

EDITORIAL/OPINION

Democrats need new voters

With news organizations and reporters printing their post-election secrets, the staff of the *Portland Observer* has a few of its own. Although we never made any clandestine deals to retrieve this information, the proper situation to disseminate these facts never arose.

As we dig ourselves out of the Reagan/Bush landslide, a road is paved to reveal mistakes and maneuvers that shaped the Democratic defeat.

During the Democratic National Convention, a tactic not employed by the Jackson campaign failed to shed light on the democratic process. It was agreed by his campaign that if his minority planks — end of dual primaries, on first use of Nuclear Weapons, 20 percent cut in defense spending over a 5-year span and Affirmative Action employing quotas — were voted down, a floor demonstration would result.

The Jackson campaign called the floor demonstration off for unknown reasons. Their reluctance to fully participate in the democratic process led the Mondale campaign to ignore the 6-point agenda that addressed the concerns of the Rainbow Constituency.

Maybe, if a floor demonstration had occurred, the Mondale/Ferraro ticket would have infused an appeal that would have followed voters into the voting booth. Instead their investment in the gender gap — trade unions and youth — bankrupted the ticket as major defection occurred.

The Black vote was the only consistent mark of the campaign and the ticket did not even earn the ink in the pens.

Another secret few knew was the manipulation of the delegate voting process by the Mondale campaign. Jackson made a plea to Black delegates to vote for him, regardless of their candidate affiliation, to empower the issues he placed before the convention. When the Mondale campaign got wind of this insidious maneuver to remove and intimidate delegates occurred. Julian Bond and Andrew Young covered the convention floor like a bellhop trying to convince delegates not to vote for Jackson.

Those delegates who were not convinced were removed from the floor and replaced by alternates who would vote for Mondale.

Thus, the absence of democracy led to an imbalance. Jackson received 22 percent of the popular vote but received only seven percent of the delegates. Mondale received 39 percent of the popular vote and obtained 52 percent of the delegates.

If the Democratic party has any hope for victory in the future, it must heed the words of author Frances Fox Piven who said the party must build on the 10 million new voters of people of color and women. "They cannot outbid the Republican for the vote of white males. They must welcome, expand and lead these new voters if there are any chances for victory in '88."



Why Ronald Reagan won

by Dr. Manning Marable
"From The Grassroots"

No incumbent president in recent history deserved to be defeated more than Ronald Reagan. Behind his patriotic rhetoric stands a monument of public policy failures unequalled in our generation. A quick comparison of Carter's record with Reagan's first term shows that real interest rates, factoring inflation, increased from 0.2 percent to 6.4 percent after inflation. The Census Bureau notes that the number of poor people climbed by 6 million since January 1981, and the average unemployment rate under Reagan is 8.6 percent, well above the Carter administration's 6.4 percent figure. Real farm incomes fell by over 50 percent between 1981 and 1984. Even the politically conservative Tax Foundation in Washington, D.C., has computed that the median income of a typical family of four, after inflation, was \$107 less this year than in 1980. The real beneficiaries of Reaganomics have been the large corporations and upper fifth of the population, which has gained 8.7 percent after inflation and taxes since 1980. Despite these statistics, as well as a record of foreign policy blunders and domestic policies which reinforced racial and gender inequality, Reagan buried Mondale at the polls.

Conventional media wisdom now claims that Reagan's charisma and personal popularity was decisive in his victory. Any rebroadcast of the first presidential debate, in which the incumbent appeared disoriented and at times comatose, should discourage the view that Reagan was "more qualified" to lead the nation than his Democratic challenger. I would suggest instead that Reagan did not WIN the election at all; Mondale, despite all his advantages, LOST it.

Consider the candidate himself. The basic theme which could have united the various factions of the Democratic Party — labor, Blacks, Hispanics, women's groups, Southerners, young urban professionals — was the issue of "fairness." Reagan's budget cuts had hurled millions into poverty, and the vast

majority of lower-to-moderate income Americans have not been touched by the 1983-84 "recovery." But throughout much of the campaign, Mondale focused his challenge on the uninspiring issue of budget deficits, and the necessity to increase the taxes of all families with annual incomes over \$25,000. Instead of criticizing the bloated Pentagon budget, condemning its purchases of \$10 billion worth of \$9,600 each, Fritz called for annual defense increases of 3 to 4 percent. Instead of calling for major programs to reduce unemployment and to improve public healthcare and social needs, Mondale proposed another \$29 billion slash of social and civilian expenditures to reduce swollen deficits.

Mondale's central fallacy was his erroneous belief that the further to the ideological right his campaign was perceived, the greater his ability to undercut Reagan's base. Actually the reverse was true. Mondale lost the support of some Gary Hart Democrats — fiscal moderates but liberals on foreign policy — by calling for a "military quarantine" of Nicaragua and by criticizing the President for not "retaliating" against "terrorists." Mondale applauded the illegal invasion of Grenada, never criticized U.S. policy in El Salvador, and spoke only infrequently on Reagan's alliance with the apartheid regime of South Africa. On arms control policies, Mondale made the error of trying to out-Reagan Reagan. Even William Hyland, editor of *Foreign Affairs*, observed after the second debate that "Mondale was moving even to the right of Reagan in saying he would be very tough." In short, Mondale took his own electoral base for granted, and rhetorically repudiated his entire public career, which is based on expanding human services, checking defense expenditures, and favoring historically liberal-to-moderate constituencies. All Reagan had to do throughout the campaign was to embrace elements of the New Deal-Great Society which retain popular support, such as

Social Security and public housing, and not to fall asleep at inappropriate times.

Mondale defeated himself, finally, by refusing to push the national Democratic Party to spend the lion's share of its funds on voter registration. As of early October, the Republicans spent over \$10 million to register socially conservative and upper income constituencies, while the Democrats allotted barely \$2.5 million to recruit new voters. Statistically, the groups with the highest registered voter turnout percentages in 1980 were college-educated voters (80 percent), and those earning more than \$25,000 annually (74 percent), strong potential supporters for the GOP. Conversely, lower registered voter turnout rates for unemployed workers (41 percent), blue collar workers (47 percent), Hispanics (30 percent), and Blacks (51 percent) represented the difference between Reagan's victory and defeat four years ago. Although these figures improved in many states this year, Mondale's general approach to the campaign was not to expand the electorate significantly, but to "win over" white, male, white collar independents who had already decided to vote for Reagan.

Of course, another interpretation is possible: the leaders of the Democratic Party may have been fearful of the long-range impact of bringing millions of low income and national minority voters into the system. Given the choice between four more years of Reagan versus the possibility of a truly viable Rainbow Coalition within their own party, the Democrats may have decided to leave the White House to the President. Perhaps this is the fundamental factor in Mondale's loss to Reagan.

Dr. Manning Marable teaches political sociology at Colgate University, Hamilton, New York. "Along the Color Line" appears in over 140 newspapers internationally.

Street Beat

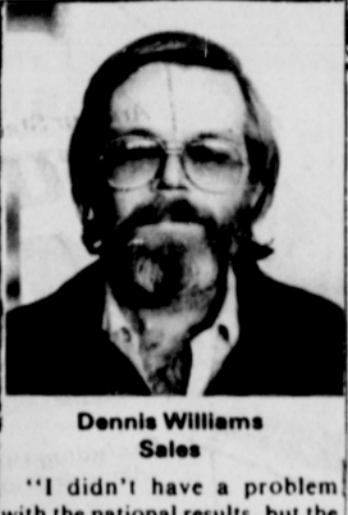
by Lanita Duke and Richard Brown

Now that the ballots are counted the Street Beat team asked the public: "How did you feel about the election results, both nationally and locally?"



Annie Hale
Fashion Consultant

"I don't think it was fair for the media to say Reagan won before all the voters got to the polls. I was confused about the local election."



Dennis Williams
Sales

"I didn't have a problem with the national results, but the failure of the property tax limitation was disappointing. I don't think it's an answer, but it's a step in the right direction."



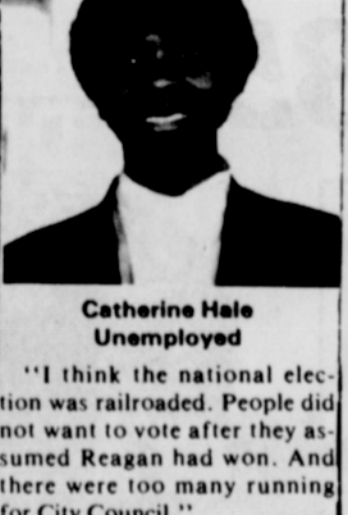
Jesse Rogers
Barber

"Multnomah County voted the right way. The tax limitation passed, the Citizen Utility Board won along with Mondale. I was surprised with the City Council results because the best persons did not win — Gladys McCoy."



Tammy Bennett
Unemployed

"I was satisfied with the local election. I'm glad the lottery passed. The State needs the money it will produce."



Catherine Hale
Unemployed

"I think the national election was railroaded. People did not want to vote after they assumed Reagan had won. And there were too many running for City Council."



Ann Piew
Sales

"Between Reagan and Mondale, I'm glad Reagan won. He had a better Foreign Policy. I will miss the mayor. I think he got the raw end of the deal."

Nicaragua invasion

Continued from Page 1, Column 4)

Between one and three million people have died in CIA covert actions, Stockwell estimates. The common denominator, he said, is that they were all people from small countries in the third world.

Ominously, the CIA is infiltrating opposition groups in the U.S. in violation of U.S. law, "getting names, building lists, getting ready to manipulate these groups," he said. Reagan's proposal for an anti-terrorist law that would allow pre-

emptive strikes against suspected terrorists in which, according to Secretary of State George Schultz, it may be necessary to kill innocent civilians, could be the precursor of domestic death squads, according to Stockwell. "They would have the ability to kick in your door and machine gun you."

Citizens Utility Board

Continues from Page 1, Column 6)

of a T & T. "They may try to take advantage of the confusion to bring about rate increases and try to install mandatory local measured rates (consumers pay for each call).

Other priorities will be rate decreases, change in service policy and an increase in low-income weatherization. CUB will change the focus of privately owned utilities from maximizing profits to providing service.

"When there is a conflict between profits and service consumers come second. And that is criminal! We are talking about a monopoly over the basic necessities of life. Profit should never come before people's needs." With CUB in action, maybe it won't.

The Black United Front
Teenage Care Project
232-9751

A Public Service of the Portland Observer

Portland Observer

The *Portland Observer* (USPS 959-680) is published every Thursday by Exie Publishing Company, Inc., 2201 North Killingsworth, Portland, Oregon 97217, Post Office Box 3137, Portland, Oregon 97208. Second class postage paid at Portland, Oregon.

The *Portland Observer* was established in 1970.

Subscriptions: \$15.00 per year in the Tri-County area. Postmaster: Send address changes to the *Portland Observer*, P.O. Box 3137, Portland, Oregon 97208.

Alfred L. Henderson, Editor/Publisher
Al Williams, General Manager

National Advertising Representative
Amalgamated Publishers, Inc.
New York



283-2486

PORTLAND OBSERVER

Box 3137, Portland OR 97208

Mr.
Mrs.
Ms.
Miss

Street

CITY

STATE

ZIP

\$15 for one year
\$25 for two years

CLIP

TO START
THE
PORTLAND
OBSERVER
COMING
EVERY
WEEK