

# IN SHORT

## Arafat: "mutual recognition"

Apparently most U.S. media didn't want to hear it. Yasir Arafat's call for the "mutual recognition" of Israel and Palestine in the May 4 issue of *Le Nouvel Observateur* was given wide play in Europe, but U.S. reporting was skimpy, reports Allan Solomonow. The PLO leader followed his first public statement to date on mutual recognition with this challenge: "I am ready to work for just, permanent and lasting peace in our efforts through the UN Security Council and I am challenging Israel to follow the same." The Israeli response was quick and familiarly intransigent: "The PLO is not a partner for us."

Arafat's statement came just a week before a House vote that once again disallowed negotiations with the PLO—until they "recognize Israel's right to exist" and "renounce the use of terrorism"—and approved \$1.4 billion for military aid to Israel. The New Jewish Agenda followed up on Arafat's statement with a telegram to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir calling for him to make "every effort to leave the channels open for negotiations."

## Down and out in Indiana

The defeat of Rep. Katie Hall (D-IN)—one of two black women Congress members—in her bid for renomination in Indiana's First Congressional District may signal a snag in Jesse Jackson's black empowerment drive. According to Gary's black mayor, Richard Hatcher, Hall drew only 50 percent of the ailing industrial city's black vote in the May 8 primary—far less than the astonishing turnout figures in other parts of the country, and probably 20 percent less than she needed for a win. Frederick Stern reports that this has led some Jackson-watchers to speculate that his gift for getting out the vote may be circumscribed in some areas, like Gary, where black political power is an already-established fact.

A former state senator and one-term Congress member, Hall was counting on her solid left voting record on labor, peace, civil rights and women's issues, a NOW endorsement and a split white vote for her two contenders to assure her victory. Instead, moderate Peter Visclosky won by 2,300 votes, Hall ran second and conservative Lake County Prosecutor Jack Crawford came in a close third.

## The double dare

It was all worked out: the three women were to plead guilty to charges of defacing government property at the Women's Peace Encampment last fall in Romulus, N.Y., in return for having their charges reduced to a misdemeanor. But the May 14 plea bargaining in the New Haven District Court didn't go as planned, and the women now face the possibility of a jail sentence, report Carole and Paul Bass. Karin Cope, Marian Vaillant and Sarah Wang were arrested last October 9 after spray-painting over a "no trespassing" sign and spreading yarn across the entrance of the Seneca Falls Army Depot. As previously arranged, the women pleaded guilty in court and offered to pay restitution to charitable or government bodies that "don't kill people." The packed courtroom fell silent when Judge Ellen B. Burns ordered them to pay \$76.61 to the Defense Department as a condition of a 90-day probation period. Putting their principles before pragmatism, the defendants refused to pay. Their attorney, John Williams, said of Burns' sentencing, "It was a classic case of 'You're challenging me? Then that's what I'll do.'" He added, "The next move is up to the judge."

## The longest run

Sixteen days after Jim Thorpe's grandchild helped kick off the Olympic torch relay on May 8, other American Indian runners left New York City on the first leg of the Jim Thorpe Longest Run, reports Graham Clarke. The event is actually seven different "spiritual runs" that will merge the final four miles of the 6,000-mile trek, said Chippewa coordinator Dennis Banks. Along the way, the runners' paths will cross remaining pockets of Indian land. On June 12, they'll wind their way through Yale, Okla., home of the Sac and Fox Indians gold medalist Jim Thorpe. Later that month the Indians will stop in Wounded Knee, S.D., for a ceremony in remembrance of the massacre of 1890. In late July the runners will merge in Los Angeles and join with an estimated 10,000 people for the Jim Thorpe Memorial Powwow and Native Games.

## What hath wealth wrought?

And you thought the poor had problems. Money, too, can lead to all sorts of maladies, according to a group of psychiatrists who've come to a "sudden appreciation of the emotional problems that wealth can create," according to a recent *New York Times* article. Those stereotyped "poor little rich kids"—bored, apathetic and isolated from others, all because they were deprived of parental love—really do exist, according to John Levy of the C.J. Jung Institute in San Francisco. And their "affluenza," as Levy calls it, often doesn't get sympathy from folks who feel deprived in other ways. Psychiatry's stock solution: a therapeutic redistribution of the wealth.

—Beth Maschinot



## What makes Harlem burn? . . . Cutbacks

NEW YORK—Disagreeing with the conventional wisdom that sees arson as the major cause of burned out neighborhoods in urban areas, Harlem community leader Calvin Butts claims that the real culprit is city cutbacks in fire services. Last month the pastor of Harlem's Abyssinian Baptist Church called for additional fire service companies in upper Manhattan and the Bronx to begin to offset the "planned shrinkage" of city services begun in the early '70s.

His demand was echoed by Thomas Gates of the New York City Uniformed Firefighters Association. According to Gates, the 15 more fire companies needed in these New York neighborhoods would cost less than \$15 million a year, money well spent

to protect property and lives.

Butts and Gates base their charges of fire service cutbacks and resultant fire epidemics on research by Rod and Deborah Wallace of the Public Interest Scientific Consulting Service.

Based on fire company records, the Wallaces' research shows how closing 35 fire companies in the '70s in Harlem, the South Bronx and Brooklyn's Brownsville/East New York triggered the collapse of those communities. And contrary to the city's claims, the devastation continues in neighborhoods surrounding those original areas.

According to Butts and Gates, when the New York City Fire Department now cites a decreasing number of fires, it is misleading the public. As Butts put it, the

decrease is a result of the grim fact that "in many of New York's hardest hit communities, there is nothing left to burn."

Gates also criticized the statistics by pointing out New York's massive population decline: "Having fires at the 1967 level is a disgrace because the population of the city is now at [a lower] 1954 level!" Gates added, "People fleeing the first wave of burn-out have brought housing overcrowding to nearby areas which are now ripening for a repeat of the crisis."

Butts also mentioned this "snowball effect" stemming from the initial cutbacks. He pointed out that the neighborhoods receiving the refugees, like the burned out neighborhoods, are "likely not to be equipped, in terms of housing, fire service, jobs and schools, to handle such dramatically inflated population growth." The result is another wave of fire, and then another wave of migration to surrounding neighborhoods.

The Wallaces' research tracks down the specific causes of the fire epidemics that increasingly haunt most major cities now undergoing service cutbacks. Because of the reduced level of service, fire department response to fires is inadequate to put out fires on the first alarm. This means that fire companies must be taken from surrounding areas, and then these areas also become susceptible to multiple alarm fires.

Then, after a major fire, visible damage "marks" the block and landlords prepare to abandon the rest of the buildings by withdrawing maintenance. This makes the entire block a fire trap, and the other buildings burn within a short time. This "mechanism of contagion" forces the population into nearby housing—and leads to the overcrowding that leaves another neighborhood particularly vulnerable to frequent fires.

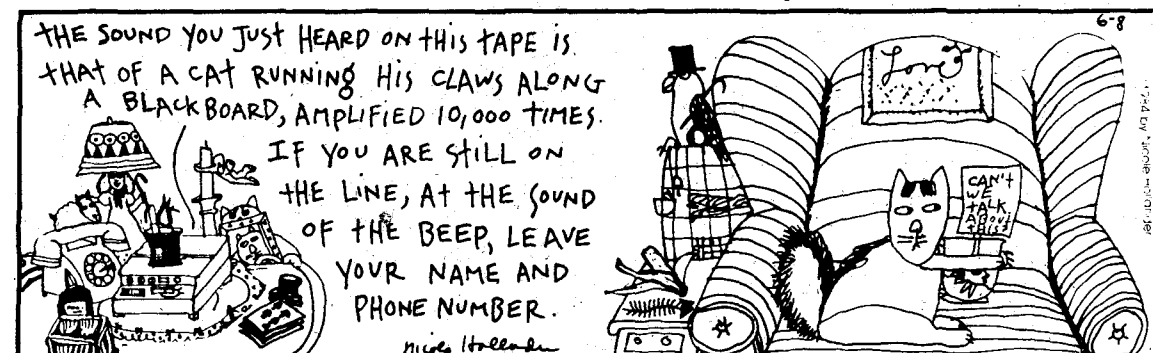
Since the mid-'70s, policymakers in New York and other cities have shifted attention from deployment policies by talking about arson. But according to Rod Wallace, arson behavior tends to occur *after* a block is marked by serious fire. Arson in any case accounts for less than 20 percent of fires, according to the fire department's own records. And arson prevention programs have not reduced the epidemic.

The disastrous effects of the fire service cutbacks in New York have been followed by the Wallaces for nearly a decade. Similar policies are in effect in other cities—including Boston, Newark and Los Angeles—and the Wallaces point out that fire service cutbacks may be the cause of the fire epidemics in those cities as well. Fire service cutbacks are now on the agenda in many other cities, including Chicago.

—Brian D'Agostino

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander





# Jerry Falwell's North Carolina jihad aims to save Jesse Helms

By Alex Charns & Patrick O'Neill

CHAPEL HILL, N.C.

**“W**E NEED A HUNDRED Jesse Helmses in the U.S. Senate, 435 Jesse Helmses in the House,” the

Rev. Jerry Falwell, president of the Moral Majority, exhorted a like-minded flock in North Carolina last summer during a drive to register 200,000 new conservative voters in the state. Why the right-wing voter registration drive? Because incumbent Republican Sen. Helms is facing North Carolina Gov. James B. Hunt Jr. in this year's Senate race and Falwell and the religious right are pledged to help their hero defeat his toughest opponent in years—a popular Democratic governor too liberal for their liking.

But though Falwell *et al.* consider Hunt a dangerous leftist, when the race is over it may take an autopsy to tell the candidates apart. In an effort to appeal to the conservative Tar Heel voters, the liberal governor has taken a rightward turn.

The North Carolina Senate race has been described in leviathan terms by commentators from in and out of state—“a struggle for the soul of the South,” “political holy war” and “the second most important race in '84.” But some political observers here wonder what all the hoopla is about.

Sen. Helms stands against the ERA, busing, abortion, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. national holiday. He supports school prayer, tax credits to discriminatory private schools and favorable tobacco legislation. This has made him a folk hero of sorts—champion of the little guy in the battle against big government. While not necessarily agreeing with all his views, many voters trust Helms as a man of principle who is willing to take a stand on controversial issues, even to his political detriment.

The same is not often said of the governor. His failure to take an early position on some key issues has made “non-voters of a large number of people,” says Phyllis Tyler, a North Carolina journalist. But liberal voters underwhelmed by Hunt may stick with him as the lesser of two evils.

Both candidates are wooing the 2.5 million church-going North Carolinians by pointing out their own religious credentials. And both have come out in favor of school prayer, an important issue in a state where 31 percent of the public school children already engage in some form of teacher-led prayer, according to a recent report.

Over the last year Hunt has steadily lost ground to his Republican rival, some say as a result of his appeals to conservative voters. A *Charlotte Observer* poll last summer showed Hunt with 50 percent of the vote to Helms' 31 percent. But a recent poll showed that Hunt's support had dropped to 46 percent while Helms' had risen to 42 percent.

“As Hunt moves more and more to the right, his supporters lose their ideological fervor,” laments one Hunt backer. “He is now trying to stand on the left shoulder of Jesse.”

But Don Hobart, assistant communications director of the Jim Hunt Committee, disagrees with the notion that the governor is moving to the right. “On some issues, Jim Hunt has taken a hard line.... He's always been conservative.” Hobart describes Hunt's “staunch Baptist” upbringing, his tough stance on crime as governor and his support of prayer in public schools as long-held personal beliefs, not cosmetic political maneuvers. Hunt “did not support the nuclear freeze resolution” because it “sent the wrong signal [to Moscow]” and he is in favor of a “strong defense,” Hobart said. But on social and women's issues, Hunt has been “liberal,” Hobart adds, giving examples such as his support for

the ERA and abortion funding.

Claude Allen, the Helms campaign's press secretary, does not believe Hunt's newly found conservatism is fooling anyone. To Allen, the governor has nothing to lose but his integrity. “Whatever he does, it doesn't seem like he'll lose the support of the left. Hunt has refused to take a position on the issues.”

“He puts his finger up to test the political winds,” Allen says, referring to Hunt's recent public support of school prayer and his switch on defense spending. “All of a sudden [Gov. Hunt] is in support of the president's defense budget,” Allen adds.

As the first black member of Helms' staff, Allen himself is a controversial figure in the state. More than 10 years ago the *Raleigh News and Observer* called Helms “the most notable antagonist of Negro rights [in North Carolina] over the last decade.”

When asked about Helms' former vitriolic defense of segregation, Allen sidestepped the question by saying he wasn't in the state at the time, but now supports Helms because he believes in his philosophy. “That philosophy is free enterprise [under which] blacks can prosper,” he said.

Allen blames the plight of black families on the Ted Kennedys and Jim Hunts who favor big government. “A girl sets

Racial Justice, says, “I would personally urge people to find alternatives [to Hunt], even if it results in Jesse Helms being re-elected to the Senate.”

## Foreign policy stands.

Helms' foreign policy stands clearly support all anti-Communist regimes that are friendly to the U.S., and it appears Hunt champions similar positions. On April 3, Hunt released a position paper on defense that would befit a Republican hardliner. Hunt called for increases in defense spending of 5 to 7 percent after inflation, which he claimed was needed to strengthen conventional forces and enhance readiness. He also came out in support of the MX missile, the B-1 bomber, an accelerated program to develop the stealth bomber, modernizing the B-52s, more construction of Trident submarines, as well as support for the deployment of Euromissiles. So similar are the positions of Hunt and Helms on defense issues that even Hunt campaign director Joe Grimsley commented to reporters that the candidates had the same views.

Hunt has been evasive, however, about his Central America policy. But he has to stand to the left of Helms, who is a vocal supporter of right-wing presidential candidate—and alleged death squad leader—Roberto D'Aubuisson. The *Albuquerque Journal* reported in January that uniden-

which was formed in 1972 after Helms' election to the Senate. Since then it has raised millions of dollars for conservative candidates through the use of computer technology and national direct mail solicitation. According to the most recent campaign finance reports, Helms' supporters have raised \$4.4 million, while Hunt backers have raised \$2.5 million.

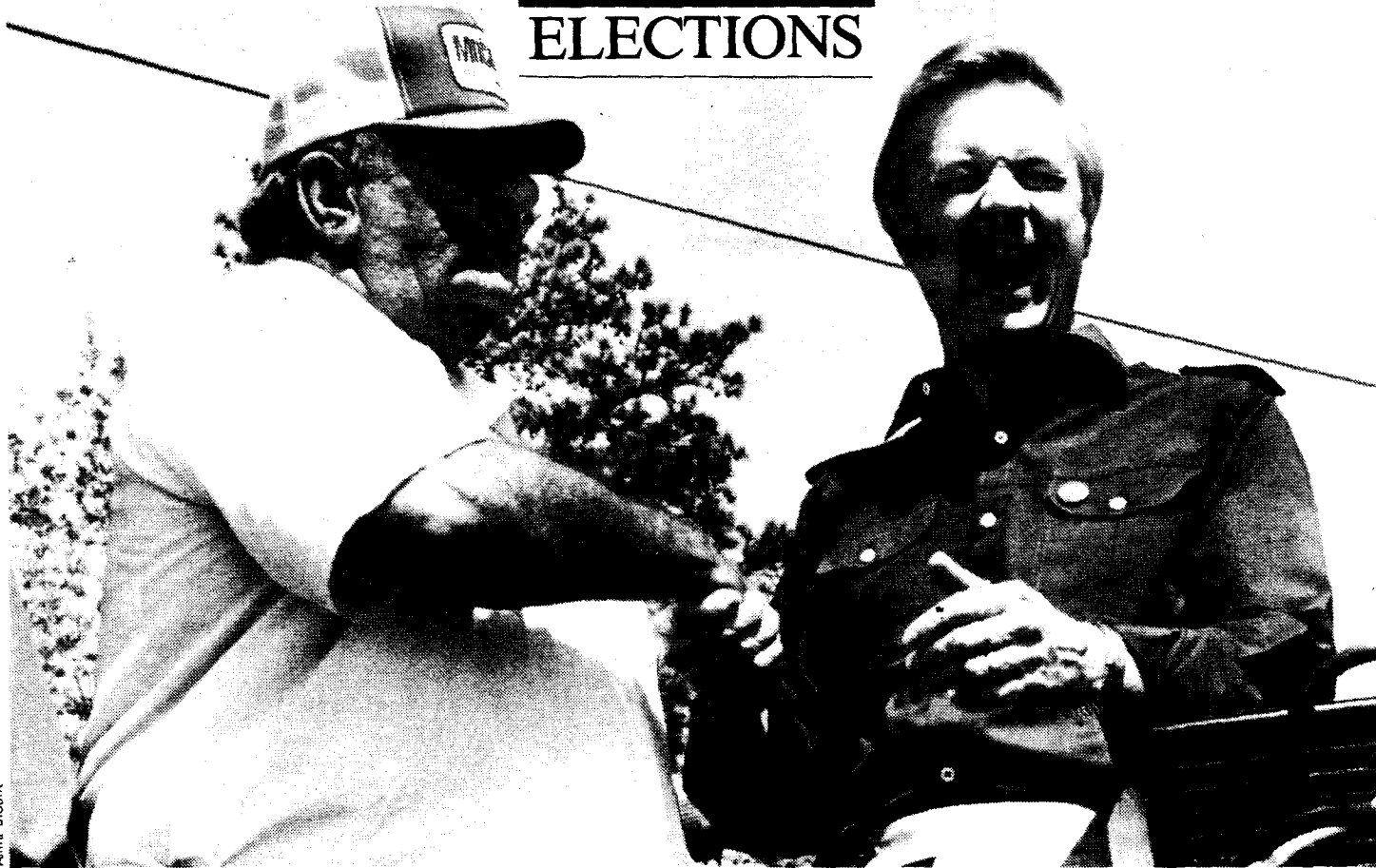
Probably the most controversial aspect of the campaign to date is the use of negative advertising—which has a rich history in North Carolina. In his 1972 Senate race, Helms' campaign posters linked his Democratic opponent, Nick Galifianakis, with presidential candidate George McGovern. Campaign workers recall finding other posters in rural areas with Galifianakis' name changed to appear Russian and a photograph of the Congressman in the foreground and the Kremlin in the background.

This year one Helms ad shows the senator telling of his lonely fight “against the big-spending crowd in Washington” and his battles against “the giveaway” of the Panama Canal, the gasoline-tax increase, a national holiday for Martin Luther King, forced busing and food-stamp abuse. With an American flag perched behind him, the senator tells the TV viewers that the “Lord is giving us just one more chance to save this nation of ours.”

Other Helms ads state his position on an issue and then the bespectacled senator growls at the camera: “Where do you stand, Jim?”

Hunt appears in one TV advertisement and indignantly says, “A lot of people don't know that Jesse Helms fought against tax cuts for the middle class and for tax loopholes for people making more than \$100,000 a year.” One Hunt ad lam-

## ELECTIONS



Gov. James B. Hunt Jr. (right) has moved so far to the right that he is now seen as standing on Helms' left shoulder.

up in her own home, is given an income, with the only requirement that she has an illegitimate child.” According to Allen, this type of system “keeps blacks down.” “A person who supports free enterprise can't support prejudice. I don't think Sen. Helms is a racist.”

Whatever Helms' racial views, race will be a significant factor in the election. North Carolina's population is 22 percent black and the senator's reputation among blacks could not be much worse. At last tally, Hunt was perceived as having more than 70 percent of the black vote. While overtly racial appeals are uncommon now, anti-Hunt ads link the governor with Chicago Mayor Harold Washington, presidential candidate the Rev. Jesse Jackson and BLACK PAC (ultra-liberal Julian Bond's PAC). Hunt supporters consider the ads race-baiting.

But Hunt does not have unqualified black support. At least one black civil rights leader withdrew his backing for Hunt after he failed to intervene to stop the execution of convicted murderer James Hutchins who recently died in North Carolina by lethal injection. The Rev. Leon White, director of the United Church of Christ's Commission for

tified sources had credited Helms with helping D'Aubuisson launch his ARENA Party in 1981. Although Helms denies a role in starting ARENA, he has praised D'Aubuisson as “a free-enterprise man and deeply religious.” In a letter to President Reagan last month, Helms demanded that U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Thomas Pickering be dismissed for aiding the candidacy of the victorious Christian Democrat, Jose Napoleon Duarte.

Despite uncertainties about what a vote for Hunt means, most observers feel that he is the only alternative. Campaign expenditures are expected to approach \$20 million and Hunt is the only candidate that can counteract Sen. Helms' Raleigh, N.C.-based National Congressional Club,

basts Helms for voting for an increase in the federal tobacco tax, even though the measure was a compromise that prevented an even larger increase.

“Clearly, this is the most important statewide election in 33 years. If Hunt can't beat Helms, no one can,” said Joe Hertenberg, former Chapel Hill town council member who is very active in the Democratic Party. “Hunt represents the moderate, or some would say progressive wing of the state Democratic Party, while Helms represents everything that is wretched in the state.”

But many voters have no intention of uprooting and booting their Jesse Helms, dubbed “Senator No” for his obstinance. At least one Helms supporter, Moral Majority leader Falwell, is touting the senator as Big Brother in his conservative vision for the real 1984. “If for some reason a determination were made that we're going to have a benevolent dictatorship and only one person could run it...I wouldn't have to think twice. I'd say Jesse Helms.”

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## Helms' racial views will be a major influence in the campaign.