

elanders who wanted the straight facts on Kucinich. On the day of the primary, support for Kucinich in these areas dropped by one-quarter to one-third below pre-election estimates and even below the results in similar neighborhoods not reached by Citizens for Cleveland.

Total rout

The Oct. 2 primary has left the Cuyahoga County Democratic machine in a shambles. Leading Democratic city figures are jumping from Kucinich's "bandwagon." Even the pro-Kucinich *Cleveland Plain Dealer* reported on Oct. 3 that Democratic County Commissioner Sweeney and Sheriff McFaul will cross party lines and vote for Republican Voinovich in the November general election. Congresswoman Mary Rose Oakes will "probably" endorse Voinovich as well. County Treasurer Gaul and Commissioner Feighan will remain neutral. Even the man whose early endorsement of Kennedy was to translate into electoral rout, party chairman Hagan, dubbed Kucinich "not a Democrat."

With a seven to one Democratic Party edge and with a well-established network of UAW regional political operatives and shady dealers behind the local machine, we are forced to ask: if the Kennedy machine couldn't carry Cleveland, what city can they win?

Where it all began

Connecticut launches anti-Kennedy backlash

Voters in Connecticut's two largest cities repudiated pro-Kennedy candidates that local media had dubbed "heavily favored" in primary elections Sept. 11. In both cases, the winning candidates represented a majority coalition of anti-liberal white ethnic strata and black and Hispanic citizens who solidly oppose drugs, related organized crime activity like "legalized gambling," and the "pick and shovel" remedies for urban decay and unemployment advocated by the Kennedy supporters.

Voters in Hartford, a city of 150,000 which is the state capital and often called "the insurance capital of the world," turned back an attempt by Deputy Mayor Nick Carbone to unseat Democratic Mayor George Athanson in the primary election. Carbone had been

In the Oct. 2 nonpartisan primary race for mayor of Cleveland, Mayor Kucinich was trounced by George Voinovich in the mayor's voter stronghold in the west side: 39 percent to 46 percent. The west side of Cleveland is predominantly East European, largely employed in the auto and steel industries of the Cleveland area.

The trend line of the chart above shows the collapse of Kucinich's support over the last two years—from the 1977 primary and mayoral election to this year's recall vote and primary. Kucinich's vote—from primary to primary—fell substantially in every white ethnic ward but one.

This trend is made more dramatic by the fact that where Citizens for Cleveland leafleted door-to-door, Mayor Kucinich received 10 percent fewer votes than in wards, demographically similar, where no leafleting was conducted.

Wards 4, 6, 7, 9, and 22 (Kucinich strongholds) were targeted for door-to-door leafleting; wards 2

and 5 were more sporadically leafleted. Kucinich lost approximately one-sixth of his projected vote total in those wards targeted by Citizens for Cleveland, averaging 37 percent of the vote. In those wards not targeted, Kucinich averaged 44 percent.

A similarly significant pattern emerges from an analysis of the returns in Cleveland's east side. Of the four white ethnic wards in the east side, only ward 22 was targeted and it was the one ward where Kucinich lost to Voinovich.

In the predominantly black wards of Cleveland, Mayor Kucinich came in a poor third. Capturing 43 percent of the vote in these wards was Basil Russo, the candidate of the anti-Kucinich, Forbes City Council black political machine. Behind Russo, with an amazing 25 percent of the black vote, is George Voinovich, a candidate relatively unpopular in the black wards. Kucinich, meanwhile, polled 15 percent of the black vote, a 40 percent drop from his 1977 returns.

considered a strong favorite; he had the support of the organized-crime elements of the region's Kennedy machine; he also had the support of radical-liberal elements associated with the Institute for Policy Studies, an international terrorist-control center based in Washington, D.C. In addition, Carbone wielded enormous influence and patronage in the city through his control over the City Council, a prerogative of the appointed Deputy Mayor.

Yet Carbone was defeated badly by the voters. All but one candidate on Carbone's entire city-council slate were also defeated, for the most part by anti-drug candidates. He lost 30 of 32 districts, including black, Hispanic, and Italian-American areas that he thought he had sewn up. Only in the downtown and west end of the city—the latter largely populated by insurance company employees—and in one district in the south, an Italian section, did Carbone come out on top. Athanson's heaviest vote came in the city's black area in the north, and the Italian ethnic area in the south. Overall, the incumbent mayor's victory was by a better than 3 to 2 margin.

In New Haven, a city of 130,000, Mayor Frank Logue, a staunch Kennedy liberal with the support of Yale University officials in New Haven, was defeated by a former city police chief, Biaggio Dilieto, who ran on a strong anti-drug platform. Dilieto's victory was aided by third candidate Henry Parker, the State Treasurer, whose anti-Logue platform captured the minority black and Hispanic vote.

How it happened

Crucial to the success of the black-Hispanic-ethnic coalition in both Hartford and New Haven was the Connecticut Anti-Drug Coalition. An important part was also played by the U.S. Labor Party campaign of Donna McDonough.

Groups working closely with the Anti-Drug Coalition included leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the oldest and largest black leadership organization in the United States; leaders of the Hispanic community; and most elected black officials in the city. All coalesced around the July 29 regional meeting of the antidrug coalition. Mayor Athanson addressed the meeting personally, and declared July 29 "Anti-Drug Coalition Day in the City of Hartford."

The coalition exposed Carbone's role as an advocate of "methadone maintenance"—official drug-dealing—and his use of his appointed position as Deputy Mayor to destroy Hartford's once-effective anti-narcotics force.

The coalition also brought out Carbone's involvement in the shady, organized-crime financial dealings of ITT-Firestone and Aetna Life Insurance which have \$60 million invested in the Las Vegas gambling casino, Caesar's World, and are pushing for legalized gambling in Hartford.

With a crucial role played by State Senator Wilbur Smith, an outstanding anti-drug spokesman, black power-brokers agreed that Carbone had to be defeated.

The mayoral primary campaign of Donna McDonough, the U.S. Labor Party candidate, mobilized opposition to the slave-labor make-work projects closely associated with Kennedy nationally. Such programs in Hartford are associated with Carbone and Aetna Life Insurance Co.'s "Hartford Process" front-group, of which Carbone was a major proponent.

New Haven

The New Haven case reflects precisely the same combination of forces. Dilieto's upset victory over Mayor Logue resulted from the repudiation of his Kennedy "urban decay" policies, by the black community in particular. Yale University officials, the traditional power-brokers in New Haven, had always considered the black community a "safe voting bloc" for drug-decriminalization and public-works programs of the Kennedy type.

Connecticut Treasurer Henry Parker waged a strictly anti-Logue campaign, avoiding attacks on former Police Chief Dilieto. At his election night rally, Parker alluded to the tacit cooperation between the representatives of minority working class, white working class, and business strata in New Haven—a cooperation largely made possible by the work of the Connecticut Anti-Drug Coalition, as in Hartford. In New Haven, the coalition played its role through media appearances and organizing of area anti-drug forces—with one very public objective: Logue's ouster.

The lessons

Political leaders throughout the northeastern United States were stunned by the Hartford and New Haven mayoral results. The "White Ethnic and Minorities" coalition was considered a sure-thing for Ted Kennedy and his machine's candidates. As one Boston Democratic Party chieftan put it: "What happened? It was a massacre." The rejection of the Kennedy candidates in the Senator's native region of New England came as a harbinger of later anti-Kennedy results in Boston itself, a pattern which has spread to other parts of the country.