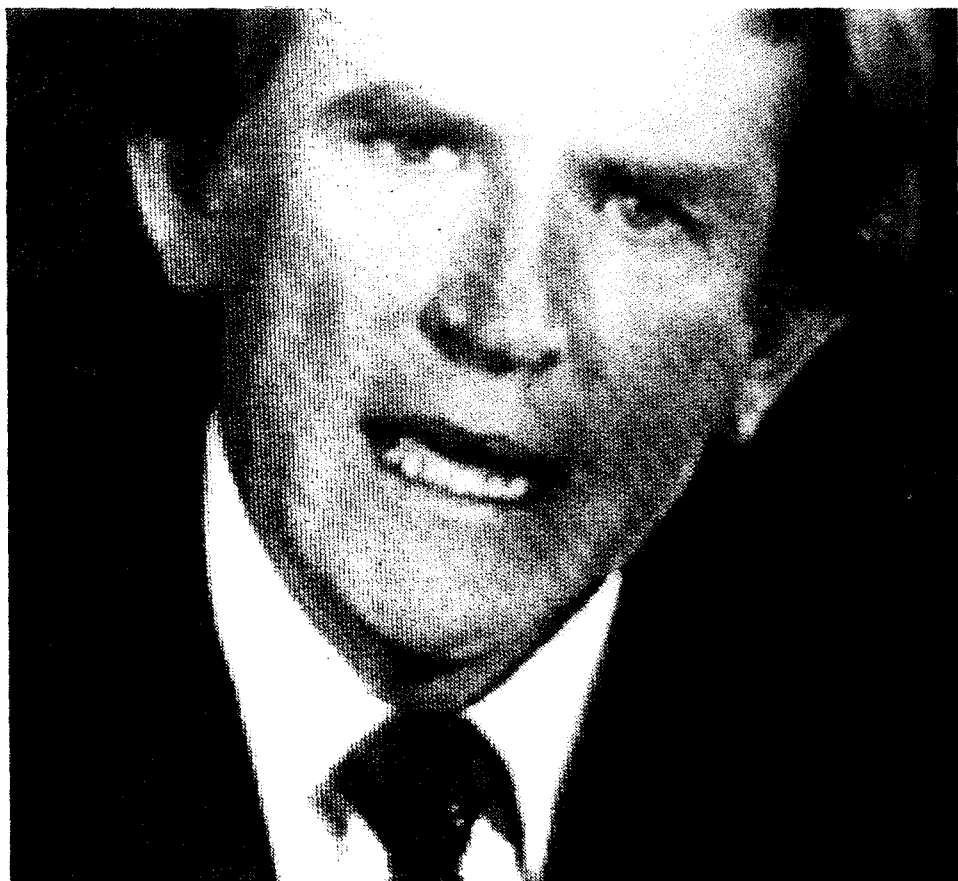


IN THESE TIMES

Hart, Mondale attack each other from left and right



By David Moberg

IN AN ILLINOIS PRELUDE TO WHAT may become a major primary conflict, both Sen. Gary Hart and Walter Mondale tried more than ever before to draw distinctions between how each of them would handle this country's foreign affairs.

Hart tied Mondale to the Vietnam war, which Mondale belatedly opposed, and portrayed himself as a post-Vietnam realist who would be less likely to send U.S. troops into battle overseas. Although Mondale tried to outflank Hart from the left on arms control, he invoked Cold-War themes as he pictured Hart as naive

—unwilling to defend far-flung American "interests" and insufficiently tough against Communists. He also attacked Hart for inconsistency and inexperience, casting doubt on his ability to handle major crises.

Both Hart and Mondale, however, still hold positions of the moderate-to-liberal wing of the party and are dramatically at odds with Reagan. Jesse Jackson remained the candidate with the most significant departures from Democratic orthodoxies on foreign policy. That is most striking with regard to the Mideast, where Jackson stresses meeting both Palestinian and Israeli needs. Hart and Mondale have virtually indistinguishable Mideast policies, although Mondale is attempting to show

a more complete support for Israel (arguing that Hart vacillated before supporting the move of the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem, for example).

Mondale argued, in the first of talks he and Hart gave to the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, that after World War II we "gave up the idea that America could live in isolation." While attacking Reagan for a policy of "global unilateralism," Mondale also criticized Hart for introducing "a strange new vision of our role in the world that threatens to weaken our crucial alliances, and either ignores or underestimates what I think history teaches us."

In particular he attacked Hart's proposals to scale down U.S. troop commitments in Europe while building up a bigger navy of smaller ships. Only by strengthening European conventional land forces, he said, is there a chance to abandon current U.S. policy that refuses to repudiate first use of nuclear weapons.

He chided Hart for saying that he would not use American military force to keep the Persian Gulf oil shipping lanes free (although Hart has subsequently indicated he might be willing to use planes, ships and maybe even troops, according to a *Newsweek* interview). Without saying what he would do, Mondale argued for "effective and meaningful strategic cooperation with Israel," without giving any indication of pressuring Israel for any peace moves.

On Central America, Mondale made some of his harshest comments. "Just because Mr. Reagan turns a blind eye to the excesses of the right, it does not follow that Democrats should ignore the excesses of the extreme left," he said. "And here again I differ from Mr. Hart."

Hart's argument that "in the Third World, the real enemy is hunger, poverty and disease, not Communism" is "only part of the truth," Mondale said. Referring to a *Washington Post* interview,

Mondale quoted Hart as saying he didn't know if Cuba was "totalitarian." "Well, I do. It's a Communist dictatorship and a faithful executor of Soviet aggression around the world. We need a president who knows that." (Hart insisted the comment came in the context of an academic quibble and agrees Cuba is totalitarian.)

Mondale also rejected Hart's call for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Honduras, saying he wanted to keep some there to bargain for concessions from Nicaragua. "Guilt is not a foreign policy, and the world is not a debating society," Mondale said, sounding conservative themes. "It is a tough, dangerous place. And anyone who views it otherwise will only make it more dangerous."

Coming at Hart from the left, Mondale criticized his opponent for being late to endorse the nuclear freeze and supporting a version of the build-down proposal that Reagan eventually turned to his own uses.

Mondale campaign aides denied that there was any new shift to the right, but his remarks raised concerns about his Cold-War liberal past. Last November, for example, he spoke to the hawkish Coalition for a Democratic Majority, assuring them he shared much of their outlook since his own formative political experience was fighting "the united front" in post-war Minnesota politics.

Neither Hart nor Mondale wants to see the contest framed in left-right terms. Mondale National Political Director Paul Tully said that an ad showing a red telephone and asking if the hand that reaches for that hot-line phone is untested is designed to make voters stop for a moment and think about Hart. Their polling showed voters' biggest doubts about Hart focused on his ability to handle a crisis. Although they will cast the choice as simple answers versus real world, Tully says, "People still think Mondale is well to the left of Hart. We like that. We think it's right."

But Hart, with his direct reminders of Vietnam and calls for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Central America, has escalated his appeal to the left. In his address to the Council on Foreign Relations, Hart called for "re-

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Divided voters

CHICAGO—Walter Mondale needed his victory in Illinois badly, and he got it partly through his own strengths, partly through the weaknesses of Gary Hart. But what the results indicated most was the deep gulf separating different constituencies of the Democratic Party and the difficulty of putting them together in the fall to beat Ronald Reagan.

Hart apparently lost ground as voting drew near; maybe the Mondale campaign of attacking his record on a variety of points and questioning his seasoning for the job stemmed the enthusiasm. But Hart's disorganized campaign committed several gaffes—running, then pulling, or maybe not pulling, an ad linking Mondale and Chicago machine chairman Ed Vrdolyak; suggesting Mondale was running ads personally attacking him, then admitting it wasn't true. Worst for Hart, he stumbled in keeping the terms of the election on his ground—past versus future—and wound up tripping on the tangled web of local politics.

But Hart's approach to the economy may not address the worries of the big industrial states like Illinois where unemployment is still high. He never made it clear what he could do for unemployed workers here. When asked, he would respond with a small business, entrepreneurial pitch. He wants the grandson of Rosa Parks to be able to own a bus company in Birmingham. But how many people—black or white—own or are ever likely to own a small business?

Although his emphasis on foreign policy issues may have helped consolidate his base with educated, affluent Democrats and independents, unemployment, care for the poor, nuclear weapons and the deficit all worried voters much more, according to CBS/*New York Times* exit polls.

Mondale did far better with conservatives than Hart, and Hart much better with self-identified liberals. But Mondale's conservative appeal is to the older, Catholic, ethnic working-class Democratic voter, who is strongly anti-Communist, and Hart attracts the unaffiliated, white-collar, younger voter who may have voted for Reagan and thinks unions are too powerful. (In the end, Mondale got 41 percent of the preference vote to 35 percent for Hart and 21 percent for Jackson.)

Overwhelmingly, blacks voted for Jesse Jackson (74 percent, according to NBC, 79 percent, according to CBS), but only about 4 percent of whites joined the Rainbow Coalition (10 percent of Jews, according to NBC, despite the "Hymie" incident). The outpouring of black voters swelled Chicago election turnout to a new high for a presidential primary.

Although Mondale probably would have received a large number of those votes if Jackson had been out of the race, many people would never have voted. Mondale argued that his commitment to civil rights was deeper than that of Hart, but when Jackson challenged

both of them to commit the Democratic Party to end second primaries in the South—which often prevent black, liberal members of Congress from being elected—Mondale avoided the question entirely and Hart quickly agreed. Mondale has also been under fire from Jackson on foreign policy issues as well, suggesting the possibility of a Hart-Jackson convergence.

The huge black turnout helped Mayor Harold Washington elect delegate slates and consolidate his power in the black community by electing strongly pro-Washington members to the party's central committee. But the black and white reform efforts failed in all but two—arguably three—wards to oust machine committeemen and elect independents. That means—barring a not very probable alliance of supporters of Washington and State's Attorney Richard Daley, along with some township committee members—that Vrdolyak is likely to continue his rule over the Democratic Party. Other strategies are being mulled: attempting to elect a pro-Washington chairman of the city party or persuading Daley to cooperate under the threat of running a black in the state's attorney's race this fall.

The machine may have won its most important races—committeemen—but it could take little credit for Mondale's victory since it did so little for him. Unions, who cranked out letters and phone calls, could get some satisfaction from their efforts. Union members stuck with Mondale better in Illinois than in many other states.

In all previous primaries, Hart has won a plurality of white votes, and according to NBC he did so again narrowly (CBS showed Mondale with a slight

white lead). Mondale led among strong Democrats, although Jackson's supporters are mainly in that category, but Hart did better among independents. Hart's downfall may have come from failing to win over as high a percentage of young voters as he has in his other primary victories.

But one statistic that should frighten all Democrats came from mock heats between Reagan and Hart or Mondale. According to CBS exit polls, 38 percent of Hart voters (and even 18 percent of Mondale voters) said they would choose Reagan over Mondale in the fall. Likewise, 36 percent of Mondale voters (and 19 percent of Hart voters) said they would choose Reagan over Hart. Only Jackson voters stayed overwhelmingly loyal to the Democrats.

The division is not easy to classify: it is partly class (Mondale more blue-collar); it is partly culture (Hart more educated, financially secure, less tied to old institutions of church, neighborhood, union and party); it is partly generational; and in small part, it is ideological.

For the primaries in Pennsylvania and New York, the Mondale victory may be a premonition. Connecticut may still bear enough resemblance to Massachusetts or Rhode Island to buoy Hart. But in November the Democrats cannot beat Reagan without the constituencies of all three candidates. Hart had claimed a greater chance of winning because of his appeal beyond the party core that Mondale does not have.

But after Illinois it is less clear that he can appeal to enough voters in the traditional Democratic heartland to stop Mondale. And it is less clear that anybody can put it all together.

—D.M.

Word-of-mouth advertising

Beer magnates say the darndest things. After informing the audience of minority business owners in Denver that African "blacks lack the intellectual capacity to succeed, and it's taking them down the tubes," William Coors admonished them to be grateful: "One of the best things the slave traders did for you is to drag your ancestors here in chains." Reported in the *Rocky Mountain News*, the slurs made a stir and the chairman of the Adolph Coors Co. was forced to clarify his statements. It seems he wasn't meaning to denigrate blacks' innate intelligence but only pointing out the superiority of the free enterprise system and the "tremendous new opportunities" it affords blacks.

Coors' remarks propelled black groups across the country to join with labor, gay and lesbian groups in a boycott of Coors (see *In These Times*, March 14). The Los Angeles chapter of the NAACP, the 200,000-member fifth district of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and smaller black groups in more than 10 cities have decided to boycott, citing the incident as another indication of the Coors family's stance on minorities. Meanwhile, the national NAACP and the handful of black elected officials in Denver are giving Coors one more week to supply information about the corporation's affirmative action record as well as alleged support of the John Birch Society and the Heritage Foundation before they make their boycott decision.

Coming out

Eschewing the last traces of secrecy, 50 church workers who harbor Central Americans along the underground railroad went public with a caravan across the U.S. last week. Their illegal "cargo" is a Mayan Indian family of seven who fled Guatemala when the father was targeted by death squads for his work with the Christian base communities. The sanctuary workers may also be "targeted"—Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) arrested two more refugee workers in Arizona a few weeks after their crackdown in Texas (see *In These Times*, February 29)—but the religious activists chose to contest the government by showing the strength and tenacity of their network. No hasty travelers, their week-long trip from Illinois to Vermont was planned for maximum visibility and continued organizing in the church communities they pass through. Destination: Weston Priory in Weston, Vermont. Previously known for Benedictine monks singing trendy religious songs, the priory will become the 100th sanctuary on March 24—the fourth anniversary of Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Romero's death.

A penny saved...

While Fritz bombards him with "where's the beef?" and reporters lie in wait for the next Kennedy impersonation, insiders are worried that Gary Hart isn't image conscious enough, if the March 12 editorial in *Advertising Age* is any indication. Bemoaning the fact that the Hart campaign has been working with a "bare-bones budget" that allows for only "minimal advertising" yet is still neck-and-neck with Mondale's big-bucks campaign, the editorial concludes that "spending less to accomplish more on the campaign trail could shake up the political process." But, take heart, advertisers—this revolution in media campaigning might be thwarted after all. If Hart continues his victorious campaign drive, the "success will bring more money to the campaign coffers, and more money inevitably leads to more of the usual trappings of a big-time political campaign—including advertising."

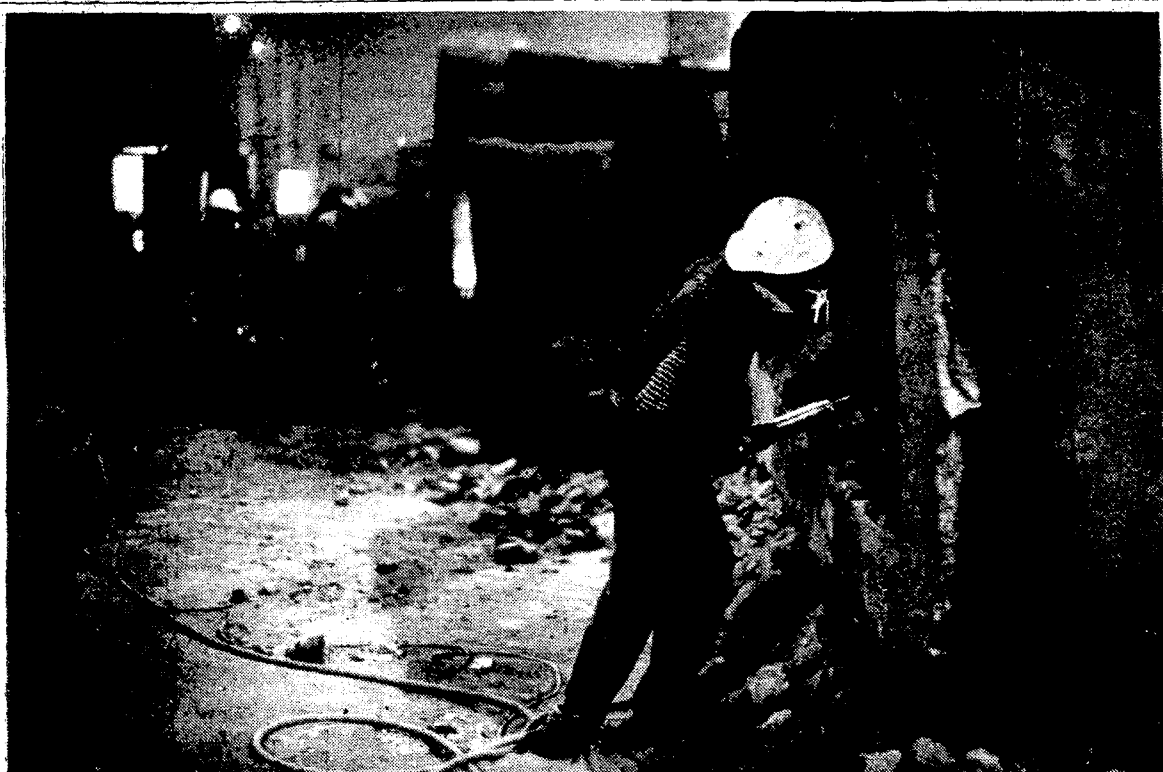
Caught red-handed

The Heritage Foundation—the "philosophy department of the Reagan administration" and a consummate friend of business—was given a black mark by the Better Business Bureau's (BBB) philanthropic advisory service, reports Steve Askin. The foundation sent fundraising letters promising a seat on the "Heritage executive committee" in return for a hefty donation. The BBB's investigation showed that the members of this "executive committee" had no input except a monetary one. The right-wing think tank also claimed to have "virtually exhausted our funds for 1982 exposing United Nations abuses and identifying wasteful government spending." The BBB found that the Heritage Foundation increased its assets by \$365,000 in '82, however, and decided that the word "virtually" was a misleading qualifier.

Toxic provocation

Brimfield, Mass., is known for its gently rolling hills and its tough-minded townspeople. Declaring its independence from the "island of Great Britain" two years before the rest of the U.S., the western Massachusetts town is now considering seceding from the state over an unwanted site for treating hazardous wastes. Recently, the state siting council provoked the residents by over-riding Brimfield's zoning ordinances and permitting a California company to build a \$50 million treatment plant in this small town of 2,400. Decrying the "loss of home rule" the residents will form a committee to study secession in their annual May 14 town meeting.

—Beth Maschinot



Steelworkers vie for post

CHICAGO—For the first time since 1965, top leadership of the Steelworkers union has split over who should run the union. Former Secretary Lynn Williams was picked by a divided executive board as temporary successor to Lloyd McBride, who died last November. But Frank McKee, the union's treasurer, challenged Williams in the March 27 election.

The candidates differ on few fundamental policy questions, and both have taken pains to distance themselves as much as possible from the unpopular concession contract that they both supported for the basic steel industry last year.

Williams argues that he is the candidate with new ideas and with long experience in the leadership of the union. McKee, he says, is "much more traditionalist, waiting for when things get back to normal." His new ideas include "union involvement in economic decision-making. I see myself as being more willing to exercise influence over pension funds or pursuing corporate campaigns." Williams talks of negotiating penalties for management violation of contracts.

Some supporters push Williams as a sophisticated, college-educated leader like Richard Trumka of the Mineworkers. In contrast, one union staff person working for Williams said contemptuously of McKee: "He's just an old mill-hand."

But McKee is playing up his 20 years of work in a steel mill in contrast to the short time—9 months, Williams supporters say—that Williams worked in a factory before becoming a career

union official. Because he spent so many years on the job and in local offices before becoming a staff representative and district director, McKee claims to be more in touch with the sentiments of the average worker.

"We have another, philosophical difference," McKee said. "I believe the union has to be rebuilt from where its strength is, the local rank and file, local leaders. Williams is more an international trade unionist. I'm more parochial. He thinks the union can be run from the top down. I think we have to decentralize some of the operations on the regional level." Unlike Williams, who favors ratification of contracts in steel and three other major industries by a conference of representatives, McKee has endorsed membership ratification.

The Trumka analogy doesn't hold very well, since militant miners tended to back Trumka. A large number of local militants in the Steelworkers has supported McKee, especially after Ron Weisen, the combative president of the Pittsburgh-area Homestead local, failed to receive enough nominations to be placed on the ballot. Many of them see McKee as a tougher bargainer, especially since he resisted concessions more vigorously in the copper negotiations that he directed than the union did in the steel talks—even to the point of enduring a strike against Phelps Dodge that has gone on since last summer.

"I'm known in the industry as a hard-liner, but a very practical, honest bargainer," McKee said. "You have to maintain an adversarial relationship. Lynn has a tendency to be more conciliatory." But since he has taken office, Williams has tried to show himself as more militant, such as recommending no further concessions on the basic steel agreement (although McKee argues

that under current policy locals can still be "whipsawed" and forced to make concessions in valuable local rules).

"We're not going to build America by cutting wages," Williams said. "The labor movement has to go the opposite direction." Although he still defends the decision to make a "contribution to the industry" in the last steel contract, he notes that "whatever hopes there may have been for jobs have not been realized." McKee argues that if workers make such an investment, "there should be some retrieval."

Both candidates favor import quotas (15 percent of U.S. consumption, Williams says, maybe even lower, McKee rejoins). Both are agnostic about steel mergers, mainly waiting to decide what effect they could have on jobs.

McKee, however, has made a major issue of Williams' Canadian citizenship, claiming that he does not know U.S. companies or politics and that Canadian exports of steel to the U.S. have cost 13,000 jobs. Also, he portrays Williams' possible election as a takeover of the union by the 20 percent of members who are Canadian. Williams' supporters denounce the tactic as divisive, irrelevant and contrary to good union principles.

McKee says the other side started it. "Damn it, if they can run around Canada saying Canadians should vote for Canadians, then I don't see why I can't say to Americans that they should vote for the all-American steelworker, Frank McKee."

For the 725,000 steelworkers that remain at work out of a union that was twice that large four years ago, it would seem that there are deeper issues. It is also a sad outgrowth of the politics of protectionism, whatever the merits of "managed trade."

—David Moberg

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander

