

# 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.

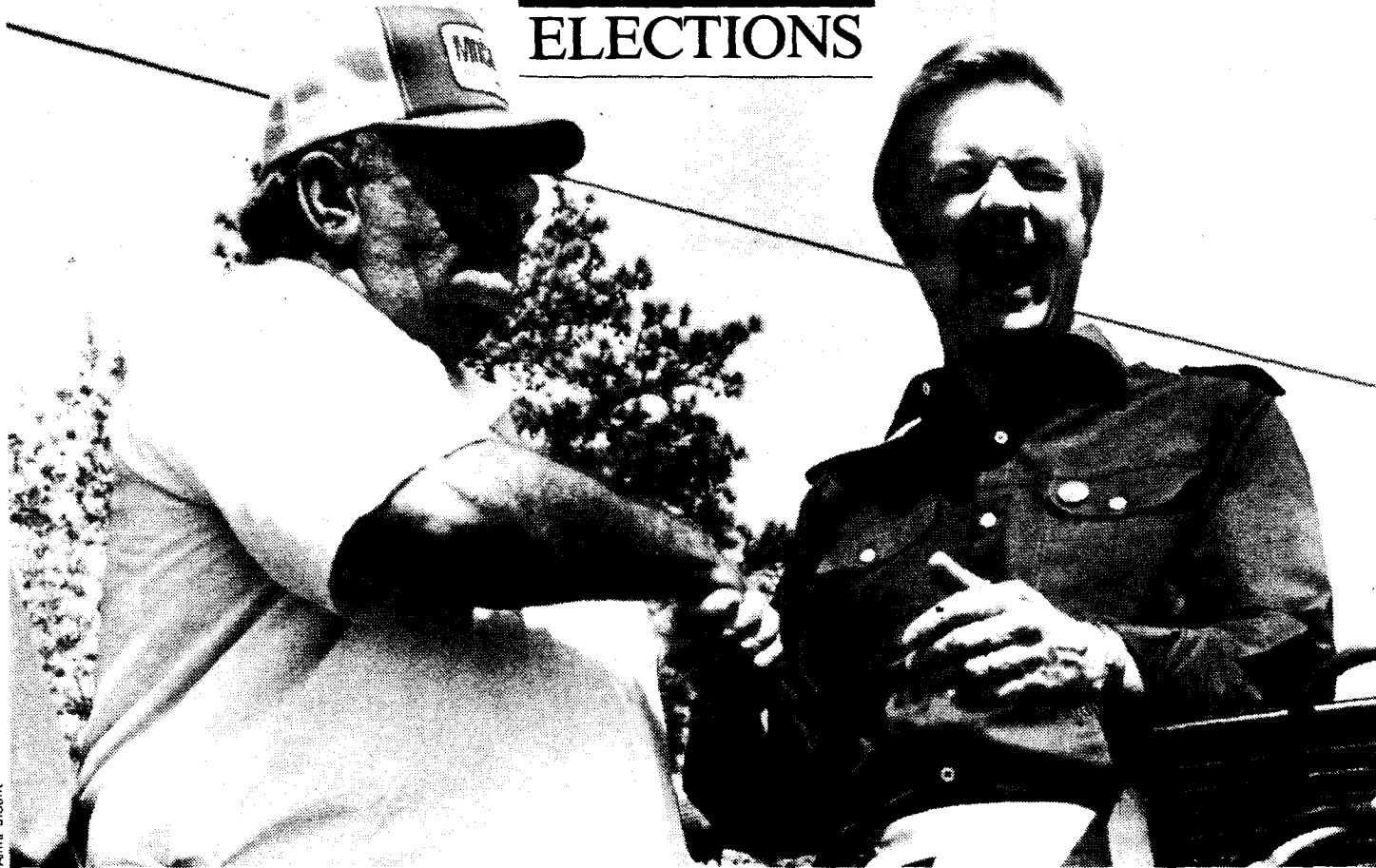
Probably the most controversial aspect of the campaign to date is the use of negative advertising—which has a rich history in North Carolina. In his 1972 Senate race, Helms' campaign posters linked his Democratic opponent, Nick Galifianakis, with presidential candidate George McGovern. Campaign workers 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.

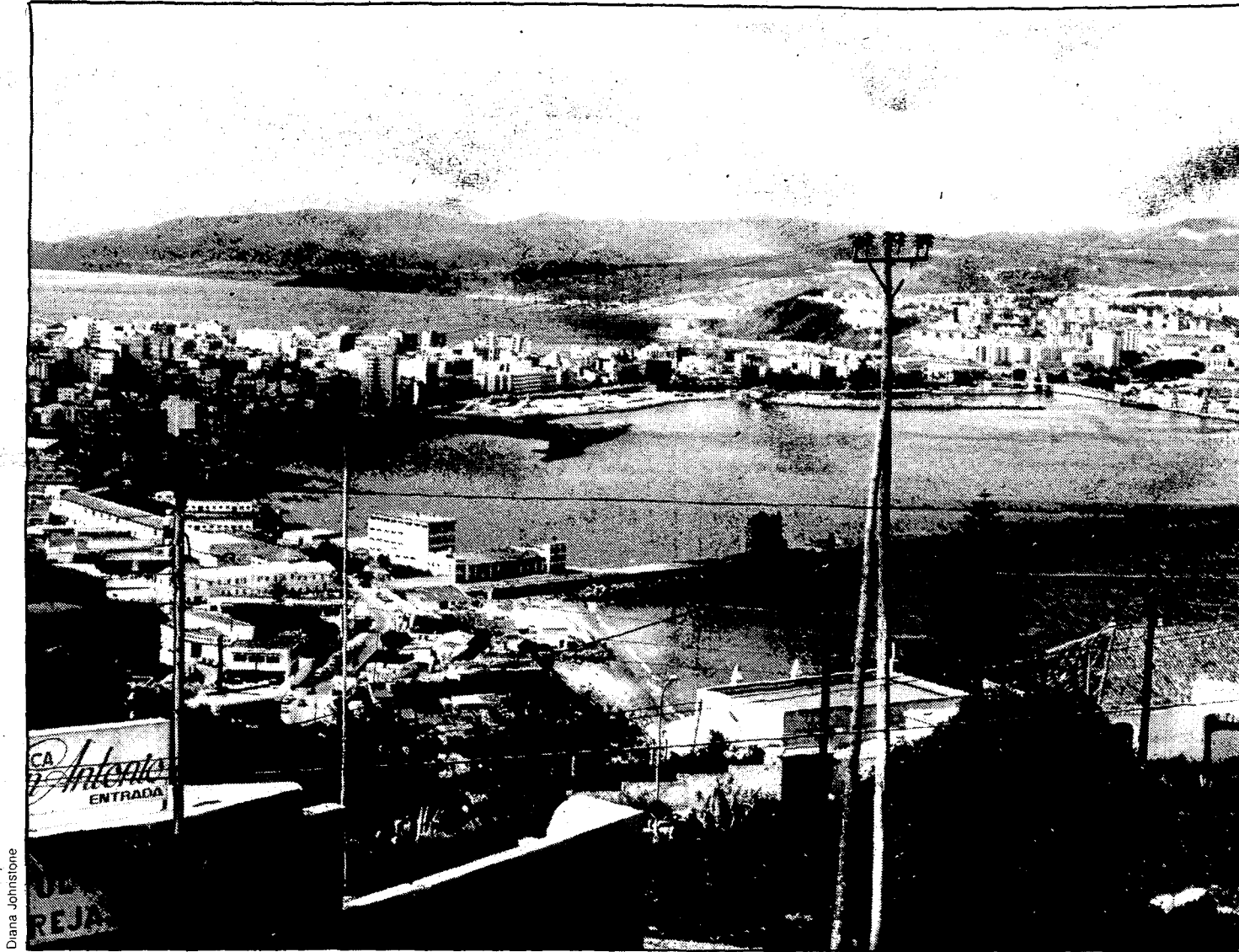
“Clearly, this is the most important statewide election in 33 years. If Hunt can't beat Helms, no one can,” said Joe Hertenberg, former Chapel Hill town council member who is very active in the Democratic Party. “Hunt represents the moderate, or some would say progressive wing of the state Democratic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





Diana Johnstone

## SPAIN

# Ceuta: hot spot on the Mediterranean?

By Diana Johnstone

M A D R I D

**S**PAIN'S SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT led by Felipe Gonzalez was elected in October 1982 promising a nationwide referendum on the country's entrance into NATO, which the previous government had hastily approved over widespread opposition. This promise by Gonzalez' Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) was generally interpreted as a sign of Socialist opposition to NATO membership, especially since all polls show a clear majority against NATO.

But now, a year and a half later, it is becoming more and more clear that Gonzalez not only means to keep Spain in NATO, but he is also getting ready to put his charisma on the line to win the Spanish people over to the Atlantic Alliance. To understand some of the factors behind this, a good starting place is Ceuta, on the northernmost point of the Moroccan coast facing Gibraltar.

Ceuta and Gibraltar face each other

across only about nine miles of water, twin sentinels at the narrow passage from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. They have much in common. Both are military bases. Just as Gibraltar is a British enclave on the Spanish coast, Ceuta is a Spanish enclave on the Moroccan coast.

But to most Spaniards, there is also a big difference: Gibraltar, a piece of Spain captured by British imperialism, should be returned to Spain, but Ceuta, and its sister enclave Melilla, some 200 miles east on the Moroccan coast toward Algeria, are old and natural extensions of Spain itself.

"They are not Moroccan cities captured by Spain, but cities built by Spaniards, with Spanish inhabitants," a Spanish Communist Party spokesman said. The Spanish right, as can easily be imagined, is much more vehement. Ceuta and Melilla are sacred unalienable components of Eternal Spain.

Ceuta has a population of about 80,000—including 21,000 military men and perhaps 5,000 ethnic Moroccans, who mostly live in squalid slums and shantytowns on the inland end of the peninsula that curves around the harbor. On a sunny Sunday, it takes only an hour or two to tour the peninsula by taxi, stopping to admire the stupendous views. On weekdays, the center is clogged by mobs of day-trip shoppers who have taken the ferry over from Algeciras to load up on duty-free goodies, like Japanese stereo sets and cameras.

Ceuta is basically a Spanish military base with a PX open to the public. Word has it that it is also a transit point for drug smuggling from Morocco just down the road.

The best real estate belongs to the military: army, navy, Spanish foreign legion. Legionnaires can be seen running around what would make great holiday camping grounds, playing soldier, high as kites. When it isn't booze, it's hashish. Or cocaine, or heroin.

In all of Spain, drug consumption has been booming. The Mafia, incidentally, has been "developing" the Spanish coast across the way, building those big foreign tourist hotels and vacation residences that are turning the local folk into jealous outsiders in their own land all along

southern coasts.

"Legionnaires to the death!" is their slogan. The townspeople don't seem crazy about them. In the democratic elections after the death of Franco, Ceuta elected a Socialist mayor. Opinion is "polarized," according to my young taxi driver. Does that mean there are disagreements between the military and civilians? "Oh no," he replied easily, "if we disagreed with the military, they'd shoot us."

His comment says a lot about Spanish democracy. The citizenry went just about as far as they dared to go when they elected Socialists. Now the Socialists have to keep the military contented. Spain is a country visibly occupied by its own armed forces.

## Army's role.

Angel Vinas, foreign minister Fernando Moran's leading advisor, said in an interview with *In These Times* that the government's biggest problem is the need to redeploy the armed forces. "The present deployment patterns are the outgrowth of the Franco period when they played an internal security role," Vinas said. "Their purpose was to quell internal discontent. Thus they were deployed around the major cities. This is absolutely nonsensical. They must be deployed according to strategic plans to deter an adversary."

The post-Franco government thus feels the need to point to an external enemy, or potential enemy, in order to pry the army away from Madrid, Barcelona and the other cities whose inhabitants are the potential adversaries (and virtual prisoners) of the huge fascist army built by Franco. Vinas, an affable young economist with no apparent grudge against anyone, has led the way in figuring out the uses of a potential external adversary. Some call him Spain's "little-Kissinger" for his enthusiastic plunge into *realpolitik*.

The weight of Spanish forces "must be shifted toward national borders, and especially toward the south because we are a frontier country with Africa," says Vinas. "Our main strategic task must be defense of the strategic axis Balearic Islands-Gibraltar-Canary Islands." In the middle of that axis stands Ceuta. Ceuta and Melilla are the only really vulnerable points of Spanish territory.

When Spanish Foreign Minister Moran stopped in Morocco shortly after bread riots in that country in January, Moroccan newspapers devoted their front pages to a heretofore unheard of "Sebta Liberation Front" (Sebta is Arabic for Ceuta), which called on the Spanish to leave the "occupied city." Since he organized his "green march" into the Sahara in 1975 (after reportedly getting the green light from the CIA's ubiquitous roving ambas-

sador Gen. Vernon Walker), Morocco's King Hassan has from time to time asserted his claim to Ceuta and Melilla, and has hinted strongly that a deal has been reached to hand over Ceuta and Melilla to Morocco whenever Gibraltar is returned to Spain. King Hassan has won backing for his claim from Organization of African Unity states, and indeed there is not a government in the world that seems eager to support Spanish rights in Ceuta and Melilla.

All this throws the Spanish nationalist right into a frenzy of self-righteous paranoia. As usual, they perceive that the whole world is against Spain, starting with those traditional enemies Britain and France, followed closely by the Yankees with their CIA and the Russian imperialists, both of which stir up Third World xenophobia. From the far right to the far left, it is clear to most political observers that the CIA has fomented King Hassan's claims in order to have an instrument of blackmail to use against the Spanish government. King Hassan, after all, owes everything to the U.S. and is a pet of the CIA.

Felipe Gonzalez "feels the need to bow to *realpolitik*," Thierry Maliniak wrote in *Le Monde* in June 1983. "The first socialist government since the civil war, formed in a climate of uncertainty, feels vulnerable. Should Morocco, Washington's privileged ally, put on pressure to recover Ceuta and Melilla, the two Spanish *presidios* on the North African coast, Mr. Gonzalez would find himself in a difficult position with the armed forces."

In short, if Spain does not behave, Washington can let loose King Hassan to organize another "green march" into Ceuta and Melilla, whereupon the Spanish armed forces would pull a *golpe* and overthrow the elected government in Madrid. What matters is that this threat is *felt* by all concerned.

Fear of a military coup is why the centrist government headed by Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo hastily pushed through the decision to join NATO in October 1981. The Congress had been captured and held prisoner all night in an abortive military coup the previous February, just as Calvo Sotelo was about to take office, and fear of *golpismo* was in the air. But, says Vinas, in his eagerness to get Spain into NATO, Calvo Sotelo "mishandled public relations policy regarding the advantages and disadvantages of joining NATO."

And after all, aren't elected governments these days to sell policies to the public that were decided by obscure powers and processes?

"The present Spanish government has great credibility on the NATO issue in the eyes of the public," Vinas told *In These Times*. "It has a chance to win a referendum. Spanish public opinion is not like the German or Dutch on this. The major segment of the population has confidence in the government." A referendum will be held early next year, and Gonzalez will campaign hard to get a result that counts as both an endorsement of NATO and of his own government. Only the wording of the referendum remains a mystery.

Vinas has been in the forefront of dreaming up good reasons to join NATO. The reasons involve making it appear that the Gonzalez government, unlike its predecessor, is using Spanish reluctance to join NATO to cut a better deal. Thus it is being hinted that Spain is being allowed into the Common Market as a necessary reward for joining NATO.

Spain now expects to sign the European Economic Community treaty this year. "There is no legal link between entrance into NATO and into the EEC," Vinas said. "But there is a certain linkage on the basis of how the referendum is held. It would be impossible to vote to continue NATO membership if Spain were not first let into the EEC. So in fact through public opinion linkage has been established."

The Spanish desire to join the Common Market is psychological and emotional. The economic benefits are dubious. But there is a deep desire after the ostracism of the Franco regime to be "part of Europe." And NATO and the EEC seem to be seen as symbols of this belonging to the "modern" world.

There are also anti-American touches

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