

Carter, Bush clean up in the Iowa caucuses

By John Judis

DES MOINES

EMMETSBURG, IOWA, RADIO station KEMP-FM conducted a "cess poll" at noon, Jan. 21. They asked local Carter supporters and then Kennedy supporters to flush their toilets. Emmetsburg's Public Works director noted a one inch drop in the water level from Carter supporters, but no drop at all from Kennedy supporters. "I don't know how scientific our poll really was," a KEMP official said, "but it appears that Kennedy is in deep water up here."

The KEMP poll would have been merely a humorous sidelight to the Iowa caucuses, except that Emmetsburg (population 4,150) is the seat of Palo Alto County, a northern Iowa farm county that has not voted wrong in the presidential election since 1892. Its Norwegian, German, and Irish farmers are about evenly divided between Republicans and Democrats.

On Jan. 21, they gave Carter 62 percent of the caucus vote to 26 percent for Kennedy, with the rest uncommitted. They also gave former CIA head George Bush 42 percent of the vote to 31 percent for the pre-election favorite Ronald Reagan.

The state results mirrored those of Palo Alto County. Jimmy Carter got 59 percent to Kennedy's 31 percent, and George Bush, at last county, had 31.5 percent to Reagan's 25.5 percent.

A Bush-Carter contest in November, as presaged by the Palo Alto results, would be a repeat performance of the 1976 Ford-Carter contest, except, with Carter now standing approximately where Ford did in 1976 and Bush where Reagan stood, the debate will have shifted even farther to the right.

The ACORN strategy

The only group on the left that could rationally claim a victory in Iowa was ACORN, the 30,000-family public interest organization that has chapters in 19 states, including Iowa. Since last summer, when its St. Louis convention adopted a platform for 1980, ACORN has been trying to supplement its purely local activity with a national focus on the presidential campaign.

It decided, however, not to back any candidate, but instead to concentrate on winning support for a commission within the Democratic party that would establish the same kind of delegate quotas for low and moderate income people that now exist for minorities and women. ACORN's Des Moines and Davenport chapters organized door-to-door to gain support for the commission within the caucus precinct meetings.

They also successfully pressured both Jimmy Carter and Edward Kennedy to support the commission. Kennedy even promised in a letter to instruct his delegates to support an ACORN resolution at next August's convention in New York.

ACORN got a resolution on the commission adopted in 44 of Des Moines' 50 precincts and 27 of 33 Davenport precincts.

ACORN founder and chief organizer Wade Rathke explained the rationale

Carter's victory over Kennedy partly reflected the farm-city, white collar-blue collar, old-young, conservative-liberal split that previous voter polls had detected among their respective adherents. Carter did best in rural counties where his margin over Kennedy was as high as six-to-one, while only barely beating him in the cities. In Des Moines' largest blue-collar precinct, Kennedy got a five-to-three margin over Carter.

But Carter cut substantially into Kennedy's blue-collar and urban support. He won decisively in Black Hawk County, where Kennedy had major Democratic endorsements and the support of the United Auto Workers in Waterloo. And he took largely Catholic blue-collar Dubuque.

Carter's widespread support was the result of the Iranian seizure of hostages and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Carter received the support that traditionally accrues to presidents at the beginning of foreign policy crises. (John F. Kennedy's public support increased right after the Bay of Pigs fiasco.) But Carter also managed to use the crisis politically for all it was worth.

Carter aides like to cite Harry Truman's 1948 victory in explaining Carter's comeback. They seem to have consciously followed Truman's script. Last fall, Carter made his peace with the AFL-CIO leadership. With Iran and Afghanistan, he has fueled war fears with one hand, while demonstrating his "coolness" with the other.

In Iowa, doves as well as hawks rallied to Carter's side. "Kennedy would have had us in a war in three days," Des Moines insurance agent Sam Gazzo said. "Carter is cool. He's got the Russians in the same position in Afghanistan that we were in in Vietnam. I love that."

The grain embargo did not diminish Carter's support even though a majority

for the commission. "We say that we don't care who you are for for president. Unless our people get in and get representation, the whole thing will continue to be a farce."

More Iowans turn out

Iowans used to have the New Hampshire primary thrown up to them as the first "real" test of the presidential campaign. But the massive turnout last week gave the Iowa caucuses a new legitimacy.

To vote in the caucuses, Iowa Democrats and Republicans had to attend one of 5,062 precinct meetings on the evening of Jan. 21. Once there, they were divided into groups according to their candidate preferences, and the respective numbers were reported back to the Republican and Democratic state committees.

In 1975, the Iowa caucuses attracted less than five percent of registered voters. In 1980, they attracted more than 20 percent. The total, somewhere over 200,000, exceeded the 194,055 voters in the 1976 New Hampshire primary.

The large turnout also minimized the influence of special interest groups. In 1976, almost half of Jimmy Carter's caucus support was drawn from the 50,000-member UAW. In 1980, Kennedy was relying on labor to overcome Carter's overall lead among the voting public.



"Running mates."

of Iowa's farmers oppose it. In a typical pre-election editorial, the *Lee County News* criticized the embargo, but supported Carter's initiative and political courage in calling for it.

At the post-election Kennedy party, Iowa campaign manager Paul Tully explained the Kennedy defeat in one word—"Ayatollah." Asked to elaborate, Tully said, "There was no give-and-take on issues. Every news show was Russian tanks. People didn't hear anything Kennedy was saying. It was like organizing in mud."

In Iowa, Kennedy also suffered from the constant public examination of Chapquiddick and from the incoherency of his own campaign.

In the face of purported opposition to "big government," Kennedy reduced his past liberalism to a "concern for the people" and a pledge that he "could make a difference." He opposed the grain embargo and initially the Olympic boycott. At the same time, he implied that Carter was not standing up to the Russians enough.

In a Jan. 10 speech in Council Bluffs, he conjured up the threat of imminent war to demonstrate his own toughness. "I think it ought to be very clear to the Soviets that we, as a society, will not permit any interruption of our oil supply in the Middle East and that any movement toward that interruption would mean the involvement of a major armed conflict." (This statement rivals Carter's absurd assertion that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has created the "greatest threat to world peace since World War II.")

Kennedy's campaign brought this frustrated response from liberal *Des Moines Register* columnist Donald Kaul. "It's not so much that Teddy and the rest have the wrong ideas, it's that they have no ideas at all."

A two-man race.

George Bush's surprising success was partly the result of a vintage 1975-76

Carter-type campaign, which saw Bush spending 31 full days in Iowa prior to the election compared to just 41 hours for Ronald Reagan. Bush's early efforts also picked up key endorsements and enlisted an army of young volunteers.

But Bush's principal virtue lay in his ability to span the moderate-conservative gap. Moderate Iowa Republicans appreciated his support for ERA and his flexibility on welfare issues. (Bush refused to go along with Reagan's proposal that welfare costs and administration be shifted back to the states.) Conservatives liked his CIA background, his promise to get tough with the Russians, and his commitment to a balanced budget and annual reductions in the corporate income tax.

The election results showed a certain moderate-conservative split among Bush and Reagan supporters. While Reagan edged Bush in some rural counties (the same ones that Carter won decisively), Bush soundly defeated Reagan in the cities and college towns. In Scott County, where Davenport is located, Bush won by two-to-one. In Johnson City, where the Univ. of Iowa is, Bush won by eight-to-one.

But Bush also won some reputedly conservative towns like Marshall and counties like Palo Alto. And in Des Moines Precinct 74, where Iowa's richest families live, he won the battle of the bourgeoisie against John Connally.

At Bush's post-election party, many Bush supporters expressed the same inchoate sentiments about their candidate that Carter supporters had expressed in 1976. "He has dignity," one supporter said in answer to why he had worked for Bush. "I like his personal life, his sincerity," another replied.

But a young middle-class couple from Des Moines captured the essence of the Bush supporter. "I see in him a leader, a very strong hand, and somebody who can win," Ray Bagg said. "I like Reagan as a

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IN SHORT



The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) has been dead for five years, and Feb. 23 a group of Chicagoans who helped bury it will celebrate.

Pictured above are (left to right) Rep. Karl Mundt, R-S.D., who co-sponsored the 1950 Internal Security Act, Rep. J. Parnell Thomas, R-N.J., a former HUAC chair sentenced to six-to-18 months in jail after quitting office during a 1948 payroll padding scandal, chief HUAC investigator Robert Stripling, Rep. John McDowell, R-Pa., and then-California GOP Congressman Richard Nixon.

HUAC—euphemized in 1969 as the House Internal Security Committee—was the official government arm of the Joe McCarthy era. It had been a part of the American scene, however, since the 1930s, and had instigated witchhunts in the late

'40s and early '50s including the Hollywood 10 and Alger Hiss before the Wisconsin senator emerged as the nation's leading Grand Inquisitor.

The Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights plans to show the HUAC-produced film "Operation Abolition" including scenes of "students toying with treason" and being fire-hosed down the steps of San Francisco's City Hall.

A featured speaker at the anniversary celebration will be Frank Wilkinson, a prime mover against HUAC and now director of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation.

For more details, contact The Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, 407 S. Dearborn St. Suite 530, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Telephone 312/939-0675.

Detroit cancels rape lie tests

Under strong public pressure the Detroit police department has cancelled plans to resume polygraph testing of alleged rape victims. Citing community opposition and the possible detrimental impact of the tests on the reporting of sexual assaults, police chief William Hart announced the abrupt reversal to a packed meeting of the Board of Police Commissioners January 10.

Earlier that day, about 45 people picketed Detroit police headquarters, including city council members Maryann Mahaffey and Ken Cockrel. The Detroit based Women's Justice Center and Detroit NOW, instrumental in opposing the tests, said the political climate of the city was sympathetic—from the active support of four city council members to a degree of sensitivity within the Coleman Young administration.

Critics charged that lie detector tests have been administered disproportionately to complainants in sex crimes. Figures show that in 1978, over half the alleged crime victims asked to submit to a test—41 out of 71—were rape victims.

"It takes a lot of guts to report a rape in the first place," Jan Leventer, Legal Director of the Women's Justice Center told IN THESE TIMES. She accused Detroit police of operating "a double-standard of credibility for women."

Polygraphs have been used in the past in the warrant seeking process; if the alleged victim failed the test it was not likely a warrant would be issued, although polygraphs are not admissible court evidence. Leventer called the basic issue "access to

the courts" and claimed in such cases "a box is being substituted for a jury."

The Women's Justice Center filed suit October 1978 challenging the use of the tests, naming both the department and the Detroit-area Wayne County prosecutor as defendants. In January 1979, Detroit police voluntarily discontinued the practice and dropped out of the suit. Police announced December 3 that it intended to resume the tests in March 1980, however.

—Ron Williams

Sex and violence promoting halted

Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW) says it has ended its nearly three year long boycott of record publisher Warner Communications, Inc., after convincing the company to stop using violent images of women on album covers and promotion, but says it will continue to pressure other record companies.

Warner, whose promotion of a Rolling Stone album included an outdoor billboard showing a bound-up female proclaiming she was "Black and Blue from the Rolling Stones and I love it," (ITT, March 14, 1979) said the recording conglomerate now "opposes the depiction of violence, against women or men, on album covers and in related promotional material."

WAVAW's Joan Howarth said her group commends the formal announcement and expects it to have "an important impact on advertising policy throughout the record industry...and on the media industry as a whole."

A spokesperson at WAVAW's Los Angeles office said her group considered

two recent album releases—Cher's *Prisoner*, showing the female singer bound in chains, and Foreigner's *Head Games*, depicting a woman in a men's public toilet—to be the most offensive new offerings on the market.

She added, however, that the Foreigner album, on the Warner subsidiary Atlantic label, was in production before the company and WAVAW reached their agreement.

Unionists aid ERA in South

Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) supporters take some satisfaction from two recent developments in their battle for ratification in the South, but in the eighth year of work for the ERA, victory is still far from certain.

The Georgia Senate voted down the ERA 23 to 32 on Jan. 21, effectively killing it for this year in President Carter's home state, but backers of the amendment claimed a victory in simply getting the bill out of committee, where it has long languished after earlier defeats. They also were pleased with a growing mobilization of supporters in Georgia.

Labor unions, including the Steelworkers, United Food and Commercial Workers, and the Virginia Education Association, initiated a march estimated at 8,000 in Richmond, Va., on Jan. 13. Although supporters came from many states and from feminist, non-union groups, the rally for ERA drew a very strong contingent of Virginia workers, including many men, such as the two-bus-load delegation of Steelworkers from the beleaguered Newport News shipyard.

Labor unions have participated in many pro-ERA activities, but a spokes-

person at ERA America in Washington believed that this was the only labor-initiated and oriented demonstration since an earlier, smaller one in Virginia two years ago.

Alice Peurla, president of United Steelworkers Local 65 in South Chicago, told the Richmond marchers even if the ERA is ratified, the fight for equal rights won't be over.

"The passage of laws are necessary," Peurla said, "but it takes struggle to give those laws meaning."

Group seeks equal time against PG&E

A coalition of environmental groups led by the Environmental Defense Fund has asked the Federal Communications Commission to order nine California TV stations to provide free air time to counter advertising claims of the San Francisco-based Pacific Gas and Electric Company (PG&E).

Ten other California stations have carried the counterspots, running one for about every three commercials by the utility.

PG&E ran a 1978 series of ad spots at a cost of \$900,000, giving the company's arguments for more electric power plants in California.

The alternative spots—created by San Francisco's Public Media Center, warned that the utility "thinks you have money to burn" and said alternative energy sources such as solar power were cleaner, safer and cheaper.

A lawyer for the Environmental Defense Fund said "we're sorry to have to file this complaint, but it's our last chance to get the message out. We have the facts, but not the budget."