Black Power in CHICAGO

A documentary survey of the 1983 mayoral democratic primary
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

The recent Democratic mayoral primary (February 22, 1983) was a significant election for several reasons:

1. Chicago is the second largest city in the U.S. with a population of 3.0 million people (1980).

2. The Democratic machine/political organization has long been viewed as the most successful and, indeed, the last of the "great" urban political machines. Chicago has had Democrats for mayor since 1933—50 consecutive years.

3. There is unprecedented political mobilization of the city's Black community which totals over 1.2 million people, over 40 percent of the population. Significant coalitions with Latinos (13 percent) and with organizations representing poor whites have also developed.

For all of these reasons and more — reflecting the past, present, and future of Chicago and similar cities—the current mayoral campaign has attracted wide interests. The most important fact, however, is that Harold Washington became the first victorious Black candidate to win the Democratic primary for mayor. With a near 75% voter turnout rate for Blacks, Blacks voted 75% for Washington while he got about 35% of the total vote. Byrne got 32%, and Daley got 28% of the total vote as well.

In a special newspaper prepared for a conference on "Black People and Mayoral Politics," several factors were cited from the research literature which explained how Black mayors are elected:

1. mobilization of the Black community;
2. building broad support;
3. campaign;
4. organization of the candidates' viability; and
5. the city's need for crisis management.
We will use these factors in summing up the key aspects of the recent primary campaign.

(1) By far the most significant factor in Washington's victory was the registration, turnout and block voting of the Black community: This can be examined by looking at patterns in eighteen wards—eleven (2, 3, 6, 8, 16, 17, 20, 21, 24, 28, 34) with more than 90 percent Black population and seven (13, 23, 26, 38, 41, 45, 50) with more than 90 percent white population. In the eleven Black wards, voter registration increased by 78,919 between the 1979 and the 1983 mayoral primary. In the seven white wards, there was an increase of only 600 voters, with two wards showing a decrease in voters. Thus, the registration drive in Chicago's Black community, which added almost 150,000 new voters to the rolls, was a key tactic.

In the same eleven Black wards, the average turnout was 73.7 percent, as compared to 79.1 percent in the seven white wards. Though the turnout among whites was larger, there was a big increase in the number of Black voters between 1979 and 1983. The voter turnout in the eleven Black wards was 52.2 in 1979, increasing by 21.5% in 1983; in the seven white wards the increase was only 13.9 percent, up from 65.2 percent in 1979. The 1983 election was defined by the new Black voter.

Registration and turnout were much lower in previous years. Between 1959 and 1971, when Richard Daley ran four times unopposed, voting averaged 415,900 citywide, though the city's population averaged 3.45 million — almost 500,000 more than it was during the recent primary. For those same four elections, the turnout average only 31.4 percent of the registered voters.

The overwhelming support for Washington among Blacks is most significant. In the above eleven wards with high concentration of Black voters—ranging from 91.8 percent to 99 percent Black—Harold Washington won
77.7 percent of the 276,678 Democratic votes cast. By contrast, in the seven white wards, Washington won only 0.94 percent of the Democratic votes cast—2,131 of 227,327 votes.

(2) Broad support: As we stated in January 1983: "The successful Black candidates have been supported by key sectors of the white community, especially leading capitalists who contribute legitimacy, money, advice, skills, and other resources. Positive coverage of the Black candidate's campaign by major media follows if key sectors of the corporate leadership give the nod. The votes of a significant number of whites and Hispanics is also critical."

Harold Washington did not have the kind of broad support indicated as necessary in the election of other big city Black mayors. For example, both major daily newspapers—The Sun Times and The Tribune endorsed Daley. Byrne and Daley won endorsement from leading capitalists, enabling them to raise massive campaign funding. Washington's support from the corporate sector was so weak that it led Bill Berry, a long time Black Civil Rights leader who chaired Washington's campaign, to publicly criticize the white business leadership he had worked so closely with! The most positive corporate response was a headline in Crain's Chicago Business that suggested Washington's strengths were being underestimated and the paper's decision not to endorse a candidate.

Washington's support among whites and Hispanics, however, was critical to his plurality of 32,573 votes.

Overall, Washington tallied a little less than 10 percent of the votes cast by whites. But in some wards his total was higher. In the 48th ward, with a Black population of 16 percent, he won 21 percent of the vote. In three other wards with one percent Black population or less, Washington won 5 percent of the vote. These four wards total 8,520 votes, or almost 25% of the margin of victory.
In six wards ranging from 46.3 to 75.6%, Hispanic and (and only 8.4% Black), Washington won 13.4% of the vote--12,775--or almost 40% of his margin of victory.

Thus, while his base of support was not as broad as many would have hoped, it was broader than his campaign expected and sufficient to seal his victory.

(3) Organization: The general assessment of many observers is that the movement for Harold Washington led to the victory, and was followed by the organization. This was, perhaps, to be expected, especially given his late decision to enter, meager financial resources, and the like. What was surprising to many was the failure of key Black leaders and others who had been discussing the viability of a Black candidate for months to put more of the "nuts and bolts" of a campaign into place. The result was several stages in the development of the campaign organization, defining its effectiveness at critical stages. We have identified four such stages:

Stage 1: Campaign Buildup: Chicago's Black community was fired up by a series of racial incidents involving Mayor Byrne. Further, many of these incidents also involved other sectors of the community which broadened the dissatisfaction. Simultaneously, this built the basis for Black unity against city hall, and Black-White-Latin unity against city hall. The poor led the voter registration drive (especially public housing residents and recipients of welfare), and were later joined by the Black middle-class. Harold Washington was drafted in the neighborhoods and the churches, and not in conference rooms on LaSalle Street in Chicago's financial district.

Stage 2: Campaign Crisis: After Washington reviewed the overwhelming voter registration drive and turnout in the gubernatorial race (Nov 2), he declared himself a candidate. However, the Washington campaign organization was slowed down by personnel, structural, and financial
problems. All of this in the context of the media relegating the Washington campaign to second level status. At this stage, the Washington campaign remained in the neighborhoods.

Stage 3: Campaign Viability: The main feature of the third stage was the media. Byrne had millions, Daley had name recognition, and Washington had Black solidarity. But they stood with an equal chance during the four public debates aired on T.V. Washington emerged as a strong contender after he "won" all of the debates. Further, he rebuilt his campaign leadership with establishment middle class veterans (especially Bill Berry and Warren Bacon). Last, Washington develops a reform program in line with the interests of the city's poor and the Black middle-class, as well as some "business interests," etc. Washington emerges as a candidate that various conflicting interests "could live with."

Stage 4: Campaign Mobilization: After the increased viability of stage 3, Washington fast got the support of national Black leadership. The best proof is the massive rally held on February 6th of 15,000 - the largest for all candidates throughout the campaign. Further, most Black leadership in Chicago supported Washington with machine-based Blacks splitting between Byrne and Daley. This period experienced a wave of support at the grassroots level—the symbol was the "blue button"." The Black masses exploded on election day.

(4) Viability: The fact that Harold Washington was eminently the most "qualified" candidate became obvious to many people: the son of a machine precinct captain and an activist in the machine since his youth; a member of the state legislature for 16 years and a member of the U.S. Congress since 1979. Clearly he was viewed as the most viable Black candidate by a broad cross-section of the Black community.

(5) Need for Crisis Management. In our view, it was the fact that "the ruling elites no longer find it possible to continue to rule in the same way... and larger numbers of citizens are no longer willing to tolerate the existing patterns of politics as usual."
In summary, the most important thing about the Washington victory is that it is a political symbol of great significance: (1) it is a reform victory against the Daley machine led by newly awakened Black voters with little direct public support from the "Establishment"; and (2) it is the first local primary to point toward the 1984 presidential election. This was a victory for Black people and the Democratic Party. Time will reveal which of the two is the most important.

These clippings are drawn mainly from the media of Chicago, and attempt to represent general information about the campaign. While there are many specific things that may not be completely true, and a great deal is not covered at all, taken all together this volume is a tribute to the remaining democratic function of the press. We can see its weakness and its strength. As a public service, we have pulled this material together and we are making it available to people at cost so that a more thorough analysis can be undertaken and history recorded in a more self-conscious manner.

Editorial collective of
Peoples College Press
CLIPPING OUTLINE

1. CHICAGO
   - Nationality
   - Class Struggle
   - Democratic Party
     Machine Politics
   - Black Politics

2. THE CAMPAIGN
   - Build Up
   - Crisis
   - Viability
   - Mobilization

3. ELECTION DAY

4. CRITICAL ISSUES
   - Black – Latino Coalition
   - Trade Union Support
   - Campaign Funds
   - Polls
   - Gangs and the police
   - Presidential Endorsements
   - Republican Party
VOTE FOR FREEDOM, VOTE FOR POWER
VOTE FOR WASHINGTON!

By Doreen Charles

People, let me tell you what is going down!
The little group of White folks that run this town
Heard us telling folks to register, and they took note.
Now, they're hopin' and a-prayin' that we don't vote.

They been tryin' to make us think we're the minority.
Count the numbers, and you'll see we're the majority.
So, no matter what they say, one fact they go to face;
We got power, and it's time for us to run this place.

To the Democratic Party, we've been brainwashed slaves,
'Cause they said they'd take our crumbs away
if we made waves.
We don't need their summer festivals of food and fun;
We want liberation! We want Washington!

We have seen the man in Congress, and we watched him fight
For employment and for housing, so we know he's right.
He's the candidate for mayor, who will be our voice;
When you look at all the others, he's the only choice.

Richard Daley, in the statehouse, fought against the poor,
And as State's Attorney, made the laws that hurt us more.
The descendant of the man who ordered "Shoot to kill"
Found a way to keep the Black folks in the prison, still.

He said, "Throw the children in the jail," and that's the truth.
That's Atty. Richie Daley's plan for our Black youth.
So for those who want to know just what has Richie done
Take a look at his record—like father, like son.

Let me tell you why we ain't goin' vote for "Lady Jane."
When it comes to Blacks and power, she has made it plain:
Not police chief, not for housing, not to run the school
'cept for puppets in her party, there'll be no Black rule.

Put her buddies on the payroll, and this ain't no joke.
Took $1,000 and blew it up in smoke!
To the rich she's giving hand-outs, but the poor she robs.
Took her three whole years, and all we got is 10 weeks' jobs.

When we registered in the thousands, they had tried to scoff:
They abused us, now they're tryin' to come and buy us off.
'Cause we ain't stupid, we know who our mayor's gonna be;
Like we told the people, "We shall see in '83!"

We will register our people, we will vote as one;
Vote for freedom, vote for power, vote for Washington!
February 22nd—City Hall's our prize,
'Cause in 1983, we WILL arise!!!
1. CHICAGO
   - Nationality
   - Class Struggle
   - Democratic Party Machine Politics
   - Black Politics
Ethnic roots deep in city, suburbs

By Dennis Byrne

One thing hasn't changed much in the 150 years since small bands of English, Scots, Norwegians, Danes and French first settled in Chicago:

We've still a discriminating lot.

Whether by force or by choice, those early settlers gravitated to their own neighborhoods and communities. And we still do.

Even generations after our ancestors first came to Chicago and even when our ethnic heritage may be only a faint memory, we tend to separate ourselves or be separated by our ethnic roots, even in the suburbs.

The persistence of this separation can be more clearly now, thanks to a change in the way U.S. Census Bureau has absorbed the great American melting pot when they moved from the old ethnic neighborhoods.

But an analysis of the new census information by Sun-Times urban geographer Paul Neyhaus puts some dent in the cherished melting pot idea, at least in the Chicago area.

The patterns show up not only in the old city neighborhood, the single place for all ethnic groups. The patterns also run across the city boundaries—where those boundaries didn't exist—and on into the suburbs.

Look at the Italians, for example. Not many are left in their original neighborhoods near downtown. But large groups of Italians still favor the Northwest Side, a pattern that flows uninterrupted across the city borders into Norridge and Harwood Heights—two suburbs located entirely within the city—and cut into the western suburbs.

Irish families decades ago departed from their original South Side neighborhoods, but still they congregate on the Southwest Side and in the southwest suburbs. It's been more than a century since the English immigrated here in significant numbers, but big concentrations still are found in the suburbs along the commuter rail lines.

A few Jews first settled here on the South and West sides, but now they or their descendants live along a stretch running roughly from the North Side up to Riverwoods and Bannockburn in Lake County. The Dutch are in the southern suburbs, and Swedes can be found in small pockets in the city and a few suburbs.

And there are new threads in the fabric the Vietnamese on the North Side, the Mexicans and Filipinos in the western suburbs, the Japanese and Koreans in the northern suburbs.

The reasons for the separation can be different for each ethnic group, Neyhaus said. They can range from forced isolation to self-imposed separation and various combinations of both.

New immigrants in a strange city may feel more comfortable with one another, setting up their own churches or synagogues, shops and neighborhood institutions. Even after they can easily blend in with other groups, some may prefer to remain closer knit than others. Some Italians, for example, have the freedom to move to other communities, but prefer the Northwest Side or the western suburbs.

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Inside: Who lives where

- Who are the major ancestry groups? Page 4.
- Where ancestry groups live: Maps, Pages 5, 6.
- Area's ethnic origins: Chart, Page 4.

Still others are forced into isolation—blacks historically and Hispanics more recently. Jews were victims of strong barriers two decades ago, but while having relatively more freedom now, some still cherish the ties of a community that perhaps centers on a local synagogue.

Often the movement of one group can be better understood by the movement of others. Years ago, northern Italians didn't want to mix with southern Italians. German Jews who arrived here first kept their distance from later-arriving Russian Jews.

The Germans and Scandinavians who settled on the North Side in the mid-1800s were replaced by later waves of Poles and Italians. Now the Poles and Italians are moving away from the expanding Hispanic communities.

Perhaps nowhere is this kind of cutting edge so sharp as in the relationship between Irish and blacks in both the city and suburbs. Since the early 1900s, a line has sharply divided the two groups on the South Side. Now, thanks to the added dimension provided by the Census Bureau's ancestry information, that line can be seen extending south into the suburbs almost to Will County, where later-generation Irish have moved.

On one side of the line in the city are neighborhoods with the area's highest Irish concentration—47% in Mount Greenwood, 45.6% in Beverly, and 38.6% in Ashburn. On the other side are communities with even higher black populations, running as high as 98 percent.

The new information also shows that blacks are the most segregated of any group here. Sites that the Chicago area were truly a melting pot.

But great pressure also is found in the suburbs to the south and west, following the natural extension of the black communities. Negroes said.

Similar patterns of flight by Irish and other groups can be spotted around some of the satellite cities, like Wheeling and Joliet. These cities act like "Little Chicago," with their own mini-suburbs. New patterns of Irish and east European concentrations can be seen in the old German and English farming towns surrounding the satellite cities.

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Clearly, that's not the case. Some city neighborhoods and suburbs are almost 100 percent black. No other ancestry group is so concentrated. Running a distant second are Mexicanos, who at their most concentrated make up 72 percent of the Lower West Side.

Always, there are exceptions. A stretch of communities on the North Side, running from Edgewater and Uptown on the lakefront west through Albany Park, is probably the most cosmopolitan in the Chicago area. Concentrations of Asians, such as Filipinos, Koreans, Vietnamese, Japanese and Asian Indians, as well as blacks, American Indians, Hispanics and Russians, can be found there.

But some places only look like they are exceptions. Many people believe Bridgeport to be an Irish bastion. In fact, it has about equal percentages of Irish, Mexicans, Poles, Italians and Germans. But it badly can be called an integrated community because each of these groups is highly segregated, occupying its own turf within the community.
Where we're from, where we live

Here is a rundown of the largest ancestry groups in the Chicago area.

GERMAN: The largest as well as one of the oldest and most dispersed ethnic groups in the area. Germans are a significant portion of many sections of the city, including the German Village and other parts of the city.

POLISH: The largest and most numerous ethnic group in Chicago, with a large presence in the Polish Village and other parts of the city.

IRISH: The third largest and also one of the oldest groups, with a strong presence in many neighborhoods. Some high concentrations are found in the South Shore area and in the suburbs of Evanston and Wilmette.

ITALIAN: Some significant concentrations of Italians can be found in the Near West Side, particularly in the Little Italy neighborhood.

MEXICAN: Ten years ago, the size of the Mexican and Puerto Rican communities was about the same. Now, the Mexican community is the fastest growing in the area, twice as large as the Puerto Rican community. Most Mexicans live in the city, a few isolated suburban areas, such as West Chicago, Blue Island, Summit and Stone Park.

RUSIAN: Most Russians probably are Russian Orthodox, but many are also German or Polish. They have a strong presence in the neighborhood of Ukrainian Village, and a few scattered along the Near West Side. Many Russians are involved in the local community and have helped preserve their heritage.

Ottoman Empire: The largest of the Ottoman Empire groups is the Syrian population, which has a significant presence in the Chicago area, particularly in the Near East Side neighborhood.

WHERE WE SLEEP: The Near Northwest Side no longer is the premier Polish enclave, even though the shops and ethnic organizations along Milwaukee Ave. still give it a Polish flavor. The largest concentrations are on the Northwest Side, along Archer Ave., and in the Western Heights. West Elmhurst and Brighton Park communities.

IN THE SUBURBS, the Polish are not so dispersed as the German and Irish. Generally, they live in nearby Cook County suburbs, extending northwest, southwest, and south from the three concentrations in the city.

ENGLISH: No community area in Chicago is more than 15 percent English. Most of those with more than 5 percent English are on the North Side, particularly along the lakefront. Most suburbs with more than 20 percent English ancestry are located along the commuter railroad lines, such as the Homewood-Flossmoor-Olympia Fields group along the Illinois Central Gulf RR.

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View this table as a PDF.
How to read these maps

These maps are based on a technique developed by Sun-Times urban demographer Paul Neyman using 1980 census data.

The various shadings show groups that make up 15 percent or more of an area’s population. Groups of less than 15 percent sometimes are shown in areas that are so cosmopolitan that almost every group is smaller than 15 percent. In these cases, the bigest groups that together make up 50 percent of the population are shown.

Emphasis also is given to areas of highest concentrations of ethnic groups.

There are some exceptions to these guidelines: No suburban German map is shown because Germans are so numerous they would show up in all 275 suburbs except Darien, Harvey, Markham, Maywood, Phoenix, Robbins and Summit.

Because the number of Irish living in the suburbs is almost as large, a special method was used to highlight this group. Irish are shown if they constitute at least 25.1 percent of a suburb’s population.

Detailed breakdowns are shown for black populations in the city and suburbs.

Some ethnic groups don’t make up 15 percent of any area’s population. However, these small groups—such as Greeks, Filipinos, Koreans, Swedes and Dutch—are shown where they have their highest concentrations.

A special map called “Other Racial—” shows concentrations of groups that were lumped into one category by the Census Bureau, such as Croatian, Lithuanian, Czech and Slovak. The other ethnic appear to be Lithuanian on the Southwest Side and in the southwest suburbs, Croats on the Southeast Side, Czechs and Slovaks in the western suburbs and Russian Jews on the North Side and in the northern suburbs.

City’s ethnic profile

These are the top five ancestry groups based on responses by residents of Chicago who filled out the long form in the 1980 census. The figures show the percentage of residents who identified themselves with each ancestry group. Some residents may have named more than one group, so the total can add to more than 100 percent.

Groups mentioned with a frequency of less than 6 percent are not shown. Total population of each community area is shown in parentheses. Ties indicate a numerical tie.
Cook County’s labor force

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In thousands of employees</th>
<th>1953</th>
<th>1970</th>
<th>1979</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,857</td>
<td>2,227</td>
<td>2,363</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contract construction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Transportation, public utilities</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wholesale trade</td>
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<td>Retail trade</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance, insurance, real estate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Services*</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Includes hotels, personal and business services, health and legal services, colleges, universities, membership organizations, accounting, engineering, architecture

Unemployment rates in 4 U.S. cities

In percent; for people 20 years old and older

The history of the Cook County labor force [left] reflects the gradual shift away from manufacturing jobs toward service-related employment in the North, where many blacks are being frozen out of the job markets [above].

Gary Orfield, a University of Illinois political scientist who has documented patterns of segregation in Chicago public schools, argued that school and housing integration are still the best hope for poor minorities.

He criticized “people who think they have a legitimate right to live in a separate world—to see the poor only from a freeway if they see them at all.”

William Julius Wilson, a University of Chicago professor, said the plight of inner-city blacks has worsened since the Great Society social programs began in the late '60s.

Wilson argued that the only practical way to help poor blacks is through more and better forms of federal aid, such as vouchers that would let the poor secure their own housing and medical care.
Production jobs in decline

Soon, most workers in the area will be here to serve

By Larry S. Finley

Chicago is on the verge of losing its historic role as a manufacturing center of the nation.

Instead of an emphasis on the production of steel, TV sets, and other goods, the city is moving toward becoming a service center for society.

Chicago-area workers in service-related positions are about to outnumber workers in manufacturing jobs, according to state employment figures. Nationwide, service jobs passed manufacturing in April.

Service and government jobs are now the only employment fields that are showing any sustained growth in the local sixcounty area that includes Cook, Lake, Du Page, Kane, McHenry and Will, according to state figures. Employment patterns for the entire state show a similar trend.

April employment figures show that there were 714,000 persons employed in the manufacturing trades as opposed to 705,000 for service jobs in the Chicago area. Statewide, there were 1,104,000 in manufacturing as compared to 965,100 in the services.

"If the trend in recent years continues, which seems likely... the service industry group will soon become the largest industry, from an employment standpoint, in the Chicago area, surpassing manufacturing," explained John Payette, who monitors the area workforce for the Illinois Bureau of Employment Security.

That point could be reached within weeks or may prove to have been reached already. Only future analysis of the job switches will show.

Chicago employment figures show a decreasing number of jobs in manufacturing, construction, transportation and utilities and the wholesale and retail trades. The number of jobs in finance, real estate and insurance has remained relatively stable during the past year.

There was a small increase in the governmental workers category, which Payette said was attributable to hiring by municipalities, rather than an increase in federal or state jobs. Likewise, there was a statewide increase in this category.

The only other increase locally was a small rise in the number of persons employed in mining, mostly gravel. The Illinois mining figure for last year is distorted because there was a major coal miners strike in progress.

Rising unemployment, increased imports, greater labor costs and the movement of major employers to the Sun Belt states have shifted production jobs out of Chicago.

"In general we're moving from a manufacturing state into services," explained Harry Hardwick, the bureau's director of research and analysis. "This is the whole recession cycle for the Northeast quadrant of the United States. The industrial

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jobs in Chicago area and state-wide</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April, 1982:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago-area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,200</td>
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<tr>
<td>April, 1982:</td>
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<tr>
<td>4,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
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<tr>
<td>April, 1982:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>26,800</td>
</tr>
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<td>Construction</td>
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<tr>
<td>79,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>78,300</td>
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<tr>
<td>163,700</td>
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<tr>
<td>149,300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>781,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>718,000</td>
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<td>1,129,200</td>
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<td>1,047,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Transportation and utilities</td>
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<td>197,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>191,600</td>
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<tr>
<td>284,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>272,600</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wholesale and retail trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>756,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>247,000</td>
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<td>1,086,000</td>
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<td>1,067,500</td>
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<td>Finance</td>
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<td>315,200</td>
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<td>315,200</td>
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<td>Insurance, real estate Services</td>
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<td>456,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>765,100</td>
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<tr>
<td>775,800</td>
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states are the ones that are suffering."

At the same time, unemployment in Illinois is at levels not reached since after World War II—11.3 percent of the workforce in June, or 635,000 workers out of a potential 5,638,000 statewide. The highest rates are among the less-skilled, laboring areas. These are some of the very jobs that are disappearing overseas or chasing the sun to the South and West.

April was the turning point for the nation. There were 24.3 million workers in non-production jobs, 300,000 more than in the goods-producing work sector.

While Illinois was losing jobs in most areas, service jobs were springing up. There was an increase of 13,100 service positions in the area between May and the same month last year.

While a few service areas lost positions, the total difference was in the plus column. The ups and downs in service jobs for the 12-month period were:

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But the increase did not even come near making up for the lost jobs. There were 59,000 fewer people employed locally in April in non-agricultural jobs, than 12 months before.
The Daley precinct worker was overflowing with righteous indignation:

"I'm working a precinct out northwest, and there's a guy who has a restaurant where I eat, and he put up a Daley sign in the window, and along comes some kind of city inspector and tells him that it would be a good idea if he took it down.

"The restaurant guy doesn't want trouble, and he takes it down. Now, is that right?"

No, it isn't right. But it is a Chicago tradition.

"What would something be done about this?"

I told him I'd call the restaurant owner for his version of the story. The restaurant owner said:

"Hey, keep me out of this. A guy comes in. He's a customer. He asks me to do him a favor and put up the Daley sign. So I put it up. Then another guy comes in. I know him, too. He tells me he'd appreciate if I'd take it down. He says it makes him look bad because he's working for Byrne. So I take it down.

"I don't need no problems. I don't want none of their signs. The only sign I got up now is the lunch special. C'by."

I CALLED THE Daley precinct worker back and told him that his restaurant owner friend didn't give a damn one way or another about the sign.

"I know," he said, "but that's not the point. People shouldn't be pushed around like that because of who they support. Don't we have rights?"

Of course, you have rights. But that's not the point. As I said earlier, it is a Chicago political tradition for those in power to bully those who aren't.

And in this case, since it is a Daley sign that's being taken down, there is a certain ironic justice involved.

I remember several candidates, their names now dusty pieces of Chicago history, who used to have signs bearing their pictures and campaign slogans: Merriam, Adamowski, Sheehan, Singer, Hoellen, Friedman.

THEIR SIGNS WENT UP in restaurants and other public places. And almost as quickly, a precinct captain, a city inspector or a cop would show up and say something like this:

"That's not a very nice-looking sign. It doesn't go with the color of the walls. I think you should take down that sign. You know what I mean?"

A restaurant or bar owner who didn't understand soon learned. The message usually came on a long list of building or sanitation violations that had to be corrected or he couldn't stay open.

After he received the repair bill from the plumbers, he understood that a sign showing the lunch special, rather than an anti-Daley candidate, was a preordained idea.

The only difference between then and now is that back in those days the Daley precinct captains were dishing it out. Now the Daley precinct workers are on the receiving end.

We hear complaints every day that the Daley signs are being torn down from utility poles and splattered with paint, and the Daley workers say they are being intimidated.

Although I don't believe in intimidation as a political tool, in this case there are some positive benefits.

For one thing, it is a valuable learning experience.

By that, I mean it is a chance for the Daley brothers and their supporters to grow, to develop character and wisdom, to be enriched by this experience.

IT'S POSSIBLE THAT when they were growing up, they didn't believe that such things went on because their old dad probably told them it was merely the hysterical ravings of independents, liberals, Republicans, do-gooders and other strange forms of wildlife.

But now that the Daley boys are on the outside, and a mean new crowd is on the inside, they have a chance to see for themselves how it feels to be the kickee, rather than the kicker. That is educational. You learn how to say "ouch" with real feeling.

Adversity is said to build character. If that's true, Adamowski and Singer and Friedman and all the others must have developed a lot of character. At least they all had shadows and bags under their eyes when it was over.

So the Daley clan should look upon this contest, which will become rougher and rougher before it ends, as a chance to develop character of their own.

If they lose, they will have developed a greater capacity to sympathize with some of the losers of the past.

AND IF THEY WIN? Well, it probably will turn out to be something like a couple of scenes in the old movie "Viva Zapata."

In an early scene, young Zapata, a Mexican peasant, was part of a delegation that went to the Mexican president's office to protest some injustice.

Zapata protested too pointedly. The president asked his name and ominously wrote it down on a piece of paper.

Years later, Zapata was occupying that office when a group of peasants came to protest injustice. One of them protested too heatedly. Zapata found himself writing down the man's name.

So the Daley clan should try to endure their current indignities.

Their day will come. They'll again have the chance to write down the other guy's name.
Machine back in gear

Basil Talbott Jr.
Sun-Times Political Editor

CHICAGO'S DEMOCRATIC Machine was back in business Tuesday, as Fast Eddie Vrdolyak, Mike Madigan and a ragtag collection of community groups that worked to register blacks. The rest of the credit for Illinois' Election Day surprise goes to President Reagan's miscalculated calculus and suburban business executives who ignored the needs of Cook County's Grand Old Party.

Vrdolyak's boast that the Machine would lift Adlai Stevenson—which TV's baby-talk commentator called "nutty"—was proved to be right on. Stevenson was aided by a national Democratic tide, but still Vrdolyak defied newspaper and television polls. This column repeatedly asserted that Vrdolyak was dedicated to his ticket; other commentators scoffed.

A precinct captain seminar, huge party donations to Stevenson and his ticketmates, face-to-face showdowns with Democratic committeemen, radio ads and a "Punch 10" straight-ticket ticket—all engineered by Vrdolyak—nixed Gov. Thompson's arrogance. Big may have won, but Vrdolyak humbled him.

SOON-TO-BE House Speaker Madigan also deserves credit for trimming Thompson to size. The Madigan Machine—a self-funded drive to win Democratic seats in suburbiad and Downstate—prevailed. Senate President Philip J. Rock (D-Oak Park) may keep his majority in the Senate, but Madigan's Machine was the marvel.

While independent-tempered senators like Dawn Clark Netach and Bill Marovitz have reservations about Rock, nearly the full spectrum of House Democrats worship at Madigan's desk. Like Vrdolyak, Madigan gave huge sums of money and made commercials for the party.

Credit for the Democratic surprise also goes to groups like POWER, headed by Slim Coleman. POWER and Vote Community may not have intended to fuel the Machine, but they did. Unprecedented black voter sign-up program contributed to Stevenson's big city vote.

Reagan's role in the Stevenson-Thompson squeaker is obscure. The negligence of suburban business—evident in the feckless United Republican Fund—was demonstrated by the poor GOP showing in the Cook County suburbs. Madigan picked up at least five state House seats—and possibly two others—in suburban turf that used to be traditionally Republican. Rock got two suburban Senate seats from the GOP.

THE URF SHOULD disband immediately, and executives like W. Clement Stone should finance a full re-examination of the county party. Sen. Charles H. Percy (R-H11) has a stake in trying to resurrect an organization that the URF and Thompson

allowed to disintegrate. The suburban success of Vrdolyak and Madigan threatens to undermine state GOP chances.

The lakefront independents' white wine finally went sour. No purist independent won. Still, Vrdolyak's Machine can't be cocky. Blacks who came out for state and county mayors Mike and Mayor Byrne smelly. Finally, Vrdolyak's Machine is now confronted with a split between party factions guided by Charlie Swibol and State's Attorney Rich Daley.

Chicago Politics: The 'Machine' Today

BY ANDREW H. MALCOLM
Sun-Times Chicago Times

The Machine's professional politicians in the story of a political force that has been described as 'the most baroque of baroque machines' were the scene of some years ago. Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York City, one of the most colorful and controversial politicians of the moment, declared that the Democratic party was about to be swept from power in the United States.

Afterward, Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago, in a press conference, said: "John, he's wrong. You will never see a day when one man will collect the garbage." And so it was. The leader of the nation's second largest city, the man who forged the modern city of Chicago and one of the country's most successful urban politicians, had declared that the Democratic Machine was about to be swept from power.

It was, perhaps, why the man was so able to hold his position for so long. He died in 1976, a term nearly three times longer than his predecessor, Mayor Daley's mighty machine, why his immediate successor, Michael Bilandic, lost the Democratic nomination in 1979 after failing to remove that victory. His machine, however, was a more powerful force than many of the other candidate's machines. It was a labor union machine, and it was able to control the city's garbage collection.

The Chicago Democratic machine is not the only machine. It is a machine of the people, of the grass-roots, who support it. The machine has been described as a "machine of the people," a machine that is run by the people, a machine that is for the people.

"They know their precincts in detail," says the Chicago Daily News. "The machine's strength is its ability to organize neighborhood groups, to mobilize volunteers, to register voters, to get out the vote."

Mr. Carlsen, who was shot dead in 1973 as a bumper sticker in an attempted assassination of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933, forged a coalition of city workers that became the modern-day Chicago Machine. To keep their share of the city's wealth, the machine organized its wards into efficient workforces, often using city employees whose resources came from the city's power base. The machine controlled the city's political machine, which ran the city for decades.

He was brilliant at playing everybody off against each other," said Mr. Oberman. "Chicago politicians have gotten good at carping their way to line the pockets of people." But things and times have changed. Power has shifted from the machine to the candidates. The Machine has been defeated in one election after another, but its presence is still felt in Chicago.

"The Machine" is an important player in Chicago politics, and its influence is still felt in the city. But its power has diminished, and its future is uncertain. It is a machine of the people, but its power is waning.
Machine will ‘go on, and on’
Byrne declares

By David Axelrod and Joye Brown

Mayor Jane Byrne, declaring that the Cook County Democratic Organization will “go on, and on, and on,” exhorted thousands of cheering precinct captains on Saturday to work for the party’s ticket in the November elections.

Byrne, who returned from a vacation in California earlier in the morning, made a surprise appearance at a rally and “training session” in the Conrad Hilton Hotel, where party workers gathered to hear the candidates and party leaders preach the Democratic gospel.

The mayor, who defeated the organization in 1979 to win her position, nevertheless challenged the oft-stated hypothesis that the vaunted Cook County Democratic Organization is on the wane.

“For years and years…we’ve heard…that it’s running out, it’s the last one, maybe it can’t go on any longer,” Byrne said of the organization she hopes to mobilize behind her re-election drive next year.

“I THINK the presence of every single one of you in this room this morning, on a Saturday, shows something—the Democratic Party in Cook County is doing something,” she said.

The rally, organized by Edward R. Vrdolyak, Democratic county chairman, appeared designed in part to dispel the notion that Byrne and her local party leaders are cool to the candidacies of their state and county standard-bearers—Adlai Stevenson for governor and George Dunne for re-election as county board president.

Stevenson and Dunne posters adorned the curtain behind the podium, and a succession of speakers urged support for the Democratic ticket. Byrne, who arrived after Stevenson left the hall, mentioned no candidates specifically but predicted a Democratic sweep in Cook County “from the very top of the ticket down on down.”

The program was billed as an update for precinct captains on election techniques. However, the highlight came when several of the party’s senior committeemen—such as Vito Marzuolo (25th), Theodore Swinarski (12th), and Mathew Biesczat (26th)—stepped forward to give the 5,000 workers on hand some sage advice.

“We’re ALL heard that we’re payrollers, but we know that’s not true,” Swinarski said in a tribute to the party workers. “We are the ones who cut the grass for the widows; we mind the children for the parents; we fix the plumbing; we do all kinds of things for people.”

“If you’re a good neighbor, you’re a good precinct captain.”

Biesczat brought the house down with his salty, stream-of-consciousness presentation, in which he praised his ward, Alderman Michael Nardulli, for being the “best goddamned alderman I ever seen, except for me”; touted Vrdolyak’s pith Florida condominium; and praised the chairman for getting two truck drivers who had been fired by the city reinstated as a favor to Biesczat.

By the end of Biesczat’s remarks, the crowd was howling with laughter and Vrdolyak, sitting by the rostrum, buried his head in his hands.

Before the rally, the Cook County Democratic Central Committee met and named Charles Bowen, a businessman and Vrdolyak ally, for a seat on the County Board.

Bowen replaces Commissioner Mildred Casey, who was defeated in the June primary.

The MOVE ended a behind-the-scenes struggle between Vrdolyak and Ald. William Barnett (22d), Casey’s political successor, who wanted to succeed his political organization, former State Rep. Quentin Goodwin, in her place.
Who's who in race for City Hall

By David Axelrod

THE SMALL PLANE flew low over Lake Michigan, drawing the attention of thousands of gourmands who crammed Grant Park in early July for Mayor Jane Byrne's Taste of Chicago foodfest. Flapping out behind was a banner emblazoned with a short message that hit like a cannonball: "Draft Daley for Mayor!"

Though it is still unclear who hired the plane to inflate Mayor Byrne's party, the surprise advertising blitz was but one more sign that the race for City Hall is on.

All the bitterness and strife, the hostility that have been brewing for three years, are about to come to a head in a final showdown to determine who is No. 1 in the world of Chicago politics.

STATE'S ATTY. Richard M. Daley, who was once close-mouthed about a possible mayoral bid, has abandoned his standard "no intentions" answer in favor of broad hints that he will seek the enormously powerful office his father held for a generation. Others close to him say the decision to run has been made.

"I'm thinking it over," he said last week when asked if he is poised to take Byrne on. "I'll have something to say in November."

Other potential candidates are pondering the race as well, encouraged by the prospect of a Byrne-Daley clash that might allow a dark horse to sneak away with the most coveted prize in local politics.

The possibilities loom that a serious black candidate, a Polish candidate and an entry from the liberal lakefront community will add to the intrigue and complicate the calculations by the two apparent front-runners.

MOREOVER, rumors persist that, if Byrne appears unelectable when Democratic ward committeemen meet in the fall to choose their candidate for the Feb. 22 mayoral primary, the party bosses may abandon her in favor of an alternative candidate, although that scenario appears remote.

"It looks as though it's going to boil down to Byrne, as the slated candidate, against Daley, with the possibility of a few other candidates thrown in," said one

Who are the leading candidates to become mayor of Chicago in 1983? Who are the dark horses? Where does the strength lie? This is the first of a four-part series examining the who's, the why's and the maybe's of the city's next mayoral election.

The next mayor

Continued from page one

Daley adviser. "We never felt they would dump her."

Despite public prodding from the mayor, who would like to see Daley exposed to the greater scrutiny his candidacy would bring, the state's attorney will wait until late fall to announce his race.

A front-runner in most polls and bearer of the best known name in Chicago politics, he is content to allow the mayor to stand alone in the spotlight for the next few months.

"THE BEST THING for Rich to do now is to quietly go about his job and let her attack him," said the adviser. "That's a contrast that helps us. You have one person who devotes time to his job and another who spends her time on politics and personal attacks."

It is a contrast Daley apparently will stress when he officially enters the fray. He believes voters, weary of Byrne's tumultuous reign, will opt for a low-key candidate who stresses stability and professionalism—particularly if that candidate is named Richard Daley.

Daley's supporters, such as his brother William and Cook County Assessor Thomas Hynes, touched upon some likely campaign themes in recent interviews.

They accused Byrne of running a closed, highly political government; hiring incompetent administrators; and imposing unwarranted tax increases—all in violation of promises she made during her reform-minded 1979 campaign.

THOUGH DAELEY refrains from such outward attacks on the mayor, anxious to avoid the appearance of politicking, he has in recent months emphasized themes that foreshadow his campaign. They appear designed to accentuate how his style differs from Byrne's and from the sullen image he earned as a brash young legislator in Springfield a decade ago.

Last week, for example, Daley held a reception for a committee of prominent lawyers who backed his 1980 campaign for state's attorney to review his accomplishments, a session that was opened to the press.

Several of Daley's top aides stressed the administrative improvements made in the office during the last 18 months and maintained that Daley has fulfilled many of his campaign promises. He created a gang crime unit, shortened the period between arrest and trial and maintained a working advisory committee of top lawyers to monitor the office.

Some of the speakers included holdovers from the administration of Daley's Republican predecessor, Bernard Carey, GOP appointees retained or promoted by Daley, who had an image in the legislature as an unyielding partisan. They also included a black and a woman, who hold high positions in his office, despite the charge of Daley's foes that he is excessively parochial.

IN A SIMILAR vein, Daley pushed for the adoption of an election reform bill in the General Assembly's spring session, a measure that would have been sacrilege when his father ruled Democratic politics.

Shunned by the Byrne-dominated Democratic organization, the son of Richard J. Daley has become a leading practitioner of reform-style politics.

"The campaign is simple—you have Daley, with a family tradition of leadership plus a good, honest, open record as state's attorney on the one side and Byrne, with all her well known problems, on the other," said a Democrat with ties to the Daley camp.

As Daley works on the cultivation of his public image, his forces are working

Continued on page 12, col. 1
Candidates nearing starting gate for 1983 mayoral race

Daley to skip the primary for the general election, but he reportedly is leaning strongly against such a move, fearful that it would look as if he were bending the rules and that Byrne might come roaring out of a primary with momentum.

The Daley camp believes he probably can win the primary, regardless of the field.

"People make a mistake when they say Rich’s support is all anti-Byrne," said a Daley adviser. "He has a big constituency of his own people who like what he’s done and who remember Mayor Daley." Daley’s strategists also point to his seemingly impregnable base on the Southwest Side, the city’s heaviest voting enclave, where he buried his primary and general-election opponents in 1980.

They believe he can emerge from the 10 Southwest Side wards, where many powerful committee men—such as Byrnes, Ald. William O. Lipinski [23d] and Daley’s brother John [11th]—are expected to work for Daley, with a commanding lead of 100,000 or more.

There are only two candidates with citywide pull—Byrne and Daley," said one of the state’s attorney’s associates. "The others are regional candidates. And she has no geographical base. Where, is she going to make up the votes Daley will get out of the Southwest Side?"

Though professing indecision on the race, Daley will be watching all these developments with interest in the coming months, fine-tuning his strategy.

A cautious politician on the verge of his biggest campaign, the state’s attorney wants to be certain that when he steps forward as a candidate, yielding to the inevitable “draft,” the road ahead is carefully charted.

MONDAY: Can a black be elected mayor of Chicago in 1983?
Up from the 'hood

Harold Washington believes his campaign will be won in the black neighborhoods. But he is "running a campaign for the benefit of the entire city."

By David Moberg

While concentrating himself in "the 'hood"—the solidly black neighborhoods of the South and West sides of the city, Washington would also reach out to Latinos and to liberal whites during the day. He would witness and encourage the growing grassoots "crusade" that he must count on as an unpredictable companion to his improving but still shaky and financially strapped campaign organization.

"This campaign will be won in the 'hood," Washington told the crowd of 1,100. "If I have cultivated this 'hood, I have worked in that 'hood. I understand that 'hood. I worship it. I cherish it. I am a part of it. Those are my roots, I expect those roots to spring forth mightily on Feb. 22."

"But make no mistake about it," he continued, "we are running a campaign for the betterment of this entire city. We want to open up city government. We want all people in this city to have a fair share in the decision-making and policy-making of this city government. We are not going to close the doors to anyone. But we have worked too hard for four years, unimutely, without reservation, and I would urge everyone in Chicago to understand that it is our turn now, it is our turn now, it is our turn now."

The PUSH crowd received approval, but many Chicagoans, including much of the news media, have not understood that while Washington clearly relies on the black community—40 percent of the city—is his campaign, and programs he has attempted to appeal to the whole city.

His standing in all parts of this divided city received a substantial boost in the televised debates among the three Democratic contenders. The least known of the candidates, Washington excoriated the Byrne administration's record for having planted "fiscal time bombs" in the city, school and transit budgets. He advocated controversial steps—such as increasing the state income tax and firing the police superintendent. But through his lush oratorical style, his wit and his orator, he has calmed many fears, impressed many doubters and won respect, even from those who continue to oppose him.

Nearly everyone sees the race as up for grabs, with Byrne leading and Daley slipping while Washington rises into second place. But Washington's supporters seem more committed than those of his opponent. With registration up sharply, especially in the black community, there is a chance Washington could win.

To that end, he was up at 6:30 the Saturday before last, making early morning calls, attending a campaign executive meeting and endorsing eight independent—anti-Burne machine-city council candidates (including two Latinos and a white incumbent) before the PUSH meeting. At the meeting he received an endorsement from Tony Bonilla, the national leader of United Latin American Citizens, in one of the infrequent demonstrations of the much-discussed but still largely theoretical coalition of blacks and Hispanics (who make up about 17 percent of the city).

From there he headed to the far West side of the city, walking the business streets and then stopping at a women's lunch, at a rally of West side ministers in support of him, at a youth rally, at a meeting of National Peoples' Action (a coalition of neighborhood groups) and at a small gathering of women from the Cabrini-Green housing project.

By then it was late afternoon and the.ensure was behind on its crowded schedule. Other representatives were sent to cover fundraising gatherings. Washington addressed a largely white gathering of nuclear freeze supporters for Washington and then cheered on black supporters of two council candidates on the West side (one black and one Hispanic), dropped by a benefit for a new black mayor (Carl Officer of East St. Louis, Ill.), addressed a small gathering of the club of black Chicago (the Forty Club), made a special appearance before thousands at a black popular music concert, prayed and sang at a noon salute benefit of more than 500 mainly white campaign workers from the Northside last Friday and spoke briefly to a Las Vegas night benefit at a South Side union hall organized by a coalition of groups dedicated to increasing black political power. It was midnight as he sat down to plan his next day's address at an all-white meeting of a neighborhood group on the city's Southwest side, long a bastion of anti-black sentiment.

This has been an intense campaign with huge differences among the candidates. Byrne, especially in an avalanche of sophisticated TV ads, has tried in person to portray herself as a tough-minded, efficient, energetic administrator who saved the city from financial ruin and has now set its head toward economic growth and world renown. As a past precinct captain of the Daley (S) political machine who challenged Michael Bilandic—Daley's successor—four years ago (and was helped by his arrogant bumbling of city snow removal after a blizzard), Byrne quickly abandoned her populist rhetoric after taking office and battled to wrest control of the machine for herself, finally allying with many politicians who had fought her. She used her incumbency in powerful ways to try to win election over four years. She has collected an estimated $10 million from city employees, businesses and contractors for her campaign fund, she re-elected the police superintendent to do a commercial for her; she balanced the city budget with one-time funds to permit her to make some modest tax reductions (after a history of regressive and often unacceptable tax increases); city employees have been, as in the past, pressed into working overtime and paid overtime (including supposedly confidential names of people who cooperated with police in the search of theagan and the killer—have been used for her campaign.

The publicity blitz has helped people to forget earlier impressions, joined in by hav- ing an unstable administration. She has tried to make a few appointments to ease race blacks' anger at earlier moves to reduce black appointments on boards that
run the city's public housing, schools and mass transit and to reduce black representation on the council through redistricting.

Newspaper editor, civil rights activist, conservative and criminal lawyer Daley, scored points by advocating nursing home and mental health reforms. 

He beat Byrne's candidate for state's attorney in 1980, he embarked on a cautious campaign of good government practices and bureaucratic improvement of that office.

Despite his continued dependence on the support of the machine and much of his father's base of support, Daley created a new image as a technocratic reformer and liberal. A wooden and uninspiring speaker who typically lists his record in office in minute detail as his standard campaign speech, he projects no comprehensive program for the future. Instead he talks of greater efficiency in government, bureaucratic rearrangements and some worthy new programs, such as improving the city's energy efficiency, that pose no challenge to the existing distribution of power, wealth or city benefits.

Washington exceeds Byrne and worse FV Adv. (the latter are family pop about what a sincere young man he is). Daley will rely heavily on his own army of precinct workers. But he does not appear to be benefiting from black discontent with Byrne as advisors had originally hoped. Washington has captured most of that anger. Son of a minister, lawyer and poli- tician, Washington was for many years a maverick within the machine, but began his reagulation from the left in 1973. A state assemblyman and senator who won numerous awards for his work and pushed legislation on behalf of blacks, women and labor, he made a weak run for mayor in 1977, then beat the machine candidate in the first congressional district primary in 1980.

In Congress he was a leading critic of Reagan and the military budget (ranked fifth in anti-Reagan votes in the last session, according to Congressional Quarterly) and a key figure in steering the renewal of the Voting Rights Act through Congress. He has won top rankings from liberal, feminist and labor groups, such as Americans for Democratic Action. National Women's Political Caucus and the AFL-CIO. A founder of the Illinois legislature's black caucus, he is the secretary of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Although a strong voice for blacks, he has extended himself on behalf of other constituencies and causes—pushing for reform and defending the right of choice to abortion, advocating rights of farm workers, speaking on behalf of disarmament, joining strike rallies and working for full employment legislation and proposals on nuclear power plant construction, for example.

Washington would have liked to stay in Congress, but popular pressure from the black community and an opportunity for victory with the surge in black registration and two serious white candidates in the race led him to make the challenge for the job of mayor.

In terms of ideology, Byrne is the conservative candidate, the ardent left, Daley's program has its chance and is backed by leading state Republicans, although the minority may be described as ideologically unformed and governed solely by the dictates of holding power. Daley is a marksman liberal (although conservative on social issues, such as abortion). Washington represents the left of the Democratic Party. But minority, color, organization, turf and traditions (including the open as well as covert racism that has plagued this city, whose leaders

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IN THESE TIMES FEBRUARY 2, 1983

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Private masters and he served 30 days in jail. The legislature's revenue bill had also been stalled since that time was less publicized and still is not widely known. For example, Chicago's gay community is strongly for Byrne, since police harassment of gays has been restrained, but few gays are aware that Washington is a strong supporter of the gay rights ordinance that Byrne has vetoed.

Daley is a machine man; Washington's prime tool. "Clearly Byrne has cast his die," Washington said, as we rolled along the city streets in his dark blue Oldsmobile 98, driven by a security man from the Afro-American Patrolman's League. "This is to embrace the machine and integrate into city government with all the doses that flow from it—patronage, city contracts, steering public policy, planning in the direction of those fat cats. Everybody's paid off, and she can't give us anything.

Daley wants the same operation, and would run the same show, but I think he would be a bit more subtle. People say he's changed, and I say they're nuts.

"I'm opposed to that kind of operation. I was once under the illusion that you could reform the machine and the patronage system and make it fair. That's a lot of crap. It's inherently bad. I believe in real open government. The neighborhoods and their own inadequate choices should be integrated into the political-making of the city.

"It's not just a reform thing. There's the race factor. That's the core. The motivating factor was we're not getting anything out of this; we're just being used."

Washington promises a fair proportion of blacks, Hispanics and women in policy-making offices and a fairer distribution of city services and contracts to minority communities and businesses. But generally he argues that Byrne, like Daley before her, has neglected the neighborhoods and their economic viability and concentrated four-fifths of federal economic development money in the Loop, even though only one-fifth of the city's jobs are downtown.

Besides redistributing the pie that already exists, Washington proposes increasing the state income tax, imposing the share that goes to cities and making it more progressive by raising the exemption. He argues that a less antagonistic relationship with downtown and suburban cities, many of which are also troubled by economic problems, can force the state to live up to its responsibilities to fund education and transit (the city lent $3 million a year in transit subsidy in a bad deal Byrne cut with the governor).
U.S. Representative Harold Washington was born in Chicago on April 15, 1922 to Roy L. and Bertha Jones Washington.

He attended St. Benedict The Moor Grammar School in Milwaukee, and Forrestville Elementary School and DuSable High School on Chicago's south side. In 1939 he won the city-wide high school competition in the 120 yard high hurdles.

He served in the United States Air Force Engineers from 1942 through 1946, earning the rank of 1st sergeant. He saw action in the Marianas Islands and received numerous military decorations.

He graduated from Roosevelt University with a degree in political science, and earned his law degree from Northwestern University in 1952.

He was an Assistant Corporation Counsel for the City of Chicago from 1954 to 1958, and an arbitrator for the Illinois Industrial Commission from 1960 to 1964.

He served in the Illinois legislature as representative from the 26th District from 1965 to 1976, and as state senator from 1976 to 1980.

He served as chairman of the Senate Public Health, Welfare and Corrections Committee, vice-chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, chairman of the Illinois House Contracts Compliance Committee, chief sponsor and secretary of the Minorities in State Government Commission, and a member of the Rape Study Commission, the Diagnosis of Criminal Defendants Commission and the Legislative Reference Bureau.
The legislation that he drafted and guided to enactment has had its impact throughout the state of Illinois. For instance, he was the principal author of:

-- The Consumer Credit Reform Act of 1965,
-- The 1972 Witness Protection Act,
-- The 1972 Illinois Code of Corrections,
-- The 1972 Small Business Set-Aside Act,
-- The Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Holiday Law Act of 1973,
-- The 1974 Public Contract Laws of The Fair Employment Practices Commission
-- The 1975 Medical Malpractice Insurance Revision
-- The 1976 grant of $15,000,000 to save Provident Hospital
-- The 1977 Currency Exchange Reform Acts
-- The 1979 10% Set-Aside for Minority Business

Awards for his legislative achievements include the Illinois State AFL-CIO Legislative Excellence Award, the Independent Voters of Illinois outstanding legislator award, the Federation of Independent Colleges Outstanding Legislator award, and the Cook County Bar Association Distinguished Legislative Award.

He was named one of the ten best legislators in a state-wide poll conducted by Chicago Magazine, and was consistently endorsed by both the Chicago Sun-Times and the Chicago Tribune.

He was elected to Congress from the First Congressional District in 1980, running as an independent and beating the machine-sponsored candidates. He was re-elected in November, 1982 by the highest margin of any Congressman in the country.

He serves on the House Education and Labor Committee, the House Government Operation Committee and the House Judiciary Committee, and its subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights.

He is a member of the House Democratic Study Group, the Congressional Steel Caucus, the Congressional Black Caucus, and the Northeast-Midwest Congressional Coalition, and is an executive board member of the Federal Government Services Task Force.

- more -
He was a floor leader in the successful battle to extend the Voting Rights Act, an almost unheard of role for a freshman Congressman. He was a floor leader once again in the successful battle to defeat President Reagan's MX missile plan in November, 1982.

He has sponsored bills to strengthen the Child Nutrition Act, to fund the Older Americans Act; to set up Area Development Programs to provide loans and seed money to build plants in inner city areas, to protect the steel industry, and to establish a comprehensive job training program to replace The Comprehensive Education Training Act, (CETA).

He has voted against the food stamps cut, and virtually every other cut in social programs proposed by President Regan. He has voted in favor of establishing a Select Committee on Hunger, of transferring $4.85 billion dollars in defense spending to Medicare, and of strengthening Fair Housing enforcement by the U.S. Justice Department.

He was a strong supporter of the Nuclear Freeze Resolution and the Congressional Black Caucus Alternative Budget, which would have balanced the U.S. budget, cut defense spending, abated the third year Reagan tax cut, and maintained human services at 1980-81 levels.

He is a vice president of the Americans for Democratic Action, a member of the board of directors of the Suburban Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and founder and president of the Washington Youth and Community Organization and a member of the board of directors of the Mid-South Mental Health Association. He is a member of the Cook County, Illinois and National Bar Associations, the NAACP, the Urban League, the Nu Beta Epsilon Legal Fraternity, and the District 13 advisory council of the Board of Education.
BIographical Sketch

MRS. JANE M. BYRNE

Birthplace:
Chicago, Illinois - May 24, 1934
Lifelong resident of Chicago, Illinois

Education:
Graduate of Barat College of the Sacred Heart, Lake Forest, Illinois with A.B. and B.S. Degrees
Post Graduate Work at the University of Illinois - Science and Education

Marital Status:
Widow of First Lieutenant William P. Byrne, U.S.M.C., 1959
Remarried March 17, 1978 to Jay McMullen

Children:
One Child - Kathy - Age 19 years

Memberships:
Who's Who of American Women
Who's Who in the Midwest
Who's Who in Women in the World

Member of Various Committees and Commissions:
Ex-Commissioner - City of Chicago - Department of Consumer Sales, Weights and Measures
Fired November, 1978
Commissioner - State of Illinois Commission on the Status of Women
Ex-Mayor's Advisory Council on Senior Citizens
Ex-Mayor's Committee on Energy - served one term
Member of Consumer Advisory Council of Underwriters' Laboratories, having been appointed to serve two terms.
Ex-Member of the Board of Health Consumer Advisory Group
Ex-Member of the Chicago Urban Transportation Committee. Completed term.
Board of Trustees - Barat College, Lake Forest, Illinois

SOCIAL COMMITTEES:
Chicago Athletic Club
North Shore Country Club

POLITICAL TITLES:
Democratic National Committeewoman - State of Illinois
Member of the Resolutions Committee of the Democratic National Committee

NEWS MEDIA:

N.B.C. - AM/FM Radio Show "Chicago Consumer" every Sunday night 1974 - 1976

N.B.C. TV - Permanent guest on series on Energy Crisis January, February and March, 1974

A.B.C. TV - Permanent guest panelist on Kennedy and Company Show - Food Crisis - Summer of 1973

Recipient of the W.I.N.D. "Outstanding Community Service Award" - 1972 - 1973
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE (January 3, 1983)

STATEMENT OF STATE SENATOR DAWN CLARK NETSCH ENDORSING
RICHARD M. DALEY FOR MAYOR

I am happy to announce my endorsement of Richard M. Daley for mayor of Chicago. Because this election is of such critical importance for the future of the city, I have agreed to serve as chairperson of the campaign on an active and involved basis.

During the dozen years Rich and I served together in the Constitu tion, Convention and state Senate, I have watched him grow in stature, understanding and ability, and develop into an outstanding public official. I am proud to support him.

What is even more relevant here is that I believe that he can and will govern the city of Chicago as it deserves and it needs to be governed--calmly, creatively, and with a willingness, indeed a commitment, to reach out to all of its people and involve them in making our city work.

There will not be as many histrionics or fireworks, but our problems are serious and we have earned the right to some serious attention—not for the sake of politics, but for the sake of Chicago.

As Cook County state's attorney, he has proved to be a superior administrator. He has run that office professionally, responsibly and sensitively, through his development of a Community Advisory Council and the Victim/Witness Assistance Program, to name two examples.

He has also shown a special concern, as state's attorney, for issues of importance to women, instituting a task force on women's issues and giving women high and visible responsibility in his office.

Furthermore, his administration has had no revolving door. He has proved that an important office can work, indeed works better, with people drawn from various backgrounds. He has kept good people from the previous administration and recruited and hired good people to
join them—and they did not have to swear political loyalty.

In the General Assembly we worked together on the sales tax fight and for nursing home and mental health reform. His grasp of the issues and political insight enabled him to reconcile differing points of view. That is how to produce results.

Many of Chicago's problems can be solved only through cooperation with the state and federal levels of government. The present city administration's relations with the General Assembly have been a disaster.

The present administration has preferred to make last-minute deals that postponed major problems or even hurt the city, and has given attention to extraneous matters rather than to substantive issues. During the last session of the General Assembly, more time was spent on attempting to save face for Charles Swibel than on all of Chicago's real and pressing problems, like education and transportation.

At the federal level, Chicago's chief executive has gone along with Reaganomics, raising only the faintest voice against Reagan's policies that seem designed to hurt urban areas like Chicago.

As mayor of Chicago, Rich Daley can be expected to fight against Reaganomics and Thompsonianomics, and for the programs that would enable Chicago to receive its fair share from Springfield and Washington, D.C.

As a legislator, Rich was concerned with issues of special concern to women, including ERA, pre-natal health care, expansion of day care centers, equal compensation for equal work, emergency medical care for rape victims, and strong child support legislation.

The time for an effective policy for neighborhoods is overdue, and Rich Daley would offer the leadership to revive our neighborhoods.

Richard Daley offers us an opportunity to renew Chicago's strengths and to add to them, and to enable each of us to contribute to the goal of making Chicago well again.
5. George Dunne

Gentlemanly George Dunne, now past the usual retirement age of sixty-five, ranks in the party hierarchy where he always has—close to the top. Since he succeeded Daley as party chairman, Dunne has revealed something about himself that had not been suspected previously. He is a kindly, considerate man.

During Bilandic's tenure, Dunne was stripped of his power. He showed no interest in the infighting required to become and stay No. 1. Many of his friends and allies were disappointed when Dunne refused to challenge Bilandic for the mayor's office, a fight he would probably have won.

Some assumed that Dunne was just biding his time. With the party chairmanship and the mayor's office divided between two individuals for the first time in twenty-one years, the boys thrilled to the prospect of intrigue and backroom wheeling and dealing, nights of the long knives, blood, and gore. They overestimated Dunne badly.

Dunne had decided that, with Daley gone, democracy had somehow arrived in Cook County. He took to sending letters out to ward bosses, inquiring as to when they thought the primary election should be held, and if party secretaries should be given raises. The ward bosses were agog. One threw his letter away so quickly that his secretary thought it was a bomb. "I thought it was a test," the committeeman said. "That Dunne was trying to figure out who would be likely to challenge his power. I never got a letter from the chairman before, asking me what I thought. How did I know he was serious?"

Although Dunne was chairman at the time the regulars got trounced by Byrne, he also led the party to a big sweep of county offices in 1978. He must have been privately giggling the night the Bilandic-Donovan combine fell apart. Whether Byrne is serious about sharing power with Dunne could determine whether he will have to abandon his relaxed attitude toward party leadership for old-fashioned political hardball, and also whether predictions of his retirement are premature. For the moment, Byrne's victory and the fall of Bilandic has given this distinguished old gent, who also runs the Near North Side's "Roaring 42nd" Ward, a big transfusion.

6. Richard Daley, the Son

Shortly after his father's passing, young State Senator Richard M. Daley began doing something strange. He let his hair grow, eventually coming to resemble a sort of South Side-Irish version of Benjamin Franklin. Young Daley still hasn't started spouting wise Franklinesque aphorisms, or discovered electricity, but he has begun to speak in public, and to smile—a marked departure from his grim old self and one that has confounded his colleagues.

"Little Richie," as some of his enemies call him, is an enigma in that it is clear he has a future in Democratic politics, but no one, himself included, seems to know precisely what it will be. As committeeman of the almighty 11th Ward, Daley has a voice that counts heavily in party affairs. He was close to Bilandic and Donovan, but was one of the first to make peace with Byrne. There has always been a theory that Bilandic had been allowed to have the mayor's job only to serve as regent until the public could be persuaded to accept Daley the Younger.

Whatever changes, subtle or otherwise, Byrne attempts to make in the party, none should be detrimental to young Richard. Her loyalty to the Daley family was so devout she never once mentioned in her campaign that young Richard was an ally of Bilandic's. When asked, she excused any role he may have played by saying he was too busy in Springfield to take an active part in Bilandic's City Hall.

If the old guard survives in Chicago politics, young Daley will be a key factor in any fight over leadership because many committee men are loyal to him if only because he is his father's son. There's been talk that he might be a candidate for party chairman.

But some party leaders are so tired of having been dominated for so long by 11th Ward dictates that they might combine to thwart any thrust for power made by the Daley kid, if they can.

Much might depend on whatever future role his mother designs for him. Eleanor "Sis" Daley has the total devotion of her sons. She remained an extremely private person during the years her husband ruled Chicago, but was obviously pleased to take a public p.r. with the Bilandics in the Bridgeport welcome to Jimmy Carter in 1978. And she always draws the biggest ovation at party functions. If Mrs. Daley wants her oldest son to follow in his father's footsteps, it is not inconceivable that he might try.
7. Cecil Partee

The brilliant and sometimes tragic Cecil Partee is a man who has been toyed with often and frequently betrayed. But he could end up with the Number-One job in the city—on the day Chicago becomes ready for a black mayor.

Certainly the most eloquent statesman in the Chicago machine, the gifted black lawyer was elevated to the presidency of the state senate by Daley, mostly to quell a revolt among several key black legislators. At the time, this made Partee the highest ranking elected black state official in the nation.

Then, in one of his screwball slate-making moves, Daley made Partee the sacrificial goat in a forlorn race against the immensely popular Attorney General William Scott in 1978. Scott thrashes all Democrats and Partee proved no exception. His consolation prize was a $45,000-a-year job running the city's Human Services Department.

With that and his post as committeeman of the South Side 20th Ward, he remained a man of considerable influence. But Cecil became bored. When another black, City Treasurer Joseph Bertrand, fell from City Hall favor approximately two seconds after Daley's death, Partee saw a wonderful opportunity and maneuvered himself into line for the job, even though it meant forsaking the apparent gift of the late Ralph Metcalfe's seat in Congress. Partee was readily endorsed for the city treasurer's job and won it handily.

Now in his fifties, Partee has a strong political base. The fact that his ward, like so many black wards, failed to carry for Bilandic will not cause him problems in Jane Byrne's City Hall. Partee is now the one black Democratic regular with skill, visibility, and respect to be in the right place in the wings if the day comes that the Irish and Polish can no longer keep the mayor's office out of the hands of the blacks.

9. Dan Rostenkowski

Congressman Daniel Rostenkowski, a handsome bear-sized man with a bear-sized zest for politics and power, is the fourth-ranking Democrat in the United States House. He is also the great Slavic hope of Chicago's Polish-Americans in their post-Daley drive to at last gain some political power proportionate to their numbers. After blacks, they're the largest ethnic group in the city.

Congressman Danny, as Daley used to introduce him at national conventions and other public gatherings, is committee man of the Northwest Side 32nd Ward and sits in all the high party councils. If the blacks and ethnics learned from Jane Byrne's victory that they can join forces to take things away from the Irish, Rostenkowski would be a logical fellow for them to support as party chairman.

If Rostenkowski had chosen to abandon the Federal City after Daley's death and take his chances in Chicago, he might already be among the top five Democrats—or the top one. But the siren song of Capitol Hill can be sweet. With only a little more time and luck, Congressman Danny could be Speaker Danny. And who in Chicago ever gets to have breakfast with the President? Who in Chicago ever gets on Meet the Press?

Who in Chicago ever ran for reelection in one of the easiest congressional races imaginable, yet found it necessary to put billboards up all over the city, and buy a full-page ad in Time magazine? What's Danny running for anyway?
Chicago’s black political tradition was forged in the struggle against slavery and racial injustice.

Edward H. Wright, the father of modern black politics, came to Chicago in 1884.
This is the first in a two-part series on the history of black politics in Chicago by University of Illinois historian Charles Branhman. Part two will appear next week, January 26.

I was introduced to Afro-American history on the corner of 31st Street and South Parkway (now Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Drive). Someone pointed up to the spire at the top of Olivet Baptist Church and told me that that was where the abolitionists had hidden black slaves during the Civil War. In fact, I was told, there were still slaves hiding there who did not know that the war was over and that they were free.

It seemed at the time that someone should go up there and tell those poor wretches that they were free. But the spire looked too dark and forbidding and I was only a small child. Several decades later, as an adult, when I realized that the war had been fought over a century ago and that Olivet Baptist Church, which was founded in 1850, had not moved to 31st Street until several decades later, I was still grateful for the lesson, for it reminded me that the city's black community and certainly Chicago's black political tradition had been forged in the struggle against slavery and racial injustice.

Despite the fact that the editor of one southern Illinois paper contemptuously dismissed Chicago as a "sink hole of abolition," Chicago was as divided as the rest of the state on the black presence in its midst. In 1862, during the Civil War, most Chicagoans voted to strengthen the state's hated Black Laws by forbidding the immigration of blacks into the state. Black Chicagoans could not vote, serve on juries or testify in court against whites. Yet the war emboldened black Chicago and this minuscule community of less than a thousand in 1860 was able in one generation to leave an impressive legacy of accomplishment which included the repeal of the Black Laws, the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment, and the right to vote by 1870.

Hansey, Samuel Ettelson and Martin B. Madden actively recruited black lieutenants to "get out the vote" in black areas. Madden represented the First Congressional District from 1906 to 1918, midwifed the careers of half a dozen of the city's most prominent black leaders, including that of his successor, the nation's first northern black congressman, Oscar DePriest.

The impact of black-white, patron-client politics was that black politics would lose its foundation in black cultural and institutional life and be fitted uneasily into the already existing pattern of Chicago ethnic politics. Increasingly, the black politician's primary allegiance was not to the community, but to the "organization" and the white sponsors who supported their ambitions, appointed them to minor offices, and financed their campaigns.

To some degree, black adherence to the discipline and logic of Chicago ward politics was inevitable. Blacks entered white politics in an era of diminishing options. Residential segregation began to appear in the 1890s and by 1900 three black enclaves had merged to form the beginnings of a South Side Black Belt. By 1900, 16 wards were 95.5 to 100 percent white; half the city's black population lived in only three contiguous South Side wards.

It was a population which was also uncomfortably situated near the lowest rung of the economic ladder, occupying the most menial and unskilled jobs. Although blacks were only 1.2 percent of the population they made up 37.7 percent of all male and 43.3 percent of all the female servants in the city.

In this era of racial dementia, when Social Darwinism and the White Man's Burden were coupled with rural lynchings and race riots in both Northern and Southern cities, blacks clued into the one institution which seemed to welcome their participation. For many it was a way up (if not a way out) of the ghetto and they seized the opportunity with considerable energy and enthusiasm. Not demonstrated greater skill, or greater perseverance, than the "Uncle Tom," the father of modern black politics, Edward H. Wright.

Born in New York City, Wright came to Chicago in 1884 and through his energy and forcefulness attracted the attention of local Republican politicians. In 1896 he was elected to the County Board and hore his "building" tenacity was revealed in an early conflict with Charles Deneen, who later became governor and United States senator.

Deneen had just served a term in the Illinois House and was seeking the Republican nomination for State's Attorney. He struck a deal with Wright, who promised his support in the County Convention in return for a pledge from Deneen to name a black Assistant State's Attorney.

Deneen was nominated and elected, but no black assistant was appointed. Wright called on the State's Attorney to remind him of their agreement and Deneen promised that he would "get around to it." The appointment continued to "hang fire" for several months and Wright quietly bided his time. When the County Board met to appropriate funds for the various County offices, Wright used his influence to stall appropriations for the State's Attorney's office.

When Deneen found out that Wright was "sitting on the lid," he summoned the Commissioner to his office. Wright reminded him that they had an agreement and that Deneen had failed to appoint a black Assistant. "I am State's Attorney of Cook County," Deneen shouted, "and you can't dictate to me." Wright, leaving Deneen's office, shouted back, "Yes, and I am County Commissioner and you can't dictate to me." Later Deneen announced the appointment of Wright's choice, Ferdinand L. Barnett, as the first black Assistant State's Attorney. Deneen's appropriations were passed soon after.

In this period, blacks were unlikely recruits to the Democratic Party. Despite the popularity of Carter Harrison I and II (Carter I...
received 50 percent of the black vote in 1885, and his son was first elected mayor in 1897 with 65 percent of the black vote. The Democratic Party was reluctant to recruit black voters. From the Civil War to the 1930s, the Democratic Party never nominated a single black for even the most minor political office and as migrants from the South swelled the South Side’s black population after 1900, Democrats were often viewed as the natural enemies of the Negro people.

If blacks were to advance politically, they could not look to the Democratic Party nor could they count on the color-blindness of the white voters. Increasingly blacks turned inward toward their own resources. Ironically, it was the residential segregation that pided blacks on top of each other which they turned to their advantage; they exploited their racial segregation to elect a black to the City Council.

The leader of this crusade was Edward Wright. In 1910 and again in 1912, he argued that blacks deserved representation. Echoing his call for black political empowerment was the Chicago Defender, which argued that black representation was the hallmark of Chicago politics. In 1914, Wright’s protege, William Cowan, garnered 45 percent of the vote in the Second Ward and served notice to Madden and the white leaders of the Black Belt that black demands must now be taken seriously.

Throughout the campaign, a number of black leaders had argued that the time was not yet right for such a bold black initiative. Among those who had refused to support Wright’s crusade was another former member of the Cook County Board, Oscar DePriest. But when the organization prevailed on the incumbent white alderman to step down, it was DePriest, not Wright or Cowan, who was selected to replace him. Despite the anger and resentment of much of the black community the organization had enough muscle to ensure DePriest’s election as the city’s first black alderman.

Alongside Wright, Oscar DePriest played a major role in shaping Chicago’s black political history. Tall, blustering and flamboyant, he was not a brilliant orator but was a shrewd political organizer who had made a fortune in the real estate business as a blockbusting real estate broker.

I t is not entirely clear why DePriest became so popular so quickly. As a Thompson loyalist, he staunchly supported the mayor’s position. But he was widely perceived as a “race man,” a black man who would “go to the front” for his people, and DePriest’s actions in the Roscoe Giles case seemed to confirm this reputation. Roscoe C. Gilbert, a Cornell University College of Medicine graduate, had passed the civil service examination for a position at the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium. But the superintendent of the sanitarium and the sanitarium’s director both opposed his appointment, arguing that junior physicians would not work with him and that white women would object to being examined by a black man. DePriest was adamant that Giles receive his appointment and finally prevailed upon the Mayor to intervene on Giles’s behalf. Giles received his appointment, and several years later named one of his sons Oscar DePriest Giles.

At the end of his first term DePriest was gearing up for reelection, and was assured of a second term. But in January 1917, State’s Attorney MacEvoy Hyne indicted DePriest along with several South Side policemen and a dozen prominent South Side gamblers in a crackdown on vice.

DePriest, at the Mayor’s behest, chose not to seek re-election and, on the witness stand, gave an insider’s glimpse of Black Belt politics. He admitted “breaking police to harness” although he denied controlling gambling in his war. He admitted accepting money from South Side gamblers, although he contended that he thought they were merely making campaign contributions. He admitted using his influence to close down specific South Side nightspots, but he argued that the clubs were owned by his political enemies and he categorically denied accepting bribes from criminals. Skillfully represented by Clarence Darrow, the jury acquitted DePriest’s interpretation of the rather elastic political morality of the Black Belt and he was acquitted.

But the price of acquittal was political exile. Edward H. Wright, the former political insurgent, was now the mayor’s man on the South Side and Wright’s chief black lieutenant, Louis B. Anderson, succeeded DePriest in the City Council. The ward organization refused to retain DePriest for the City Council. In 1918 the former alderman launched the People’s Movement, an independent black political organization dedicated to ridding the ward of its white leadership and their black supporters.

Just how “independent” was the People’s Movement? Certainly it was not independent in the sense that we use the term today. DePriest’s newfound conversion to the cause of black leadership in the overwhelmingly black Second Ward was clearly self-serving and the People’s Movement had no program save returning the former alderman to political power.

The People’s Movement did not return DePriest to office. Three times DePriest came within a few hundred votes of victory but the ward’s two black aldermen, Anderson and

Robert R. “Smiling Bob” Jackson, retained their offices.

DePriest appeared well on the road to permanent political exile, a recent recruit to that group of sad, obsessive men who become footnotes to other men’s careers.

The Black Belt had undergone significant changes in the years since DePriest first took office as alderman. The city’s black population more than doubled in five years, from 50,000 in 1915 to 109,000 by 1920. In the decade between 1910 and 1920 the black population had increased by 148 percent and competition for jobs and housing was intense. In the summer of 1917 the Chicago Urban League canvassed real estate dealers willing to sell houses in blocks and discovered that on a single day there were 664 black applicants for houses and only 50 houses available.

The Chicago Tribune printed scare headlines: “NEGROES ARRIVE BY THOUSANDS PERIL TO HEALTH” and published editorials condemning the migra-

Olivet Baptist Church
The impact of black-white, patron-client politics was that black politics would lose its foundation in black cultural and institutional life and be fitted uneasily into the already existing pattern of Chicago ethnic politics.

Increasingly, the black politician's primary allegiance was not to the community, but to the 'organisation' and the white sponsors who supported their ambitions, appointed them to minor offices and financed their campaigns.

increasingly isolated, indifferent and often hostile to the issues and institutions that had given rise to black politics in the post-Civil War era. Before 1915, black leaders were largely recruited from the black business and fraternal organizations. Many of them had close ties to religious and self-help organizations within the community, as well as records of genuine accomplishment, before they entered public office. After 1915, however, service to the political organization was the primary avenue for political advancement. White black legislators continued their vigilant defense of civil rights and successfully opposed anti-black legislation in Springfield, black political leadership accepted the restraints and restrictions of Chicago machine politics.

Millionaire entrepreneurs like Jesse Binga and Anthony Overton, who trumpeted the ideology of a self-sufficient, independent "black metropolis," seldom contributed to black political coffers. White politicians, on the other hand, had a powerful influence on the South Side through strategic political contributions.

What did black Chicagoans get from politics? When compared to their needs, black politics could not begin to cope with the demographic changes wrought by the Great Migration. The new migrants flooded into the city by the thousands each year, were younger and less well educated, and the community faced new perils of overcrowding and threats to public health. The death rate and stillbirth rate for blacks was twice that of white Chicago.

Historian William Tuttle cited statistics that indicated that "the death rate for Chicago's blacks was comparable to that of Bombay, India."

Perhaps it is understandable that black politicians should have opted for the security of conventional ethnic political orthodoxy. During the First World War, as young black boys risked their lives to make the 'world safe for Democracy,' the city's telephone companies, construction firms, mass transit and taxicab companies, department stores and most businesses hired only whites or employed blacks in the most menial capacities.

Conventional politics offered employment, advancement and recognition to a coterie of ambitious and energetic young blacks in an era of limited opportunities.

And yet, despite the distortion of black political life by its subservience to the Thompson political machine, the founding fathers of modern black politics were by no means compliant "yes men" to the city's white political leadership. These were, as political scientist James Q. Wilson observed, "trough and able men who fought hard for everything they won." They saw, in the election of black candidates and the appointment of black public officials, the advancement of the race. In more than one instance Wright, DePriest and Jackson, among others, risked their careers and braved the wrath of white politicians to advance the interests of their people.

Wright lost his seat on the board for insisting on the appointment of the first black Assistant State's Attorney and launched the independent crusade for a black alderman. DePriest introduced the city's first public accommodations ordinance and fought for the appointment of the first black physicians at the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium. R.R. Jackson secured the passage of an anti-KKK measure in the state legislature and despite the formidable opposition of large milk distributors, pushed through a milk inspection ordinance that established standards of purity and quality for the milk we drink today.

But there were even more significant changes in store. When Chicago confronted the Depression, black politics would undergo a thorough reorientation away from the Republican Party, moving toward the coalition of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

This is the first of a two-part series which will continue next week.
A HISTORY OF

BLACK POLITICS

Twentieth century black politics and leadership was forged in the crucible of the Chicago political machine.

This is the second of a two-part series on the history of black politics in Chicago by University of Illinois historian Charles Branham.

"The depression," an old black man I once met in Washington Park observed, "was harder than Japanese arithmetic." He knew whereof he spoke for he had ridden the rails, learned to put his feet while sleeping (to avoid being thrown out of hotel lobbies and into the cold) and even survived a stint on a chain gang. He also noted how the depression changed "black folks' habits," for it marked not merely a shift in black political allegiance from the Republican to the Democratic Party but is also signaled the emergence of the Democratic machine which would govern the city and shape the contours of black politics for half a century. Much had indeed changed, but one thing remained remarkably consistent: Black politics and black leadership was forged in the crucible of the Chicago political machine.

Through the early 1920s Edward H. Wright, the "Iron Master" sought to expand his power base beyond the Second Ward and create a political black metropolis. A consummate politician, whose skills were honed by over a quarter of a century of practical political experience before he was named Second Ward committeeman in 1920. Wright played the games according to the rules. "Politics," a leading Republican politician of the '20s observed, "is a cold business proposition. If a man can't carry his precinct he hasn't any business in politics and holding a job." Wright had mastered the mechanics of political organization so completely that his success in rolling up huge majorities for Republican candidates in black areas and his assertive (some dubbed it arrogant) demands for black political empowerment threatened many of his colleagues in the Cook County Central Committee. Wright threatened political retaliation if white committeemen did not support his candidate, Albert B. George's election as the city's first black municipal judge in 1924. He publicly boasted of his political
power on the South Side during the Reed committee’s investigation into the 1926 senatorial campaign, and he sought to push through his own candidate for committeeman of the First Ward and stormed out of the meeting when his choice was rejected. When he refused to back Mayor Bill Thompson for a third term in office, Thompson and his lieutenants eagerly stripped Wright of power and patronage on the South Side. He had spent too many years building Thompson’s reputation as the “Second Lincoln” to persuade black voters to turn against the popular Republican politician and he had been too abrasive, too determined to act as a political equal, to be trusted to subordinate his ambitions to those of his white colleagues. “I’m no political slave,” he told his supporters. He would not, he said, sell his people out “to satisfy the whims of the downtown bosses.”

But political power abhors a vacuum and at Wright’s political empire came crashing about his head. Oscar DePriest, his chief rival, rode the Thompson bandwagon back into political office. In 1928 his loyalty to the mayor and his persistent political organizing through far years and lean years were rewarded when he garnered the mayor’s backing to succeed the late Congressman Madden as the nation’s first Northern black congressman. In truth, Wright’s successor as Second Ward committeeman, Dan Jackson, might have had the nomination for the asking. But Jackson was also head of vice and illicit gambling in the Black Belt and it was unlikely that he was willing to give up control of the day-to-day operations of his “business” for a seat in Congress. At 57, the “tall Sycamore of the Wabash” moved into the national spotlight with the broadest constituency of any member of the Congress — twelve million black Americans.

DePriest’s every act seemed to provoke controversy. Southern Democrats expressed fear that they would be forced to open an office next to him and Southern newspapers were outraged when the President’s wife invited DePriest’s wife to tea with other congressional wives. As the nation’s premier black politician, DePriest toured the country, speaking at fraternal and civic organizations, leading marches and sponsoring a Non-Partisan Negro Conference in 1931 to propose black solutions to the nation’s economic malaise.

The “Old Roman,” a contemporary noted, was a “militant and so and so.” In all, he appointed sixteen blacks to the nation’s military academies, including Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., who eventually became the nation’s highest-ranking black soldier. He challenged the “cage is a cage” which had excluded blacks from eating at the House of Representatives restaurant. He carried pistols with him when he mounted the speaker’s platform to denounce “race baiting whites and timid Uncle Toms” in the South. Death threats, newspaper warnings and burning effigies merely burnedished his image as a “militant man” who risked his life for champion Negro rights in the heart of Dixie.

By 1930 DePriest was able to do what even Ed Wright could not do. When the erratic

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Chicago mayor endorsed the Democratic candidates, but DePriest, DePriest refused to bolt the party and despite warnings that defying Mayor Thompson would mean the end of his political career, DePriest stood fast. “I don’t intend to betray the confidence of fifteen million Negroes for a few jobs in the City Hall,” DePriest retorted. DePriest not only survived, he had arrived. He had, as a contemporary student of political science observed, been accorded the “privilege big white men constantly accord each other in politics, namely the right to part company in a given political struggle with an underlying agreement of friendship as soon as that encounter is over.” He also gathered around him a coterie of ambitious young political lieutenants which included William E. King, popular with fraternal and church groups, and William L. Dawson, who replaced DePriest’s old nemesis, Louis B. Anderson as alderman of the Second Ward.

AFTER three terms in Congress, DePriest was only beginning to construct a political machine on the South Side when, to virtually everyone’s surprise, he was defeated by a relative unknown, a black Democrat named Arthur W. Mitchell. Mitchell, a former Republican who had come to Chicago only in 1929 engendered a vigorous campaign against DePriest, charging that the incumbent had voted against relief and federal jobs programs for the South Side and picturing himself as a staunch New Dealer and supporter of the increasingly popular F.D.R. Black Chicagoans were harder hit by the depression than blacks in any other urban community. By 1931 a quarter of all blacks were on relief and by mid-decade almost a half of all black families were receiving some form of financial support. Yet blacks were reluctant to join the New Deal coalition and Mitchell’s victory marked a turning point in Chicago politics.

Mitchell himself was not the principle architect of this significant political transformation. An arrogant and inept politician who bartered black pride in a slavish attempt to cultivate Southern Democrats, Mitchell feuded with the black press, attempted to obstruct the NAACP’s crusade for an anti-lynching bill and in contrast to his predecesor, acquiesced to segregation in the nation’s capitol. Unlike Wright and DePriest, Mitchell also left appointment and party decisions to his white sponsors, notably Second Ward Committeeman Joseph Tittering. He survived less on his own merits than as a result of continuous plottings which prevented the emergence of a powerful Democratic rival.

Historically, the Democratic Party had been reluctant to recruit black voters. In 1927 it ran a blatantly racist campaign for mayor. A callipee went through the streets playing “Bye, Bye Black Bird,” the Republican candidate’s headquarters were labeled “Congo Hilton,” and white voters were promised that blacks would leave Chicago in droves if a Democrat was elected. When the father of the modern Democratic machine, Anton Cermak, was elected in 1931, he fired hundreds of black political jobholders and launched successive raids on South Side gambling in an attempt to persuade blacks to “play ball” with the Democratic party.

When Cermak was assassinated in 1933, his successor, Edward J. Kelly, aggressively courted the black vote. Kelly gave voice to black aspirations in words reminiscent of the vaunted racial liberalism that Bill Thompson. He ended School Superintendent Bogan’s practice of diverting black students away from Morgan Park High School. He appointed the first black member of the school board and worked closely with the city’s two black aldermen. The white South Sider apparently was motivated by a genuine belief in racial justice and, coupled with F.D.R.’s popular “alphabet soup” programs, the Democratic Party, locally and nationally, offered hope and aid in the midst of economic catastrophe. By 1936, F.D.R.’s black vote more than doubled in a year, and by the end of the decade, black Chicagoans were fervent New Dealers.

Nothing is so destined to oblivion as an idea whose time has come and gone, and yet DePriest may be one of the city’s black Republican leadership remained impossibly wedded to the “trickle-down” laissez-faire economic policies of a discredited Republican Party. Others, including the two black Republicans in the city council, William Dawson and Robert R. Jackson, endorsed Kelly for reelection in 1935 and pursued independent political courses. Charles J. Jenkins, arguably the most distinguished and accomplished black legislator, became a New Deal Republican escrowing ideology and anti-New Deal rhetoric and denouncing that, although a Republican, he could expand the range of government services as well as extend the boundaries of the race’s civil rights. By mid-decade, however, Republican politics had descended to near Medicine intrigue. The King-Dawson feud, which began before DePriest’s defeat in 1934, was now open warfare and Dawson, after an unsuccessful try for Congress in 1938, left the Republican Party. In 1939 he came in third in a four-man race for reelection to the city council and he endorsed the ultimate winners, longtime Democrat and civic leader, Earl B. Dickerson.

Earl Dickerson set a standard of community consciousness and political courage unsurpassed in Chicago politics. Like Dawson, he was a strong supporter of public housing and he quickly seized upon the notice to the city council and the political establishment that he would not play politics as usual by thwarting an attempt by Alderman Lindell, the Chicago Tribune and the Chicago Building Congress to establish a public corporation which would have prevented the construction of low income housing on the near South Side. He chaired a subcommittee on housing conditions in the black belt that castigated “real estate sharks” and “rent gougers” who charged blacks 25 percent more for rent than whites in equal facilities. He attacked the Department of Public Works for failure to provide adequate garbage collection in his ward. He

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threatened to block appropriations for Washburn Trade School unless blacks were admitted, and he led marches to protest delays in the construction of the Ida B. Wells Housing Project. As a private citizen he represented black realtor Carl Hansberry in a landmark case which effectively opened up the Washington Park subdivision for black residence.

Unlike Wright and DePriest, Dickerson did not seek the creation of a political fiefdom within the blackbelt. He sought nothing less than the breaking down of racial and geographical boundaries, the creation of a coalition of progressive forces across the city to extend the benefits of the New Deal to the homeless, the poor and dispossessed. But his tactics and outspokenness were alien to the

Dawson was often credited (or blamed) with playing a major role in the election of Richard J. Daley in 1955. Nevertheless during the 1950s and 1960s significant changes occurred which would undermine the Dawson organization's political hegemony on the South Side. The city's black population doubled between 1950 and 1960. The Second World War launched a significant recruitment of blacks into the city's industrial workforce and by 1959 90% of the NAACP boasted 50,000 dues-paying members. The civil rights struggle of the '60s redefined the language of political discourse and appeared startlingly at odds with the methods and philosophy of a half century of black political orthodoxy.

At the beginning of the decade, black as well as white politicians had sought to duck the issue of "open occupancy." But by 1962 the NAACP and Urban League had begun to demand the transfer of children from overcrowded black schools to vacant classrooms in white areas. In 1963 more than 224,000 students, nearly the entire black student body, stayed away from school. Middle-class black mothers were being arrested for demanding an end to segregated education and protesting the Democratic Mayor's handpicked school superintendent, Benjamin Willis.

In 1966 Daley and Dawson were both denouncing Martin Luther King as an "outside agitator" for leading open housing marches on the city's West Side.

In 1966 both Richard J. Daley and William Dawson denounced Martin Luther King as an “outside agitator” for leading open housing marches on the city's West Side.

modus operandi of urban machine politics. He defined the mayor and insisted on the insertion of an anti-discrimination clause into a $103,000,000 trac tion ordinance and, to compound his apostasy, he packed council chambers with 200 interested spectators to demand an end to discrimination in government employment. Despite a subsequent appointment by President Roosevelt to a national Committee on Fair Employment Practices and the chance to tour the country, exposing discrimination against black workers, Dickerson's career was clearly on the wane. In 1942 he was badly beaten in a race for Congress by Republican-turned-Democrat, William L. Dawson. A year later Dawson engineered Dickerson's defeat in the city council.

Mayor Kelly did not appoint Dawson political boss of the South Side. He appointed Dawson committee man of the Second Ward in 1939 and the Congressman expanded his power base slowly, almost imperceptively until by the early 1960s he maintained effective control over eight South Side and West Side wards. Dawson, who learned political organizing as a Wright and later DePriest lieutenant, realized their dream of a political black metropolis. An ardent Booker T. Washington admirer, he had fashioned a formidable political submachine shaped to the contours of a political culture of clientage, patronage and political dependence. The "Dawson College of Political Knowledge" emerged as an impressive if ultimately hollow and self-serving exercise in self-perpetuation.

After 1970 Daley appealed increasingly to white blue-collar Southwest and North Side wards and, whatever history's final judgment on his more than two decades of leadership, Daley clearly failed to effectively manage racial change in the city. As late as 1978, two-thirds of the city's 512 elementary schools were either 90 percent black or 90 percent white, and Chicago seemed almost perversely proud of her continued reign as the nation's most segregated city.

Gradually, an anti-organization vote grew, from 19.5 percent in 1955 to 59.7 percent in 1979. Charles C. Wolf was elected to the city council in 1963, William Cousins and A.A. (Sammy) Rayner came four years later. And Anna Langford, Fred Hubbard, Danny Davis, and others followed. In 1975, the combined votes of two independents, Richard Newhouse and William Singer, exceeded Daley's vote in several black wards, and a year later incumbent Congressman Ralph Metcalfe, who had protested police brutality on the South Side and incurred the mayor's wrath, overwhelmingly defeated an articulate young opponent, Erwin France, who had Daley's backing.

In 1977 Harold Washington carried five of nine wards in the First Congressional District in an unsuccessful race for city hall. The ironic beneficiary of growing black political independence, however, was neither Newhouse nor Washington but Jane Byrne, a former member of the Daley cabinet who, two years later, ran as a political outsider and carried all but two of the city's black wards (many by a 2-1 margin) and garnered 63 percent of the black vote. A harsh winter and a sunny election day helped, of course, but the city's present mayor also profited from an emerging political movement which for two decades has challenged the convention of issues, the subinfeudation of political organizations and the subordination of black issues and leadership to the vested interests of a coterie of business, labor and political leaders who wield inordinate influence in city affairs. The contours of that political struggle are clear, as are many of their issues and concerns.

The dimensions of this growing political crusade, the campaign for black political empowerment, a more equitable distribution of goods and services within the city, and its chances for success, remain to be seen. For, in truth, as was observed a half century ago, politics is a "cold business." And Chicago is a city which only respects winners.
2. THE CAMPAIGN

a - Build up

b - Crisis

c - Viability

d - Mobilization
Streeter faces Byrne power in south side election

By Marc Zalkin
(17th Ward) — A special June 1 aldermanic election here promises an early test of Mayor Byrne's influence, while voters in this South Side ward have a chance to buck the "boss style politics" they have lived with for years.

Allen Streeter, appointed to the seat by Mayor Byrne in 1980, is running opposed by the Regular Democratic Ward Organization. Committeeman William Parker, a Byrne ally, will try to unseat Streeter in the election that will be "down and dirty."

Streeter broke with the mayor, and the 17th Ward Organization, over her appointments of Betty Bonow and Rosemary Janus to the School Board in early 1981. Since then he has steadily opposed the mayor's puppet-like direction of the City Council on a number of key issues.

In February, Streeter led the drive for a City Council resolution to investigate utility prices and practices in Chicago, a move that forced Byrne and her allies to come up with their own similar resolution in the 11th hour. Also in February, a federal district court judge voided Byrne's power to appoint aldermen so long before an election and ordered Streeter to stand for election.

On March 30, one day after Byrne's forces completed their takeover of the County Democratic Party, a hit list of aldermen to be removed from office, began circulating in City Hall. Allen Streeter's name was at the top.

Twelve candidates, including Streeter's next-door neighbor, filed to oppose the alderman in the June 1 election. "It's obvious that some of these people, especially those who live near him [Streeter] are just in it to pull votes off," reports Napoleon Robinson, an aide to Streeter. "His next-door neighbor is being paid to run against him. It's definitely a plan to siphon neighborhood votes off. Some of those who are running have never been involved with the community before."

A few of the 12 candidates are expected to be removed from the ballot after challenges to their nominating signatures were filed by Streeter supporters.

The opposition to Streeter will be led by Jewel Frierson, a confidant of Committeeman Parker, and paid for cut of the Byrne million dollar war chest. "I know that the people running against him don't have any money," says Robinson.

The vote fraud could be great if the March 16 primary gives any indication. Streeter ran for the State Central Committee of the Democratic Party against Wilson Frost, the mayor's floor leader in the Council.

"Massive" is the word Robinson used to describe the vote stealing in that election. "They were buying votes, they were buying the literature from our workers on the streets. I understand in the 51st Precinct, when the States Attorneys entered the polling place, everything was out in the open. The whole board, six election judges, went off to jail."

In spite of the fraud, Streeter carried the ward against Frost on March 16, according to Robinson.

"We can win in June if we can make sure we get an honest count in every precinct," Alderman Streeter told All Chicago City News on March 30. It was two weeks after the election and some precincts had still not reported the vote yet.

Mayor Byrne appointed Streeter after the previous alderman, Tyrone McFalling, was indicted along with committeeman Parker. The indictments centered on the fraudulent purchase and resale of HUD repossessed homes.

Mayor takes food funds for patronage
Streeter victory sends message downtown—still faces June 29th Runoff

By Marc Zalkin

“There’s only one issue in this election. Things didn’t have to get so messed up like they are. But these people want to just take and use people and they’ve been doing it for years. I don’t think people will take it anymore. It’s a matter of human dignity.”

It’s late Saturday afternoon and Clifton Carter has been running with Allan Streeter since early in the morning. Both men are tired, but they have another half dozen stops to make before the day will be over.

You have to climb into the back seat of Allan Streeter’s car, and ride around the ward with him, to talk to him for more than five minutes these days: Allan Streeter is campaigning in his usual style—hard.

On Tuesday, June 1, he faced a field of eight challengers and came away with 46 percent of the vote. The special election was ordered by U.S. District Court Judge Thomas McMillen. Now, Streeter and the organization’s (and Mayor Byrne’s) candidate will face each other in a runoff election on June 29.

This, the seventh or eighth stop of the day, is at the Blue Room, 7153 S. Halsted, a community hall operated by the True Temple of Solomon Church. Prophet Peter, leader of the church and a highly respected man in this community, has asked Alderman Streeter to come by the hall to talk over a community problem.

The building next to the Blue Room has been abandoned, apparently. It’s become a neglected eyesore, bringing down the whole block. Prophet Peter would like the alderman to see what he can do about it.

A few minutes later, Streeter is back on the corner, surveying the building and jotting down the addresses. From across the street a young man walking with his daughter shouts, “Hey, there’s my alderman, STREETER!!” The alderman smiles and waves back.

“You have to communicate with the people all the time,” Streeter explains later, on our way to the next stop. “I’ve heard that Parker [17th Ward Committeeman William Parker] is offering new color television sets to precinct captains who carry their precincts for my opponent on June 29. But I’m sure we will triumph in the run off. We know the people are behind us after last Tuesday, not that we ever doubted it. Jane Byrne will spare no expense to see me defeated. I stay on the move because that’s what you have to do.”

Streeter gathered 4,130 votes in the June 1 special election. Politicians and their patronage armies from at least four other wards were sent to work against him. The organization’s candidate got 41 percent of the vote and the remaining seven candidates got a total of 1,160 or 13 percent, not much, but just enough to prevent Streeter from getting the 50.1 percent he needed to avoid a run off.

Vote fraud was “heavy” on June 1, according to Richard Barnett an election day trouble shooter for Project Leap. “We found a 17-year-old girl acting as a judge in one precinct and the precinct captain of another precinct pretending to be a judge in another poll. On top of that there was a great deal of electioneering in and around the polling places,” Barnett reported. The best example of electioneering was the president of the Young Democratic Organization who tried to pass Streeter a palm card as the alderman went to cast his vote. The man was taken off to jail.

While Committeeman Parker expressed dismay at the presence of over 70 assistant State’s Attorneys who roamed across the ward checking polling places throughout the day, Streeter was glad to have the State’s Attorneys present, as well as volunteers from across the city who poured into the ward that day to help him. “We would not have won Tuesday, if we didn’t get the help from Congressman Washington, Chicago Black United Communities (CBUC) and Alderman Danny Davis,” Streeter told the Chicago Defender right after the election.

But the State’s Attorneys and volunteers could not avert the massive number of spoiled ballots that were cast and didn’t count. A spokesperson for the Board of Elections reported that 13.2 percent of the 10,000 ballots cast are spoiled, more than 1,300 votes were not counted because the voters were unfamiliar with the new punch card type ballots.

“We’re going to support you, Streeter and we’re going to send a message downtown,” Rev. Crawford told the alderman. “We worked for Jane Byrne’s election in 1979, that jezebel turned around and did the opposite of what she said she would do. We’ve got experienced precinct workers. You tell me where and when you want them and they’ll be there. We’re for you all the way because we’re Christians and you are too.” This was the next to the last stop of the day.

“I believe that most people are tired of Parker’s crowd,” Streeter said as we settled back into the car. “That’s why we could beat them on June 1, inspite of everything they had to throw against us. The people know that they’re voting not just for me, but for a principle—it’s the question of self determination.”
By John C. White

When LIGHT-BLUE bulky street sweepers now roam through the streets like a column of tank and city crews, cleaning up nothing that had been ignored for seasons, nobody had to ask the reasons. The stroke of the 1982 election was timed to serve as a message. The candidates were just as cold and distant as the machines.

In the 3rd Ward, the sweepers have been at it all day, working through the crowded stores that purchase a few dozen a day, but allowing for the street sweepers to do their job. Stalwart, Chicago, has been enabled to do his job, and has been working for 12 years on the streets of the ward. Under the flag that is the ward.

"There's a lot of tension and anger on the streets," said Anthony. "We've seen a lot of black people, and we've heard a lot of stories. It's a depressing, I don't see an end to it. It's the economy, my friends, you can't buy the things you used to buy."

The street sweepers work in teams, cleaning up the streets and making sure the garbage is cleaned up, and keeping the streets clean.

"I don't know when I'm going to get another one," said Anthony. "I don't know how many people work on the street, but I know where they are, and they're not working." He said, "I've seen the black community working hard, doing what they can to keep things clean."

Mayor Jane Byrne has changed all that, in her campaign.

"First, by appointing Sweeper to fill a vacancy in the City Council, and then by attacking him after he defeated him in the city." Byrne has made the hero, a hero again independent of the Chicago Board of Education and a hero in the city, his campaign. Byrne's charges appear to have backfired.

"THE PEOPLE of Chicago have spoken," Byrne said. "I've been working hard and I think people know me and I can do more for the ward." Byrne is less sanguine about Byrne's chances than the candidates, at least in public. According to one source that a Sweeper win is a Byrne loss, the mayor's support apparently not to the vote. Byrne's charges appear to have backfired.

"And through Byrne's campaign to fill a vacancy in the City Council, and then by attacking him after he defeated him in the city," Byrne has made the hero, a hero again independent of the Chicago Board of Education and a hero in the city. Byrne's charges appear to have backfired.

By David Axelrod

"I think, I'll win," Byrne said. "I don't know what goes on between other people, but I've been working hard and I think people know me and I can do more for the ward." Byrne is less sanguine about Byrne's chances than the candidates, at least in public. According to one source that a Sweeper win is a Byrne loss, the mayor's support apparently not to the vote. Byrne's charges appear to have backfired.

"The race has been hit. Parker's forces are appealing the vote. Both candidates accept the vote. Parker accepted the outcome." Byrne has made the hero, a hero again independent of the Chicago Board of Education and a hero in the city. Byrne's charges appear to have backfired.

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William Parker, the 17th Ward Democratic committeeman and a staunch Byrne ally, concede that Byrne has portrayed his differences with the mayor into a distinct political advantage.

"I've tried to make it a Sweeper-Byrne thing instead of a Parker-Streeter thing," Parker said.
Streeter wins in 17th

By Dirk Johnson

In a bitter setback for Mayor Byrne's forces, maverick Ald. Allan Streeter Tuesday trounced Democratic organization candidate Jewel Frierson in the 17th Ward aldermanic runoff. Streeter, an outspoken Byrne critic, commanded nearly 56 percent of the vote in the South Side ward with only 2 of 55 precincts left to report. He led with 5,845 votes to Frierson's 4,631.

"This was a referendum on Jane Byrne," said Streeter, anticipating victory by a wide margin. "The people have defeated her and her army. They have judged Jane Byrne guilty of disrespecting the black community."

"This shows that Jane Byrne cannot be elected in 1983. If she's counting on the black community for support, she's dead."

Streeter was appointed to the City Council by Byrne 17 months ago, but the two broke over the mayor's appointment of two white opponents of busing to the Board of Education. His appointment later was ruled invalid, and a special election was held June 1. Streeter led a 9-candidate field in that election, but failed to garner 50 percent of the vote.

The campaign was marked by bitter recriminations by both Streeter and Byrne. The alderman charged Byrne ordered city workers to work against his election in a move to punish him for defects from her camp.

In turn, Byrne charged two weeks ago that Streeter was under federal investigation for allegedly accepting bribes when he was with the city's Health Department. U.S. Attorney Dan K. Webb dismissed the charges as "without merit."

After that, Byrne virtually conceded Streeter would win the

Streeter wins claims 'defeat of Byrne'

Continued from Page 1

election. She predicted the ward would follow a "consistent" pattern of delivering 3,500 votes for the regular Democratic organization and 4,000-plus votes for what she called the "anti's."

Frierson's campaign manager William Parker, however, said before the election that Byrne was "off base" about the voting patterns. He described the ward as an organization stronghold and noted Frierson carried the ward 2 to 1 over maverick state Sen. Charles Chew Jr. in the Democratic Senate primary in March.

Streeter said his feud with the mayor made him an easy winner. "She put her foot in her mouth too many times," he said. "My chances got better every time she spoke."

Frierson's drubbing is the latest in a series of setbacks for organization-backed candidates.

In a March congressional primary, Ald. William O. Lipinski defeated U.S. Rep. John Fary (D-Illinois), who had the backing of Byrne's forces. In another primary, U.S. Rep. Gus Savage (D-Illinois) survived a challenge by the slated Democrat, Eugene Barnes, when some of Byrne's committeeemen crossed over to work for Savage.

In the waning days before Tuesday's special election, Frierson sought to distance herself from the mayor.

The runoff produced a relatively heavy turnout—46 percent—of voters and relatively few complaints of irregularities. Election officials said 40 complaints had been phoned in when the polls closed, fewer than had been expected.
City Housing Programs In Shambles

Fully eight months after Mayor Byrne announced her housing program for low and moderate income families, the program is in shambles with two of the three programs not functioning and the third under intense criticism by tenants, owners and community organizations. Critics of the programs say they were poorly designed in the first place and were never really intended to promote low and moderate income housing.

The two programs that have not got off the ground are for multi-unit rehabilitation and the Home Acquisition Bond Program. The Home Acquisition Program would have supposedly provided money for the purchase of houses throughout the city in need of repair. Although the program never materialized, it had been criticized from the beginning as a vehicle for providing money for the purchase of condominiums at low interest rates.

Additionally, $2.8 million was taken from this program by the mayor without anyone's knowledge for use in her Clean-up / Green-up campaign. The action infuriated many groups who viewed the mayor as usurping federal monies for her own political use.

On June 9, the Committee on Citizen Participation and Community Development (CDAC), an advisory board for the use of community development funds, published a statement decrying the use of the housing money for the clean-up. "The CDAC opposes the Year VII Budget Revision transferring $2.8 million from the Department of Housing's Home Acquisition Program to the Department of Streets and Sanitation for the weekend city clean-up."

Among many reasons listed in the letter were the need for more housing in the city and the fact that since the clean-up campaign is not targeted to the Neighborhood Strategy Areas (NSAs) the use of community development funds may be illegal. NSAs are areas of the city especially in need of federal assistance.

"We need more, not less, money for housing. There are multi-unit rehab projects waiting for funds and the Housing Subcommittee has recommended that $5 million from the bond program should be allocated to the multi-unit rehab program which has only $3.5 million. Those funds have been committed and more is needed."

The multi-unit rehab program is the mayor's answer to large family housing. It was to replace the previous program which consisted of grants and three percent loans, which were accompanied by rent subsidy programs in most cases. The new program is bogged down and projects are waiting to receive money. By the Department of Housing's own records many more applications have been filed than there is money for.

The third program is the Home Improvement Loan program which came under attack in the last part of June for being ineffective after the Chicago Tribune reported that only 20 poor Chicago families had obtained the low interest loans from the program, even though there has been almost 15,000 phone inquiries about it.

The program is suffering most from "poor program design," according to critics. They say that the current procedures leave homeowners who do not have high credit standing in the position of having to qualify for bank loans at a time when loans are very hard to get.

In addition, contractors contacted by All Chicago City News say the program is very vague and leaves the contractor open to the possibility of constantly being recalled to do more work. They cite examples where they are supposed to estimate "electrical repair" for a home without knowing exactly what repair the city had in mind. This they say can lead to an open ended situation where they never know exactly what they are supposed to repair.

Community organizations and own-
Byrne CHA appointments stir black protest

A long, heated City Council session last Friday culminated in the approval of Mayor Jane Byrne’s nominees to the Chicago Housing Authority Board, but the political results of the mayor’s victory may undermine her chances for reelection in 1983.

By vote of 33 to 14 for Andrew Mooney, 31 to 16 for former Chicago School Superintendent Angeline Caruso and a slim 28 to 19 for businesswoman Estelle Holzer, the City Council approved the Byrne nominees before a chamber gallery packed with police and on-duty city employees rounded up to dilute the presence of protesters. Emotional speeches by 8th Ward Alderman Marian Humes and 43rd Ward Alderman Martin Oberman were cut off in a parliamentary maneuver by Byrne ally John Madrazo (12th Ward).

Humes delivered a quiet but passionate speech that included several references to her childhood in the Altgeld Gardens housing development. "Tears come to my eyes," she said, "to see the kind of deterioration that has occurred." Humes said that the basic problem with the nominees was their lack of sensitivity and concern for their new charges. In the Housing committee hearings held last Wednesday, both Caruso and Holzer admitted that neither had read any of the seven reports on the CHA that have been prepared since 1977.

Mayor Byrne, Humes concluded, had ignored "the cries of mothers as they plead not to have white overseers over their children." More than 84 percent of the CHA’s 150,000 residents are black.

Forty-third Ward Alderman Martin Oberman amplified Humes’ comments, blasting the mayor for employing the old Richard J. Daley tactic of padding the galleries with city workers, some of whom had been in place up to two hours before the session began at 11:30 a.m. Calling the action "an attempt to crush the functioning of democracy," Oberman went on to characterize all three of the nominees as unqualified. "Andrew Mooney," he said, "is a willing follower and puppet of Mr. Charles Swibel," the former CHA board chairman who is Byrne’s principal fundraiser.

After the vote was called, it became clear that the political fallout for Mayor Byrne and her black allies in the City Council could be heavy.

Alderman Danny Davis of the West Side's 29th Ward called the confirmations "one of the saddest acts of this council, accusing Byrne of "slapping blacks in the face."

"They did it because of the intent of the administration to deliberately and systematically oppress the entire black community," said Davis, who earlier in the session had praised Byrne for her selection of Viola Thomas, a West Sider, for the school board.

Fifth Ward Alderman Larry Bloom was incredulous that Byrne moved to cut off debate even though she had the votes to approve her nominees. "You can’t create a racial issue and then not talk about it," said Bloom. "The mayor acts as if we’re not adult enough to deal with it. Why is she afraid to even allow debate on it? This kind of thing," he said, "politically makes no sense at all." Bloom saw the choice of three whites for the board as a needlessly insensitive move.

For Lu Palmer, director of Chicago Black United Communities (CBUC), the vote meant that Byrne "believes she can do anything to blacks and get away with it." Palmer refused to speculate on whether First District Congressman Harold Washington would move more quickly now to announce his candidacy for mayor, but Martin Oberman did, and was sanguine about a black’s prospects. "I still don’t think a black can win," said Oberman. "It’s a matter of practical politics. Anger is greatly heightened by this vote, but blacks still have got to register the voters."

Fourth Ward Alderman Timothy Evans was more optimistic. "Byrne is awakening a sleeping giant," he said. Asked whether the issue was registration or participation, Evans said that the issues together are a "two-edged sword." "After this, blacks are going to be participating more, wherever important decisions are made," said Evans.

Black aldermen supporting the mayor included Robert Shaw (9th), Eloise Barden (16th), William Carothers (28th) and Wilson Frost (34th). CBUC’s Lu Palmer called Frost "another negro alderman," and vowed that "those aldermen who have consistently voted against black interests will be defeated in 1983."

— Bruce Fisher
Jackson hits Byrne where it hurts

Jesse Jackson's planned boycott of ChicagoFest has already succeeded.

Not because Stevie Wonder, probably the most popular black performer in America, has canceled his appearance.

Not because Jackson believes that large numbers of people will stay away.

And not because he expects black vendors to pull out.

It has succeeded because his goal was to engulf in controversy Jane Byrne's most popular event, to tarnish her image as a kindly provider of bread and circuses, and to turn up the heat on her summer.

It has even led him to hint he may run for mayor in 1983.

"I will not rule it out," he said. "I will not reject it with some public statement. I'm eligible. I'm qualified. I could gain a significant following, which I deserve.

"There are not just blacks, but Hispanics and whites and elements in labor who would all vote for a credible black candidate. If I ran, I would be a factor to be reckoned with, the polls show that.

IF HE ACTUALLY intends to run—and at this point he is just as likely to run for president or neither office—the ChicagoFest boycott could be used as the opening gun in his campaign.

"ChicagoFest has become a coronation for Jane Byrne's queenship," he told me Thursday afternoon. "Now, with this boycott, we are letting people know that those who choose to blatantly disrespect black persons must face the consequences.

"The consequences will not be violent, Jackson said. No entertainment vendor or visitor to the fest will be threatened or intimidated.

But all entertainers, black and white—all people of goodwill," Jackson said—will be asked to honor the picket line that his supporters plan to throw up in front of Navy Pier when the fest begins next week.

"We are doing this in order to express our legitimate frustration and anguish and to gain justice," Jackson said.

"The entertainers will be contacted and made aware of the circumstances. We will ask them to honor this protest. We will challenge them with the black community's discontent with Mayor Byrne."

But, Jackson said, "The consequences will not be grave for them [if they appear]. We are not boycotting them; we are boycotting ChicagoFest. I would assume some of them who have signed their contracts will feel bound to honor them and they will probably come.

It is ironic, but true, that ChicagoFest is the event most closely associated with Mayor Byrne and the event of which she is most proud."

WELL, in other words, a perfect target.

Her close identification with the fest is ironic because Byrne originally wanted to scrap ChicagoFest or scale it down significantly, solely because it had been started by the predecessor she loathed, Michael Bilandic.

She was talked out of this and soon realized the huge public relations benefits it brought her. ChicagoFest grew under Byrne. More black entertainers were invited and more black vendors were given spots.

"Yes, she wanted black dollars," Jackson said. "So in fact, Jane Byrne has boycotted us.

"True, she employs black entertainers to attract black customers. But ChicagoFest has boycotted black lawyers, black accountants, black promoters and black executives. Yes, there are a minimal number of black vendors, but there are not black carpenters, building those booths.

"Jackson's breach with the mayor seems as wide as it is final."

"There are certain unstable factors in Mrs. Byrne," he said when I asked him to compare Byrne to her most likely mayoral opponent, Richard M. Daley.

"Her erratic behavior is unlike anyone I have known in public life," he said. "You cannot compare that to Daley."

"I asked him if he would endorse Daley if Daley emerged as the only significant opponent to Byrne."

"That is premature," he said. "I have met with him. He is like me. He is not hostile. One could not make of him an enemy."

WERE BLACKS BETTER off under his late father, Richard J. Daley, than they are now under Jane Byrne, I asked.

"He was a much more stable person," Jackson said. "I found that if you met with Daley and he made a commitment, not only could he deliver, but he would.

"He had a tendency to adjust for the black quest for expansion. His politics were the politics of co-option. The genius of his administration was coalition.

"We obviously had disagreements and struggles with him—one cannot forget his shoot-to-kill-looters order—but he was stable and predictable."

"Byrne is not. And if I have to choose stability vs. instability, I would take stability."

Jackson gave a long list of what he considers the mayor's hostility toward the black community, emphasizing repeatedly that the mayor's packing of the City Council with city workers so blacks could not get in last week was "the straw that broke the camel's back."

"I remember so well Jane Byrne coming to PUSH two weeks before the [mayoral] election asking for support," he said. "She was most surprised that I would endorse her. But we needed a way out of the Daley-Bilandic syndrome."

"She held a press conference saying how significant my
leadership was all that. But after [her election] she made a series of erratic moves."

Jackson mentioned the rejection of Manford Byrd as school superintendent and Sam Nolan as police superintendent. He also spoke of the racial composition of the school and CHA boards, and disparaged Byrne's highly publicized move to Cabrini-Green last year.

"You remember that Cinderella trip she made from the Gold Coast to the Soul Coast?" he said. "You'd think with all the publicity she got, she would make a real commitment to running the CHA [well]. But take a look at what happened."

After our talk, I checked the racial composition of the school and CHA boards:

- Of the current 10-man school board (there is one vacancy) there are four whites, three Hispanics and three blacks.
- The school population of Chicago is 61 percent black, 20 percent Hispanic, and 17 percent white. Last year Byrne replaced two blacks on the board with two whites.
- The CHA's programs are 84 percent black. Its most important program, the family program, is 93 percent black. Byrne recently appointed three whites to the CHA board, thereby eliminating the black majority. The board now has four whites and three blacks.

**IN BOTH CASES, the situation is more complicated than race, however. Not all blacks serving on boards are opposed to Byrne and not all whites support her.**

But still, the racial composition of the boards has become a powerful symbol and rallying point for black protest against the mayor.

"We want to share power on the boards," Jackson said. "We don't want to dominate or be dominated. But in each case, Byrne appointed white women [instead of blacks] to the boards. She appears to be courting the white, female vote, which is an aggressive voting group."

"This was a lot of weight on the camel's back. But when she locked blacks out of the City Council meeting Friday, that was it."

"People cannot act violently, I cannot condone that. And focusing on Byrne as a force [her apartment building was picketed Monday and 14 were arrested], I cannot participate in that. That's a little heavy for me."

"But within the law, we must protest. We must have redress, economically and politically."

**I DO NOT THINK she can be elected without the black vote," Jackson went on. "So her actions are baffling. She either assumes blacks will not vote for her and has written them off, or that we are so docile and stupid we will vote for her no matter what she does."

"She is polarizing this city and we do not need polarizing. We can share power. Blacks, whites, Jews, Hispanics. We can all share."

Jackson rejected the notion that his disagreement with Byrne has taken on a personal, do-or-die overtone.

"Jane Byrne is not my magnificent obsession," he said. "She can organize that herself. In fact, she's the best organizer of that in the city."

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**Chicago residents face a new rent increase based on income**

By Stanley Zamba

CHICAGO HOUSING Authority residents still reeling from rent increases imposed on them by the Reagan administration last year, face another increase this fall under a new, increased rent-income ratio schedule imposed on subsidized housing by the federal government.

Unless the government has a change of heart or is forced to rescind the increase, the city's public housing tenants, families as well as elderly persons whose tenancy expires on or after Oct. 1, will be required to pay 25 percent of their gross adjusted family income for rent for the next year instead of the 20 percent they now pay.

The increase will amount to $5 a month in rent for the average CHA apartment tenant, who pays $399 a year, according to Harvey Eck, acting budget director for the authority. The average rent for a CHA apartment is $69 a month, he noted.

Although the increase is not as large as last year's, when federal housing officials decreed that all CHA tenants pay 25 percent of their gross adjusted family income instead of a lower flat rent based on apartment size, it is likely to add fuel to many residents' complaints that they are being forced to pay an increasing amount of money for public housing at a time funds for public housing maintenance, security and social services are being cut back.

THE NEW RENT schedule for federally subsidized units was published by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) in the Federal Register last month.

If the rates increase goes into effect as expected, about 3,500 CHA apartment tenants will experience the increase in October. CHA officials said.

An additional 5,500 tenants will be subject to the increase each month thereafter through July. The authority has about 7,000 tenant families, and the expiration date of their leases is staggered over a 10-month period, October through July.

"We don't like the increases any more than the tenants do, but we don't have any control over them," Money said. "We along with other housing authorities around the country have been working with Congress to get HUD to defer the increases until, perhaps, eventually overturn them."

"We also are asking our tenant councils to alert Congress and HUD as to the hardships the rent increases are creating for public housing residents."

WHEN HUD MANDATED last year that all CHA residents be required to pay 25 percent of their gross adjusted family income for rent, 36 percent of the authority's apartment occupants received monthly income of as much as $20 or more in rental subsidies.

The CHA's policy until last year was to base rents either on 25 percent of adjusted gross family income or the flat, $5 rent schedule, whichever was less. The policy, according to CHA officials, encouraged working families to remain in public housing despite their increased income so that they could serve as role models and provide leadership to the other tenants.

When HUD forced the housing authority to abandon the policy, CHA officials predicted that the working families, who would be hardest hit by the requirement of paying 25 percent of their income for rent, would seek better apartments in the private market. The result, officials said, would be that the CHA would be populated solely by welfare families and that the added income the authority was supposed to realize by following HUD's mandate would be negligible.

In fact, however, few working families moved, but not because they didn't want to or couldn't afford it, Money said.

"IT'S TRUE the rental market in Chicago is tight," he said. "Furthermore, a lot of the working families within CHA have children and it's difficult to find landlords willing to rent up families with children."

The new federal regulation for subsidized housing rentals also requires that public housing tenants pay an additional 5 percent of their adjusted gross family income with leases that expire during the next year or reappear as expired by the time they are paying 35 percent. That means almost every CHA resident will be paying 30 percent or more of their adjusted gross family income for rent by 1988.

Furthermore, under the new rule, families and elderly persons who become CHA residents as of Sunday will begin paying at the 30 percent rate immediately.

NEWMAN APPOINTED CHA Chairman Andrew Newman said the new rent to income ratio schedule is being applied to all housing authorities across the country. He stressed that the regulations on rents are being handed down by HUD and are not the result of actions taken by local housing authorities.

As in some tenants, he noted, unemployment be-
Fest boycott no longer a Black issue

by Chinta Strausberg

"It's no longer a Black ChicagoFest boycott," Operation PUSH president Rev. Jesse Jackson said at Saturday's regular meeting where over 2,000 supporters packed the auditorium. Rev. Jackson likened the meeting to a "peaceful protest," while others said it reminded them of the civil rights era of the 1960s.

Hundreds vowed they will show up at the picket lines scheduled to begin this Wednesday at 10:00 a.m., and Ald. Clifford Kelley (22d) said he'll be leading the way. It started with a call from what Rev. Jackson calls "an unknown soldier," who last week called into talk-show Derrick Hill's Sunday program and suggested the boycott. The momentum of that snowball effect, Jackson said, will continue to roll along long after the ChicagoFest is gone. They will win, he said, because we are the majority, but because we are their margin of profit. We will win because of Black volume; they can't do without us. We are necessary. The Black dollar is the margin of failure or salvation. We are a "go card," not a "no card."

So far, Steve Wonder, Root and the Gang, and the several yet unnamed white acts have pulled out. Saturday at the PUSH meeting, Leon Finney, Sr., owner of three Lens' Bar-B-Q, said although he had already invested $20,000 he too was pulling out. Sources say he stands to lose $200,000 from the withdrawal.

Journalist Lu Palmer said, "When Byrne locked us out of the City Council hearings, it was the last straw. We broke the camel's back. It was in fact the last nail in her (Byrne's) political coffin. We have had enough."

Over 800 people showed up Sunday at the WBBM live broadcast of Jurgen Hoff's third anniversary talk show where civil rights activists Dorothy Tillman and Marion Stamps said they will meet with Presidential Insurance officials today at 9:30 a.m. in an effort to get Kenneth Shirley removed from the CIA. Jillman and Stamps were arrested last Monday, along with 12 others, for demonstrating in front of Byrne's Gold Coast apartment.

Also named to the CIA board were former interim School Superintendent Angelina P. Caregese Andrew Macpherson, former executive director for CHA. The group has all three to be removed and replaced by qualified persons—preferably Black "to reflect the population of CHA."

ChicagoFest boycott no longer a 'Black' protest

White vendor to join picket lines

by Cynthia Jones

A white vendor whose name appeared on a list of Black vendors supplied by Festivals, Inc. said the ChicagoFest "misrepresented" his firm and has proven his support behind the boycott.

Randall Zych, a partner in Professional Conferences and Management, an Oak Forest company that markets special interest paragons, said "it seems there was a lot of misrepresentation (by Fest organizers) there." He thinks ChicagoFest promoters were "trying to portray us as a Black vendor trying to tuck the boycott — that’s not true."

Speaking from his home, Zych said he, his partners and other business associates "are in total support of the boycott. We have gotten a lot of feedback (from whites); everyone is against what Mayor Byrne has done."

Zych said he repeatedly emphasized to Festivals, Inc. that his company was planning to sell one of its major products — the Black Heritage tee-shirt — at the controversial festival slated to begin Wednesday. He said the firm also markets materials commemorating the Pope's visit.

Although the company has invested $20,000 in a booth at ChicagoFest, Zych said that booth will be empty. Instead, he will offer the tee-shirts to members of the various organizations supporting the boycott and use the booth for fund-raisers for Black organizations. And, Zych added, he plans to join the pickets outside.

The tee-shirts are a montage of 60 famous Blacks. Zych said the shirts were his response to the notion that the only famous Blacks were those who were athletes or entertainers. The montages are also available as plaques — DuSable Museum is selling them to raise money for a new wing — and posters that contain biographies of the person appearing in the montage. The products have been out in the marketplace two years, Zych said, but it had gotten little response. "We were counting on ChicagoFest to get our product out before the public," he said. He added, "This (boycott) is not just the Black community — there was a lot of white businessmen who feel the same way."
Letters

Hits Tribune on Black 'Fest boycott

Dear Editor:

I don't usually comment on newspaper editorials, especially those appearing in the Chicago Tribune which involve Blacks — because at best, they are only "half-truths" and in this case an outright lie.

This letter is not an attempt to defend Rev. Jesse Jackson. He is capable of doing that himself. I am merely challenging a Chicago Tribune editorial that did not tell the truth about the "Black boycott" of the ChicagoFest.

The head on the editorial reads: "Jesse Jackson and Racial Politics.

Fact: Jesse Jackson didn't originate "racial politics" in Chicago. It always has been here. When the Rev. Jesse Jackson makes the Black community aware of the racist policies of the white Irish-dominated Chicago Democrat machine, the white news media make him (Rev. Jackson) the issue.

The Chicago Tribune editorial also stated that the Black boycott of Mayor Byrne's ChicagoFest "failed" because attendance at the 'Fest this year was as high as it was last year.

Fact: Rev. Jesse Jackson would not be a national leader if he was naive enough to believe that whites in Chicago would honor a Black boycott of anything.

Fact: The Black boycott of Mayor Byrne's ChicagoFest was a success, because based on the white news media figures, Black participation was less than 5 percent, which means 95 percent of us did not attend ChicagoFest.

Fact: If 95 percent of us did not buy the Chicago Tribune, the Tribune would have a problem — as would Mike Royko of the Chicago Sun Times and Mr. Walter Jacobson on Channel 2 news. I remind the Rev. Jesse Jackson and Lu Palmer that they will have to deal with the racist Chicago news media before they/we would have any chance of electing a Black mayor in the racist city of Chicago. Let's not forget the Chicago Defender; they play funny games, too.

We in the Black community will have to deal with those Black aldermen who could not get to the City Council without the Black vote — yet, they stand with Mayor Byrne whenever she decides to insult the Black community.

F. J. J.
Vernon Jarrett

Jane Byrne’s newest city ‘carnival’

I WATCHED with dismay Tuesday morning as the inflammatory ingredients of big city racial violence were put on display in living color.

I observed from close-up the first meeting of Mayor Jane Byrne’s new Chicago Housing Authority board under the direction of the CHA board’s new chairman, Andrew J. Mooney. I must identify this event as Mayor Byrne’s CHA Board Meeting because she insists that every Chicago event that presumably is pleasure-stimulating bear her name.

If we have Mayor Byrne’s Taste of Chicago and Mayor Byrne’s ChicagoFest and Mayor Byrne’s forthcoming GospelFest, then we should have Mayor Byrne’s CHA Board Meeting.

Tuesday morning her CHA Board Meeting exploded into what could have been a prelude to Mayor Byrne’s ViolenceFest. Cops and CHA security officers versus black women who were trying to voice the anguish of the poor, the disregarded, the leftovers of society.

Before the physical clash of angry citizens and cops and guards, there was the board’s cold, sullen, callous, unfeeling exhibition of contempt for all black Chicagoans. I, a black journalist, was not the only person to feel the cold steel in their voices and see it in their faces. Two white reporters shook their heads in disbelief as Mooney & Co. made it clear that they were not about to yield “just a fraction of an inch” to the inquiries of black board member Robert Robinson.

MIND YOU, Robinson did not call for a revolution. He merely did what every tax-paying citizen should do when appointed to a board. He consistently sought out the logic and the source of every important item of an omnibus resolution that Mooney asked the board to approve.

Robinson wanted to know how the board chairman’s proposed salary of $72,000 had been determined since it had not been discussed by a board committee. He asked why only one individual was under consideration for the $65,000-a-year executive director’s post and why veteran CHA eff-

ployees were not given consideration. He also questioned the CHA’s process of determining the cost it will pay for work done.

Robinson, calmly and with a low voice, simply asked typical taxpayers’ questions. He was met with the dour expressions of Mooney & Co. Robinson was the only board member who insisted on clear explanations of the measures voted on.

CLEARLY IT WAS Robinson against the machine. He made not a single inflammatory statement, called no one a racist and never raised his voice. But he was shot down.

They shut him off even when he called for an innocuous little bromide, probably doing so to cool the tembers of his black supporters. He suggested that the board appoint an ex-officio board member—with absolutely no power—from the CHA’s Central Advisory Council (CAC), which is the CHA’s recognized tenant organization.

The CHA board’s meeting room provides special seating for the CAC president, Arzenca Randolph, and its executive committee. Mrs. Randolph, a quiet, businesslike resident of Washington Park Homes, differs from several of the other CHA tenant-group leaders in that she never shouts or jumps to her feet during meetings.

The CHA board treated her as though she were a raging revolutionary. When Robinson proposed that Mrs. Randolph be appointed as the ex-officio member, the Byrne board voted not to permit her to serve.

Mrs. Randolph left the meeting in tears. “Those people (the board members) don’t respect even a woman like Sister Randolph,” said an elderly black female CHA tenant. “Those folks are playing right into the hands of the rioters.”

THERE WAS another aspect of that meeting that I can’t dismiss. Were it not for people like Mrs. Randolph, board member Robinson and the tenants brought there by Dorothy Tillman and Marian Stamps and radio commentator Lu Palmer, black Chicago would not have been represented.

It was not a single known leader of any major human rights organization (white, black or Hispanic) there to sit with the black CHA tenants. They had a right to feel insulted by the CHA board and obeyed by the upper strata of the professional black community.

Before the board meeting, Stamps, Tillman and Palmer caucused and agreed to make their statement and if threatened with arrest, simply leave and “go picket Estelle Holzer’s (a new board member) Prudential Insurance” a reference to her workplace.

As the meeting progressed, they sensed their isolation. They became hysterical. One move by a security guard and there was violence. It has happened before in macrocosm.
G.A. Recipients Organize P.O.W.E.R.

By George Atkins

Faced with massive cuts, General Assistance recipients have organized a group called POWER to, “ensure their very survival.” POWER, which stands for People Organized for Welfare and Employment Rights, is a broad city-wide coalition of groups and welfare recipients.

At a demonstration called by the group on Tuesday, June 8, welfare recipients gathered at the Daley Center, while attorneys for the group filed a Friend of the Court brief in an appeal action to the Illinois Supreme Court. The appeal seeks to restore General Assistance grants for May and June to $162. As All Chicago City News goes to press the court has not yet ruled on an appeal heard Thursday, June 10.

General Assistance grants have been reduced from $162 to $144 since the first of the year, as Governor Thompson and the General Assembly have continually cut state funds allocated for the program.

From the Daley Center, the crowd moved to City Hall where the demonstrators registered to vote in an attempt to force Thompson and state legislators to reconsider their actions. In a prepared statement the group calls for the restoration of General Assistance grants to $162 a month and for no cuts in medical aid.

“This is the first in a series of actions POWER will take in the next several months to fight for the roll back of General Assistance and medicaid cuts. We are initiating today a massive voter registration effort to register each of the 106,000 people on General Assistance in the Chicago area. This campaign will start today. If necessary we will take direct action tactics to force the governor and the legislature to act to raise the level of G.A. benefits to a survival level. The current level of $144 is not enough to pay rent anywhere in the Chicago area and amounts virtually to putting 106,000 people on the street.

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“In addition we call your attention to new medicaid guidelines set by IDPA for July for General Assistance recipients and for those in the category of AMI (Aid to the Medically Indigent) and MANG (Medical Assistance No Grant). These guidelines say, in effect, that no medical services, medical supplies or medicines will be reimbursable on the green card unless a doctor certifies that it is a life or death emergency. This amounts to no less than murder.”

While the new IDPA regulations say that payment will be made for drugs necessary to maintain life or meet a life threatening situation, physicians and pharmacists contacted by ACCN said that IDPA has even ruled out medications that are vital. According to one pharmacist, Isuprili, a drug which reduces the severity of asthmatic attacks can no longer be paid for with a medical card. The pharmacist said Isuprili was important because it was one of the fastest acting drugs and that people tended to panic during an asthmatic attack if relief is slow in coming. Panicking only makes the attack worse, according to doctors. Also, pre-natal vitamins are no longer paid for, which doctors say are absolutely necessary in ensuring a healthy baby.

Members of POWER also charge that the new rulings will force people to go to “street clinics” because outpatient hospital care will no longer be paid for. They charge that many of these clinics have been exposed as fronts for “quacks” and that several have been charged by the state with fraud in the past.

Among other items removed by IDPA are all optometrist, chiropractor and podiatrist services including eyeglasses and dentures.

POWER: We will register 100,000!

P.O.W.E.R. (People Organized for Welfare and Employment Rights) announced Friday, August 20, that they have concluded an agreement with the Board of Elections Commissioners and the Illinois Dept. of Public Aid to conduct voter registration at 30 public aid and unemployment offices for 20 days, beginning Monday August 30th.

"We are confident that we can add 100,000 A.F.D.C. recipients, G.A. recipients and unemployed residents to the voter registration rolls by September 27th," said Slim Coleman, co-chairman of the coalition which includes 15 welfare rights and community organizations. "We are going to accomplish a dramatic shift in the political scales in favor of those who have been ignored, used, and abused for too long."

The agreement follows a pilot program run by P.O.W.E.R. for the seven days during which P.O.W.E.R. conducted voter registration at two offices each day. The program averaged over 150 registrations per site, per day, in a four hour period. In all P.O.W.E.R. registered over 2,000 people.

"Our projection of 100,000 for September is based on the effectiveness and the overwhelmingly positive response during the pilot program. During the September full scale registration effort the sites will operate from 8:30 a.m. until 2:30 p.m. If we hold to 70% of the rate of registration we had during the pilot program, with the greatly expanded number of sites and expanded hours we should easily top 100,000," said Coleman.

P.O.W.E.R. came together out of a nine month struggle against General Assistance (G.A.) cuts, medicaid cuts and rising unemployment. "The coalition was formed by welfare recipients who determined to organize, to stand up and fight back. When the legislature and the governor cut G.A. checks to $144 dollars a month, which is not enough even to pay rent in Chicago, and when the mayor of the city of Chicago refused to lift a finger dragged its feet, according to the coalition, on providing the training programs for the core of volunteers who work almost every day. Unchallenged, the Coalition sought help elsewhere and, for example, several of the volunteers have recently completed CPR training through the cooperation of paramedics from the to help us, the welfare recipients themselves came up with the idea to conduct massive voter registration at public aid and unemployment offices. We will be recognized. We will survive."

P.O.W.E.R. explains that Governor Thompson fought the voter registration program at every step. "We were within an hour of filing suit when the agreement to conduct the pilot program was reached. We actually filed suit in order to get the governor's people to the table with P.O.W.E.R. and the Board of Elections so that the present agreement could be reached."

Even now, the agreement requires P.O.W.E.R. to provide vans, tables, chairs and six volunteers at each site. "It is going to take a massive effort,"
P.O.W.E.R.: “Moving the Mountain”
Most successful voter registration drive in Chi. history
By George Atkins

With even the Board of Election officials calling it the “most successful voter registration effort in the city’s history,” P.O.W.E.R.‘s massive campaign to register voters at public aid and unemployment offices ticked off twenty-five thousand in the first two weeks of its four week effort.

Board of Election officials say they were skeptical when they were first approached by the grassroots coalition, comprised of 15 community, welfare rights and civil rights organizations, calling itself People Organized for Welfare and Employment Rights. (P.O.W.E.R.)

In fact, P.O.W.E.R. came together over the last six months during an intense fight to stop severe cuts in general assistance and medical card cuts ordered by the Thompson administration. According to P.O.W.E.R. spokespersons, the voter registration effort was a logical outcome of “politicians’ total refusal to respond to the emergency desperation situation of the unemployed and those on public assistance.”

The massive new voter registrations, showing a new and more active political response from poor Blacks, Latinos and Whites, has created attention among the city’s aldermanic and mayoral hopefuls as well as state officials.

According to P.O.W.E.R. Co-Chairpersons Nancy Jefferson and Slim Coleman, “The Mohammeds would not come to the mountain, so we have moved the mountain to the Mohammeds. The next governor of this state may well owe his election to the unemployed and those on welfare, and the necessary conditions for a people’s mayoral candidate have been met. We have created a 51st ward in the city of Chicago.”

Credit for the success of the drive, according to Coleman, goes to the hundreds of volunteers working at the thirty sites all over the city. But a condition set by the state and Board of Elections has caused P.O.W.E.R. special financial hardships. P.O.W.E.R. must rent mobile units for each of the thirty sites each day.

“In order to continue the program,” says Coleman, “we must raise another $15,000. Contributions should be made to P.O.W.E.R. at 1222 W. Wilson Wilson, Chicago, Ill. 60640. For more information or to volunteer, call 769-2085, anytime day or night.”

Participating in the most successful voter registration drive in Chicago’s history—people register at the unemployment offices at W. Diversey and N. California.
Voter Registration Drive targets Hispanics

Hispanic voter registration in Chicago will be significantly increased as a result of a voter registration drive launched by the Midwest Voter Registration Education Project. The Project, which is a broadly based, non-partisan effort, began the registration August 26. The drive will culminate September 26.

According to Project members, "Hispanic Americans in Chicago suffered a serious political setback through the redistricting of the city wards. As a result, in nine Hispanic wards, Hispanics lost over 9,000 registered voters who were switched to other wards." Members claim that there are approximately 1,700 fewer Hispanic registered voters in these wards than in 1976.

Project members charge this is unacceptable at a time of increasing Hispanic population in Chicago. They point to statistics that show the Hispanic population increasing by over 88,000 since 1970 in these same nine wards.

At a press conference last August 26, Juan Andradi of the Project told reporters, "it is abundantly clear that Hispanic Americans must become registered and active voters in a process that must inevitably result in the election of Hispanic American public officials. Hispanic Americans must work hard to elect capable Hispanic where possible," continued Andradi, "and where that is not possible, work just as hard to ensure the election of those who can best represent us. Hispanic Americans must gain control, of their own political destiny and we shall."

Project members also cite statistics showing that while Hispanics comprise 14 percent of Chicago's population, they hold less than 2 percent of the elected offices and that less than a third of the Hispanics eligible to vote are registered to vote.

Also at the conference were representatives from the People's Voter Registration Movement and P.O.W.E.R., both organizations that are deeply involved in increasing registration among the poor. Andradi said the Project supported those movements stating "Hispanics, Blacks and all the poor should try to work together for their common good."

The voter registration drive has been averaging over 500 new registrations each weekend since its beginning.

Organizational Members of P.O.W.E.R. (People Organized for Welfare and Employment Rights)

- The Heart of Uptown Coalition
- The Midwest Community Council
- The Southeast Welfare Concerned Recipient Organization
- The Chicago Housing Tenants Organization
- Operation PUSH
- The South Austin Community Coalition
- The Chicago Area Black Lung Association
- The Chicago Welfare Rights Organization
- The Pilsen Housing and Business Alliance
- The Public Welfare Coalition
- The Illinois Welfare Rights Coalition
- The Parent Equalizers of Chicago
- The Kenwood Oakland Community Organization
- The Chicago Gray Panthers
- The Tranquility-Marksman Memorial Organization
- The Chicago Urban League
- The All People's Congress

Organizational Members of P.O.W.E.R.
P.O.W.E.R. wins special voter registration—Will create “51st Ward”

The Chicago Board of Elections has agreed to help increase voter registration among public aid recipients and the unemployed, according to P.O.W.E.R., a city wide coalition. However, resistance from Governor Thompson’s office may potentially harm the effort.

P.O.W.E.R., which stands for People Organized for Welfare and Employment Rights, is a coalition of some 17 community organizations, civil rights and welfare rights organizations.

It was organized last June as a result of the devastating cuts in general assistance benefits. General assistance grants in Chicago have been reduced from $162 to $144 since the first of the year, as Governor Thompson and the Illinois General Assembly have consistently cut state funds allocated for the program. P.O.W.E.R. organizers charge that no one can find housing in Chicago for $144 a month.

In order to prove that voter registration was low among public aid recipients, P.O.W.E.R. organizers surveyed public aid offices around the city and found that less than 45 percent of those present were registered to vote. Members of the group then presented the Board of Elections with those and other statistics the week of July 12, along with a proposal asking for special voter registration at public aid and unemployment offices. Shortly after that, P.O.W.E.R. says that the
Voter Registration Drive Exceeds Expectations — Over 230,000 registered

By Helen Shiller

Exceeding all expectations, 135,000 people registered to vote on Tuesday, October 5, topping off a community based voter registration drive that saw approximately 70,000 people registered during August and September. Of these, 42,000 were registered by P.O.W.E.R. at public aid and unemployment offices.

Prior to October 5 (in-precinct registration day), a total of 102,444 people had registered in community outreach programs since January 1982.

Calling the effort “a tremendous success,” Chicago Board of Elections Chairman Michael E. Lavelle said, “there is a reversal in voter registration patterns,” referring to the overwhelming number of Black people who registered to vote.

Unlike previous registration drives, the mobilizers were not the politicians or even the well established groups in the city. Grassroot organizations, involved in day to day survival issues such as welfare, housing and education, provided the incentive for the most massive voter registration drive ever seen in Chicago.

The over 230,000 people registered so far this year exceeds the total number of people registered to vote in all the community voter registration outreach programs held by the Board of Elections since 1973.

According to Board of Election officials, at least two times as many Blacks as Whites registered, while participants in the special effort say that in addition the bulk of the non-Black registrants are low-income Whites and Latinos. This, they say, clearly indicates the increased potential for a community oriented Black mayoral candidacy to be successful.

The 42nd and 3rd wards which have the highest concentrations of CHA residents in Chicago were among the top five wards in voter registration on October 5.

The development of grass roots leadership was the theme of the recent Concerned Young Adults (CYA) Banquet. CYA is involved in training young people to take leadership in their community and is recognized around the city for their efforts. Congressman Harold Washington, who was introduced by Alderman Clifford Kelley, also praised the efforts of CYA. Washington went on to say that the recent massive voter registration effort, in which CYA had participated, had created an almost certainty that there would be a Black mayoral candidate in 1983 who would “force a frank discussion of the issues, for a change, in this city.” Above CYA director Paul Oliver presents an award to Congressman Harold Washington while Tom Young looks on.
Catching voter fever

Voter registration figures in Chicago this year add up to nothing short of one of the biggest civics lessons in our city's history.

Consider the statistics:

Before precinct registration Tuesday, according to the Board of Election Commissioners, 102,444 new voters had been signed up through the city, with 70 percent estimated to be black. Of the total, 63,817 signed up in September alone.

Then on Tuesday, the last registration day before the Nov. 2 elections, another 135,000 signed up, with the greatest activity in 17 predominantly black wards.

Those numbers are record-breakers. They speak volumes for the election board, which went out of its way to help blacks reverse their historic under-representation on voter rolls.

And they validate the tremendous efforts of black leaders to bring their people in to the political clout they deserve.

The honor roll is long: POWER (a coalition of community groups), Operation PUSH, Chicago Black United Communities, The Woodlawn Organization, the Urban League, the Afro-American Patrol League, a host of churches—all devoted time, money and sweat to the signup.

Still, their efforts must not fail if they are to be felt in November's general election and in next year's city votes: Low registration hasn't been the only problem in minority areas; low voter turnout has also kept blacks, Latinos and others from making their voices heard.

In this year's redistricting disputes, that fact led to claims that minority wards need disproportionately high ratios of blacks and Latinos to assure proper representation. A federal judge observed that minorities are free to register, vote and assert their will in the traditional way.

Proudly, the first steps in that process have been taken. Informed voting comes next. That will require studying candidates and issues—and a massive mobilization toward the polls.

The rush to register

One fact about the coming elections is hard to explain and impossible to ignore: the astonishing success of a voter-registration drive among black and poor Chicagoans.

About 135,000 voters signed up Tuesday, the deadline for the Nov. 2 elections. Over the previous weeks 102,000 people had responded to the Voter Outreach program launched by the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners and had registered at tables set up throughout the city. After ineligible voters are pruned from the list, the result is likely to be a net increase of over 10 percent over the 1.4 million voters registered for the March primary.

This is exciting news. It hints at a new age for Chicago politics—one in which no race, no ethnicity, no economic class can be taken for granted by any party, and leaders have to win their votes instead of taking title to them. Anything can happen in a city where elections are decided by conscious choice instead of automatic habit.

What brought about this change? Leaders of the registration drive give credit (if that's the word) to Mayor Byrne, who seems to have infuriated black Chicagoans to the point where they are eager for any chance to vote against her. Ald. Marian Humes (8th), a South Side independent, sees the turnout as evidence of a “new awareness” in the black community that you have to register and vote to “make your feelings count.”

The rush to register is good news for Adlai Stevenson, Democratic candidate for governor who helped finance the drive; the new registrants, thousands of whom signed up in state public aid and unemployment compensation offices, are hardly likely to vote for Republican Gov. James Thompson. But the governor’s race probably is not what most of the new registrants had in mind; their concern is the mayoral primary next February. And the question is not merely a choice between Mrs. Byrne and her likely opponent, State’s Atty. Richard M. Daley: it is whether the time has come for Chicago to elect a black mayor.

The prospect of facing a black third candidate complicates things a great deal, especially for Mr. Daley. The obvious deduction is that such a candidate would take more votes away from him than from Mrs. Byrne—who can pretty well write off the black vote anyway — and give her the election. Maybe so, but the size and intensity of the registration turnout means that the election of a black mayor cannot be dismissed as impossible.

The turnout in black precincts Nov. 2 will give a reading on Chicago’s political temperature. If it fails to reflect the upturn in voter registration, one can conclude that the new black voters are training their guns solely on the mayoral race and have no special interest in other contests. But a sharply increased turnout will deliver a still stronger message: that black voters at last are convinced the election process can work for them too, and are out to make it work.
Voters sign up—but may stay at home

VOTER REGISTRATION in Chicago has soared in recent months, sparking hopes among Democratic candidates of a huge turnout at the polls come Nov. 2. But the guess here, after observing months and months of a generally dreary and occasionally dirty campaign, is that higher registration won’t translate into a stampede at the polls, the state’s flagging economy notwithstanding.

In too many cases, the politicians simply haven’t given the public any strong reason to care.

The governor’s race has garnered national attention because of its dramatic scenario: Jim Thompson is a Republican seeking reelection in the heart of the recession-wrecked Midwest against Adlai Stevenson III, former U.S. senator and son of a legendary Democratic figure.

WHOEVER PREVAILS will become a major figure within his party, and a serious supporter for the presidency in the years to come.

The campaign, however, has failed to live up to that lofty billing. It has degenerated into a contest of insults rather than insights, an impression reaffirmed by last week’s Carbondale debate.

On one side was Stevenson, seeking to shed his “wimp” stigma by aggressively attacking the governor. Some of his thrusts were in bounds, but too often he crossed the line, such as when he blithely suggested that Thompson’s running-mate for lieutenant governor, George Ryan, might be guilty of Medicaid fraud.

Though Thompson went overboard after the debate when he accused Stevenson of using tactics reminiscent of McCarthyism, there’s no question that the Democrat was guilty of a few low blows.

Moreover, the governor could have covered himself with glory at Carbondale. His haughty demeanor, symbolized by the manner in which he repeatedly and acutely addressed Stevenson as “sir,” seemed ominous, as did his repeated attempts to demean Stevenson’s years of service.

Anyone who watched the debate—and few did, according to the television ratings—came away with an image of two men who dislike each other intensely, rather than with a clearer understanding of what they stand for.

Maybe it’s that petty tone that has led to the voter ambivalence evident in recent polls. The latest Tribune survey, for example, indicates that the number of voters undecided or unwilling to make a choice in the governor’s race is rising rather than falling as Election Day approaches.

NONE OF THE other state campaigns has proven particularly gripping.

In the race for secretary of state, Jim Edgar and Jerry Coentino have made an effort to raise issues, but how scintillating can you make a contest for an office that primarily involves license plates and drivers’ licenses? Only the polls get excited about this office, which carries with it 3,500 jobs and a matchless opportunity to do favors.

There are real issues surrounding the office of attorney general, but too much of the race between Tyrone Fahmer and Neil Hartigan has centered on foolish posturing about how to best make the Illinois Commerce Commission stop raising utility rates.

Moreover, there is little to say about the remaining state races for treasurer and comptroller, because those campaigns have been almost invisible.

IN COOK COUNTY, there is a competitive race for president of the Cook County Board that equals the campaign for governor in style and class.

Former State’s Atty. Bernard Carey, prodded into the race by Republican leaders, has waged an essentially negative campaign in an effort to persuade the public that George Dunne, the veteran Democratic incumbent, is not as benign as he seems.

Carey’s commercials hit Dunne—unfairly—as a big spender and big taxer, and chide him—for refusing to disclose details of his enormous wealth.

The Carey approach has turned the campaign into an alley fight, and Dunne, despite his courtly manner, proved last week that he could sink to the occasion.

In an obviously orchestrated maneuver, Democratic commissioners on the County Board ordered an investigation into some misplaced county checks that Carey’s team left behind after his term ended as state’s attorney.

The checks were brought to light with the cooperation of State’s Atty. Richard Daley, a Dunne ally who unseated Carey. Dunne’s campaign office promptly sent out a press release announcing that Daley was investigating the matter, which Dunne charged was a reflection of Carey’s lax administration.

THIS RACE IS THE only real battle on the county ballot. As usual, the other GOP candidates are woefully underfunded, although some, like sheriff’s candidate Joseph Kozenczak, are running imaginative, shoestring campaigns.

There are a handful of hot local congressional and legislative races, some wrought by reapportionment, but not so many as to stir widespread interest.

Why, then, was there such a large registration in Chicago, and not elsewhere? The answer is that the drive to sign up blacks to vote in the next mayoral election was a smashing success.

So there may well be a resultant large voter turnout. But don’t look for it in November. Look for it next February, when the mayoral primary is held.

Huge voter turnout enhances mayoral bid

by Juanita Bratcher

Black voters turned out in record numbers for Tuesday’s election, and momentum was given to the recent voters registration drive which added approximately 127,000 new Black voters to the rolls.

Ald. Clifford Kelley said he was extremely pleased over the turnout in the Black community “because it will definitely have an impact on not only white politicians, but Black politicians as well. The Black vote will certainly take notice of this.”

Analyzing Black voters’ turnout in Tuesday’s election enhance the chance of a Black mayoral candidate. Kelley appeared on WXOL Tuesday night and there were no positive comments by callers on the existing administration.

“Not only is a Black mayor possible but under the right conditions, probable,” Kelley said. “The Byrne administration will be coming to an end in the next months, and I don’t see anything that can philosophically change the Black community after three and three-fourth years to make them feel the current administration has respected or has even been sensitive to the real needs of the Black citizens of Chicago.

“Many Black people had really been involved with the voters registration drive,” said Kelley, “and they followed through in Tuesday’s election and it was very sophisticated.”

Kelley said there are many Blacks that could be excellent candidates for mayor, “but all of the candidates want Congress­man Harold Washington to run. But, if he doesn’t run; someone will,” said Kelley.
B. CRISIS
Mayoral race jockeying begins

By Basil Talbott Jr. and Lillian Williams

On the eve of Tuesday's state and county election, potential hopefuls for Chicago mayor maneuvered into post positions.

• Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.) predicted a black will challenge Mayor Byrne and said he will announce whether he wants to be that challenger on Nov. 10.
• An associate of State's Attorney Richard M. Daley said a report that Daley will announce for mayor Thursday was correct, but added that the timing is being reassessed.

How to get voting facts, report trouble

Voters who have questions about Tuesday's ballot locations and procedures, who experience any difficulty in voting or who suspect any irregularities in or around polling places are urged to call:

Richard M. Daley said a report that Daley will announce for mayor Thursday was correct, but added that the timing is being reassessed.

• Former 43rd Ward Ald. William S. Singer said he has been newly encouraged by friends to join in the race—especially if Washington decides not to get into it.
• Ald. Roman C. Pucinski (41st) said a multiple candidate race for mayor "would be very tempting for a fourth candidate" and reaffirmed he is considering the race.
• Illinois Supreme Court Justice Seymour Simon, who has been weighing the race over family opposition, said, "I don't want to say 'no' yet, but time is getting shorter every day and I'll be in Springfield until Thanksgiving."

Washington disclosed the timing of his announcement on whether to run as petitions were Turn to Page 18

Hopefuls begin jockeying for position in mayoral race

Continued from Page 5

being circulated that could put him on the ballot for the Feb. 22 mayoral primary.

David S. Canter, chairman of the Hyde Park-Kenwood chapter of the Independent Voters of Illinois-Independent Precinct Organization, said the Washington petition drive was not authorized by the congressman.

"It's a draft," said Canter. "We're attempting to force Washington to run."

Canter's petitions would put Washington on the ballot in the Feb. 22 Democratic primary election.

Alan Doby, an independent who also serves as the 6th Ward Democratic committeeman, endorsed the petition drive. Doby said he talked to Washington about the race in September.

"I told him quite frankly that I thought he stood an excellent chance, but he didn't commit himself," Doby said. "He made it clear that if he ran, he would appeal to all of the people and not just the black community."

Renault Robinson, a Washington supporter and a member of the board of the Chicago Housing Authority, said he thinks the congressman will run for mayor but that the decision hasn't been made yet.

"So far it looks good, but we're being careful," said Robinson. "We're doing our homework. After Tuesday, we'll all sit back and watch Daley announce his candidacy. We wanted to see him announce first."

A top Washington aide, however, said the congressman has made no preparations for organizing or financing a mayoral campaign.

Others who are considering running include Ald. Danny Davis (20th) and Ald. Clifford Kelley (20th).
Powerfull mayor race

Now, fun starts

For many Chicagoans, the preliminary skirmishing is over. Choosing a governor, congressmen and the others can be entertaining. But now we get down to the serious war—the election of a mayor.

Oh, what a gory battle this promises to be, with Prince Richie of Bridgeport trying to reclaim the family throne from Queen Rosey.

And there could be others: Harold Washington, the great black hope, and Roman Pucinski, the great Polish hope. Even Billy Singer, who was once the great liberal hope, is giving serious thought to jumping in.

For the spectator, it will be great entertainment. A Byrne-Daley debate could be as much fun as the old Abbott and Costello "who's on first, what's on second," routine.

DALEY, OF COURSE, has been taking intensive speech lessons ever since it was discovered by his advisers that he had never exited from the same sentence he entered. Sources say that he has progressed to the point where he not only can complete a sentence, but he even understands some of what he has said.

And Mayor Byrne has been working hard on his new calm, reasonable, dignified demeanor. Only in private does he occasionally shout: "Off with his head!"

But as entertaining as it will be for most of us, it will be a gut-wrenching experience for the city's ward bosses, aldermen, and other politicians, and for the countless business executives, real estate men, lawyers, contractors, and consultants who make their living through clout with City Hall.

They will have to decide whose side they're on. Making the right choice could mean prosperity and influence. The wrong choice could lead to banishment and financial disaster and the ultimate tragedy—being forced to go out and earn an honest living.

It's a double-strength Maalox decision, accompanied by tormented cries of: "What if I back Byrne but Daley wins? What happens to my zoning deal?" Or: "What if I back Daley but Byrne wins? What happens to my patronage?" Or: "What if I make a contribution to both? Will my consulting deal be OK?"

FOR SOME, the choice has already been made. Daley is surrounded by a mixture of old-line members of the Daley clan and Byrne-haters. Every time Byrne exiles somebody from City Hall, he rushes to join the Daley campaign.

And Byrne has a large following among those who are motivated by loyalty, fear, admiration, fear, distrust of the Daleys, fear, and also by fear.

But most of the people who can help swing an election through their political influence and money won't make a final decision until they stick a trembling finger into the air to see which way the wind is blowing.

I know this won't come as much of a surprise to Chicagoans, but the power dealers' decisions won't be based on what is best for the city. They'll be thinking about what is best for themselves.

There are many ward bosses and other politicians who, while not caring much for Byrne, still believe they are better off with her as mayor than with Daley.

THAT'S BECAUSE they remember what happened the last time a Daley held that office. He kept it for 21 years, boarded 99.9 percent of the power, and youthful potential successors grew old waiting for their opportunity, which never came.

Knowing the Daleys' clannish approach, they fear that there would be another decade or two of being dominated by Richie, his shrewd brother Billy, Tom Hynes and the other members of the Daley inner circle.

These politicians look in the mirror and say: "I am young and I have all of the statesmanlike qualities for leadership in Chicago: I'm ruthless, ambitious and greedy. But if another Daley wins, I will become toothless, arthritic and senile before I get my main chance."

So they figure that they would be better off with Byrne for another four years because she might be easier for one of them to eventually dawdle.

They also figure that while she's in there, they might receive a more gratifying response to the traditional Chicago question and unofficial slogan that says: "ubi est mea," which is Latin for "Where's Mine?"

That's because the Daley clan's approach could always be summed up this way: "What's mine is mine, and what's yours is mine, too."

BECAUSE BYRNE has a natural flair for turning calm into confusion and confusion into chaos, many believe that in all the confusion they can't help but snatch a thin slice of the pie. Some are content with less than a slice. Even a crumb makes them delicious.

Some thoughtful readers are probably saying: "But what is best for the city? Who would make the ablest leader? Who could best lead us into the perilous years ahead?"

I'm afraid that's not the main consideration—at least not to those who will be doing the pushing and shoving. If it were, neither of them would be running. We could probably just drop the names of all 2.9 million Chicagoans into a hat, pick one out, and do just as well.
Black may redo mayor script

By Monroe Anderson

THE LATEST crop of bumper stickers riding around town carry a simple message: "Hello, Richie! Goodbye, Jane!"

There is one glaring flaw in this. It assumes that State's Atty. Richard M. Daley is the only person who could displace Jane Byrne in the February mayoral primary. But there is another possibility, one that ought to be given serious consideration: There may soon be a black boss in Chicago.

Here is the way the conventional wisdom—reflected in the bumper sticker—goes: Forget the fact that there are only 105,430 Chicagoans who are, like Daley and Byrne, of Irish-American descent. Dismiss the fact that there are 1.2 million Chicagoans of African-American descent. Ignore the fact that the second largest ethnic group in Chicago is Mexican-American with a population of 254,566, or that Polish-Americans are third with 206,268.

Rather than evaluate these numbers, both bumper sticker authors and political pundits prefer to stick with the traditional Chicago political wisdom that the Irish will run the city as they have for more than a half a century.

ANY CANDIDATE other than Daley or Byrne, according to conventional Chicago political wisdom, is an also-ran. A black candidate, despite the fact that the black population is nearly five times greater than the next largest ethnic group in the city, can best work as a spoiler, the pundits say.

As their scenario goes, a black candidate such as U.S. Rep. Harold Washington [D., Ill.] or State Comr. Roland Burris would only serve to keep Mayor Byrne in office. Their theory is that Mayor Byrne and the Chicago Democratic machine have a steady number of votes among all ethnic groups.

The political theorists note that the black community, like other ethnic groups in the city, is not a monolith. They point to the last time Washington ran for mayor, during the special election in April, 1977, to fill the post after Mayor Richard J. Daley's death. He received about 74,000 votes, which was 11 percent of the total cast. Machine candidate Michael A. Bilandic received more than 342,000, and the Polish-American candidate, Ald. Roman Pucinski, got more than 217,000 votes.

That is not to say that blacks don't or won't vote as a bloc against a machine candidate. In November, 1972, thousands of machine-dependable blacks split their tickets to vote for Republican Bernard Carey over incumbent State's Atty. Edward V. Hanrahan, the Chicago Democrat who had led the 1969 police raid that resulted in the deaths of Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Republican Carey took 9 of the then 14 black wards and the election.

THE BLACK disenchantment with Byrne may not go as deep as it did against Hanrahan, but it is no secret that the mayor has dashed almost all the dreams her campaign promises inspired among the thousands of blacks who voted her into office.

Theorists are predicting that the almost guaranteed huge black anti-Byrne vote will go to Daley. However, if a credible black candidate were to enter, making it a three-way race, conventional wisdom has it that Byrne would get her guaranteed votes while Daley and the black candidate would split the black protest vote.

Conversely, the theory goes, with no major black candidate in the race, the anti-Byrne black vote combined with the perennial antimachine vote, fulfills the bumper sticker prophecy: "Hello, Richie! Goodbye, Jane!"

But the real behavior of blacks could upset these mathematical predictions. And one of the magic numbers is the record 70,000 blacks who joined the voting rolls just this year.

THERE ARE now more than a half-million black registered voters in Chicago. When Byrne beat out incumbent Mayor Bilandic by 16,775 votes during the heated primary race in February, 1979, some 412,909 voters pulled her lever. If 69 percent of those blacks who have registered went to the polls and cast their votes for a black mayoral candidate, he or she would have that hypothetical winning number.

And if this seems like a long shot, just consider the black vote in January. Although neither Gov. Jim Thompson nor Democratic candidate Adlai Stevenson ignited any passions in the black community, about 75 percent of black registered voters actually voted.

The February race, which will be closer to home and may seem to offer the real possibility of jobs in a community with depression-level unemployment rather than just the venting of frustrations against Reaganomics, will demand much greater attention and be decidedly more heated.

SO, HERE IS another scenario, quite different from that of the observers whose eyes are glued on the Byrne-Daley race: In a heated race including Byrne, Daley and an attractive black candidate such as a Washington or a Burris, racial identity could easily become a polarizing force as it has in a number of other cities where a black mayor was elected.

Blacks now comprise about 40 percent of the 1,510,000 register voters in Chicago. In a black-white polarized primary race, which is already generating thanks to Mayor Byrne's political appointments over the last four years, both sides could easily end up voting color in the 90-plus percentage range. Thus, the numbers can tell the story better than reliance on past machine performances.

If in an intensely heated campaign atmosphere, an overwhelming proportion of blacks voted for a single black candidate and whites split between two or more white candidates, then Chicago could have its first black mayor.

Of course, this assumes a unity in black voting that would be really quite remarkable in a Democratic primary—rather than in a Democrat-Republican contest. And it assumes that no more than one credible black candidate enters the race. But depending upon the degree to which the election became racially polarized, it is hypothetically possible.

Naturally, the political pundits, the pollsters and the bumper sticker sloganeers consider all this a mission impossible. Those are usually the incidents, who didn't give an unknown Jane Byrne a snowball's chance in hell of defeating the incumbent machine candidate, Mayor Bilandic, just four years ago.
Daley opens mayor race today

By Basil Talbott Jr.
Sun-Times Political Editor

State's Attorney Richard M. Daley will announce his candidacy for mayor Thursday, the Sun-Times has learned.

Daley, elected over Mayor Byrne's opposition in 1980, has retained a national political consultant and hired a public-relations director for his campaign.

Joseph Novak, campaign manager for Democratic gubernatorial nominee Adlai E. Stevenson, also will be joining the Daley campaign, which will begin with a formal announcement of candidacy in the Midland Hotel.

"Jane Byrne's been on television [with commercials] for a week," remarked an associate of the state's attorney. "We feel we'd better get moving."

The Daley camp has decided to go after Byrne in the Feb. 22 mayoral primary, rather than field an independent candidacy in the April 5 municipal election, the source said.

As Daley prepared to enter the race against Byrne, state Comptroller Roland W. Burris disclosed that "business and community people" are encouraging him to run for mayor on the heels of his overwhelming re-election victory Tuesday.

Asked if he is considering the challenge, Burris said he will discuss the matter with Cook County Democratic Party Chairman Edward R. Vrdolyak and other party figures first.

"I still maintain, even though I do at times have a streak different from the party, that I am a member of the Democratic Party," Burris said. "I'm not out to create waves."

Daley has hired New Orleans-based consultant Ray Strother, who chalked up several national Democratic victories Tuesday.

The campaign also reportedly has employed Robert Benjamin, a Chicago Tribune reporter who has covered the Daley campaigns, as public-relations director.

Confirming a report in Kup's column in Monday editions, a Daley aide said the news leak had been unfortunate because Daley didn't want his mayoral campaign to interfere with Tuesday's state and county elections.

The Daley announcement marks a victory for the campaign faction that was arguing that Daley needs time to build an organization and raise money. "She [Byrne] has $8 million, and we have $300,000," the Daley source said.

Mr. Daley opens the battle

Richard M. Daley's announcement that he's running for mayor was a major non-surprise—probably the first in a series. U.S. Rep. Harold Washington and Ald. Roman Pucinski (41st) may spring surprises almost as mild. And there is always the possibility that someone truer, surlier—isn't quite waiting—may enter the race.

Unless that happens, Mr. Daley's announcement probably gives the coming campaign its main outline. He will be attacking Mayor Byrne for "ineffective leadership," and she will emphasize the accomplishments in building and planning under her administration. The contest for votes will get most of the attention; intraparty battles will be fought less publicly but more savagely. The loyalties of aldermen, committeemen and precinct captains will do much to determine the outcome Feb. 22, and the competition for them need not follow rules about fair campaign practices.

Assuming that the Democratic primary (and hence the election) will go either to Mayor Byrne or Mr. Daley, Chicago does not face any substantial change—either wrenching or invigorating—for the next four years. Violently as they may differ, both are products of the same school. Their politics are shaped by the organization, and whoever wins will try to increase personal power by strengthening it.

Mr. Daley's strengths are his name, his widespread political base rooted in the 11th Ward, his generally good performance as state's attorney, and the fact that he is not Jane Byrne. Mayor Byrne's include a $5 million-plus campaign fund, a number of long-awaited construction projects to her credit, and the unwillingness of party functionaries to challenge mayoral power. Democratic leaders will be doing a lot of soul-searching in the coming months, and voters will be eager to see what they find.
Rich Daley in mayor’s race

Defender staff writer

State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley, following in the footsteps of his father, the late Mayor Richard J. Daley, Thursday announced his candidacy in the Mayoral race.

Receiving a deafening round of applause and chants of “We want Richard,” and “Amigos para Daley,” he said though he promised he would not be a mayoral candidate in 1983, people have urged him to run.

“Behind these appeals, I feel there is a deep concern—a concern about the performance and conduct of the present administration in carrying out its basic responsibility as chief executive of the city government.”

Without naming Mayor Byrne, Daley added, “People are worried about the future of Chicago because they have experienced the results of mismanagement. People are worried about the future of Chicago because they know the city has ineffective leadership.”

“Under this administration, the people of Chicago have had to assume the burden of rising taxes and fees.” Daley said under Byrne’s administration, property taxes have increased $120 million dollars as well as other city taxes that “have cost the people of Chicago more every time they take a drink of water, make a phone call, buy a pair of shoes...or buy food and medicine.”

Surrounded by his wife, daughter and son, Daley said he hopes to raise between $1 million and $1.5 million in fundraising. He said his campaign would be geared “to all people of Chicago with no regard to ethnicity.” Daley said he would take under consideration getting the endorsement of the Democratic Party as well as the possibility of having a debate with Mayor Byrne.

Before becoming State’s Attorney, Daley, 40, was a State Senator in the 23rd District from 1973 to 1980, and from 1969 to 1970 he was a member of the Illinois Constitutional Convention. Before that, he was a lawyer since 1969 having graduated from DePaul University.

Daley’s first campaign appearance following his announcement was at a rally held at First Church of Love and Faith, 2140 West 79th Street, hosted by the pastor, Rev. Lucius Hall and attended by approximately 400 persons.

State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley Thursday announced he would run for mayor of Chicago. Taking a swipe at the Byrne Administration — without mentioning names — Daley said the people of Chicago are tired of “the results of mismanagement.”
And the race begins...

Running on a single ticket in the upcoming primary will be (left) City Clerk Walter S. Kozubowski; Mayor Byrne, who received 33 out of 50 votes in Tuesday's slatemaking session; and City Treasurer Cecil S. Partee. (Defender photo by John Gunn.)

Byrne announcing candidacy with vows, list of credentials

By Harry Golden Jr.

Mayor Byrne, who never feigned indecision, formally will declare for a second term Monday.

At a 10 a.m. press conference in her office, she will set forth her credentials with the claim that she restored ailing finances, renewed public works, enlivened neighborhoods with civic celebrations and buttressed the city for economic growth and for a 1992 World's Fair, aides said Sunday.

Byrne will vow to visit all communities and to solicit support of all blocs in a vigorous campaign for renomination in the Democratic primary Feb. 22 and in the election April 12, they added.

Byrne has so consistently expressed an intention to run for another four-year term that she scarcely considered making a formal announcement to press and public until her two primary election rivals—State's Attorney Richard M. Daley and Rep. Harold Washington—entered the field with great fanfare early this month, aides said.

Byrne timed her announcement for the eve of a slating session of the Chicago Democratic Central Committee.

She is expected to gain majority endorsement of the ward committeemen after another speech at Tuesday's slating session in the Bismarck Hotel, a meeting that her challengers will boycott.

Even before her inauguration on April 16, 1979, Byrne told an interviewer: "I will be mayor as long as the people want me, and I intend to conduct myself and work hard so they will want me for a long time."

Since then, she has made many public references to projects that should be under way before a second term. The pattern persists in current discussions of her proposed $1.9 billion budget for 1983, with references to future presentations of capital improvement programs to the City Council.

A poised Byrne Monday will boast of her record, promising diligence and earnestness in discussion of issues, but not the 'rip-roaring campaign' she accurately vowed in her first formal announcement on April 24, 1978.

Then, she gathered reporters in a hospitality suite of her apartment house at 111 E. Chestnut to denounce the previous administration as one of "deceptions, intrigues, secret meetings to concoct illegal schemes, evasions and falsehoods."

She branded Ald. Edward R. Vrdolyak (10th) a leader of "a cabal of evil men," and she has since helped install him as Cook County Democratic chairman.

Incumbent mayors of Chicago have been toppled twice in a generation.

Richard J. Daley, father of the present state's attorney, defeated Mayor Martin Kennelly in 1955, and Byrne unseated Michael A. Bilandic in their one-on-one primary in February, 1979, with 51 percent of the vote.
Byrne enters race, begins campaigning

Continued from Page 3

her what McMullen would do in her campaign.

"He'll play the role he should play, which is that of being a very fine husband, a very find individual," she said. "Other than that, that's it."

Asked about the campaign role of Charles R. Swibel, Byrne said he would remain on the Chicago Library Board and "talk to his friends" about supporting her. Asked if she would support the Feb. 22 primary winner in the April 12 election, she said, "Yes, I would [support the winner], but I fully expect that to be me."

For 55 minutes the mayor responded to questions put to her by reporters. Both Daley and Washington cut short reporters questions when they declared their candidacies.

While suggesting some confusion at the start of her term resulted from "the demise of a Machine," she said she will go before the Cook County Democratic Central Committee for its expected endorsement Tuesday. Daley and Washington don't plan to seek the endorsement.

LATER, SHE WENT TO the West Side to dedicate a new private housing development. Greeting Byrne at the Ike Sims Village, 3335 W. Maypole, Ald. William Carter's (28th) said "the West Side story" would help her win a plurality in five predominantly black wards.

Later, Byrne attended a meeting of the Near North Side Community Organization at the Latin School of Chicago, 99 W. North, where she soothed resident object-
Mayor shows new maturity
By Harry Golden Jr.

Jane M. Byrne will strive in the next 15 weeks to persuade Chicagoans to keep a mayor who has grown in the job.

The veteran politician, making only her second try for elective office, will seek to display a new maturity and even-tempered reliability in holding her record as deserving of another four-year term.

Without question, according to her closest associates, she will devote a great part of her energies to handshaking tours of the city's streets and appearances in small community gatherings, where she is perhaps at her best.

She is counting, even at this early stage, on the support of most of the Chicago Democratic organization, and she expects to outspend her most free-spending rival by at least 2 to 1.

THE PEOPLE

Byrne will be surrounded by skillful volunteer and paid advisers in her campaign for the Democratic nomination Feb. 22 and election April 12. But, just as in the spring of 1978, when the former consumer services commissioner started her campaign for the executive office, Byrne will be relying primarily on her own fine political instincts.

Her trusted counselors will include William Griffin, the former Chicago Tribune political writer who served as her first chief of staff and later entered the field of private public relations and political consulting. Byrne in late August also hired David H. Sawyer, a New York-based political consultant who has been polling and conducting other research for Byrne's campaign advertising. Also in the inner circle of advisers is her husband Jay McMullen, the former City Hall reporter of the Chicago Daily News and later a writer for The Sun-Times, who served one year as her press secretary and then became a paid political adviser.

The circle is completed with Ald. Edward R. Vrdolyak (10th), whom she helped install as chairman of the Cook County Democratic Central Committee; Edmund L. Kelly, Chicago Park District superintendent and 47th Ward regular Democratic committeeman, who will serve as campaign chairman, and Charles R. Swibel, real estate businessman and former Chicago Housing Authority chairman.

Right in City Hall, Byrne relies on the occasional political guidance of three governmental executives. They are Thomas Geary, her patronage chief; Albert A. Boumenot, budget director, and Anthony N.

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Capsule look at Richie Daley's campaign

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wealthy investor who worked on Richard J. Daley's last three campaigns.

The crucial precinct work will again be done by Tom Carey with State Sen. Timothy F. Degnan and Norman Willis, the state's attorney's community affairs director and the only black so far enlisted in the campaign staff.

Former Tribune reporter Robert Benjamin will be the press secretary and official spokesman, assisted by another former Tribune reporter, Mike Powers. Irv Rein, the Northwestern University professor who had been coaching Daley on his speaking style, is expected to do some speechwriting work.

The media work—mostly television and radio commercials—will be done by Ray Strother, a New Orleans- and Washington-based consultant. Strother had several successful clients in Tuesday's elections, including Senate races in Connecticut, Texas and Arizona as well as Rep. Paul Simon (D-Ill.). He is expected to play less of a strategic role, however, than Robert Squier, Daley's former media man who decided to drop out earlier this fall.

The Daley camp is also finding itself almost stumbling over volunteers on all levels. It is a situation that staffers acknowledge may prove troublesome if the so-far loosely organized campaign doesn't pull together quickly.

THE STRATEGY

At this stage the Daley organization is looking to wage a campaign on many levels. As Daley's speech announcing his candidacy showed, he will try simultaneously to rap Byrne on what he claims is her disorganization while touting his own accomplishments in the state's attorney's office.

But regardless of the issues, personality could play a crucial part in the campaign. Based on their surveys and polling, the Daley camp feels it has a candidate who is simply better liked by the citizens of Chicago. As one adviser said, "Before you even get to the issues of transportation, housing and urban planning, you have to put across the question of wouldn't you rather have someone running the city you like?"

This will mean frequent reminders of Byrne's past mercurial behavior and continual change of top aides. It will also mean getting the Daley face and name around enough to let voters make the inevitable comparisons to his father.

The first two months or so will be devoted to assembling an organization and fund-raising, with the intense campaign starting after Jan. 1.

Part of the battlefield will be television, but the Daleys assume they cannot compete with Byrne for TV time because of the cost. The rest, though, will be old-style politics as practiced on the street corners and doorsteps.

Also, as he did the last time, Daley will try to build his own ward organization of volunteers to canvass door-to-door and bring out the vote on primary day.

Where his advisers think he may be most vulnerable at this point is by being too far ahead. The danger faced by any political favorite always is that the only way he can move is down. The Daley camp knows that when it comes to discussing substantive programs to reform the city—such as cost-cutting measures—it runs the risk of alienating certain groups of voters.

THE RECORD

Daley's performance in the state's attorney's office represents the formative stages of a record that any politician would love to have. At a time when the public wants a tough attitude toward criminals, Daley's prosecutors have been pounding out a steady stream of convictions and press releases.

He will say that in his campaign he made reasonable promises and he has kept them. He started new units for gangs and narcotics, beefed up the juvenile court staff, and emphasized rape prosecutions and investigations into consumer fraud, nursing homes and environmental complaints. He will point out that he started a victim-witness program and professionalized the office by keeping the best of the Carey era and not hiring on a political basis.

Much of it will become a numbers game, though to date few numbers have been seen. The only good look the public has had at the specifics of his performance were some recent state numbers showing he has, in fact, gotten much tougher on juveniles.

But Daley also has liabilities. Like Byrne, he is something of a born-again politician who has some sins in his background—notably his early days in the Senate when he was seen as the front man for the Chicago Machine, bottling up stacks of reform legislation.

It also is conceivable his father could cause problems, at least among some voters. Comparisons to the late mayor run the risk of suggesting that while Rich may resemble him, he is certainly not as smart. Byrne is also expected to blame many of the city's troubles on the father's administration.

THE FINANCES

Daley has $300,000 in the bank and it's going fast. He assumes he'll need between $1.5 million and $2 million to run. The two state's attorney's races cost a total of $2 million, much of which was borrowed before the vote. Daley showed himself a good credit risk by quickly paying the loans back. A fund-raiser scheduled for Dec. 15 should provide the bulk of the new cash.
Jane Byrne: displaying a new maturity

Continued from Page 4

Fratto, comptroller. In the business world, Byrne talks frequently with such leaders as John H. Perkins, president of Continental Bank; Anthony Maddolini, a partner in the accounting firm of Peet Marwickand Mitchell Co., and Thomas V. King, the manager of the Merchandise Mart who was chairman of Byrne’s record-breaking fund-raiser at Donnelley Hall Sept. 30.

STRATEGY

Since about midsummer, Byrne has displayed a calm and reasoned demeanor, in contrast to the combative style and scantly considered pronouncements that marked her first three years.

She has been less willing to respond to a wide range of questions that reporters are always ready to pose at press conferences and at other public appearances. Her speeches have been both temperate in tone and more skillfully delivered.

Griffin says the new Jane Byrne, if there is one, evolved with experience in office. He unequivocally denies there was any conscious reshaping of an image for the campaign. Nor was there any speech coaching, he says.

“She has grown into the job and is feeling comfortable with it,” Griffin asserted.

He went on, “The thrust of this campaign will be that Mayor Byrne has learned this job, that she has overcome major problems that she has found and has kept the city vibrant with efficient services, public improvements and entertainments that enhanced liveability. She has made Chicago a fun place to live.”

Griffin said no one has yet issued a challenge for a debate, but he believes Byrne would be willing.

No campaign budget has yet been drawn up, Griffin said, nor has Byrne fashioned an expected heavy schedule of campaign appearances. Such decisions will come shortly after Friday’s scheduled presentation of the city budget, which has occupied the mayor in recent weeks.

THE RECORD

Byrne, who turned 48 last May 24, will emphasize, as accomplishments of her administration:

- Repair and reinforcement of flawed finances in the city government and the Chicago public school system.
- A statistically demonstrable decline in major crime and a drop in criminal gang activity traceable to the efforts of a new police unit organized after Byrne’s dramatic stay in the Cabrini-Green housing development for 21 days in the spring of 1981.
- A reawakening of the downtown area and outlying neighborhoods alike, with the side benefit of increased tourism, resulting from vast expansion of festivals and civic celebrations.
- Physical improvements, and creation of thousands of jobs, in a wide variety of public works, including restoration of the city’s infrastructure, and provision of refurbished roads and bridges with funds freed by cancellation of the controversial Crosstown Expy.
- Maintenance and improvement of the city services in the face of funding cutbacks by the national administration.

Byrne already is preparing defenses against candidate Richard M. Daley’s complaint that she has raised taxes and fees by more than $400 million. The precise amount is somewhat less under some yet undefined interpretations of the public record, she has said, and the bulk of the new taxation was occasioned by blurring of her predecessors, including Daley’s father, the late Richard J. Daley.

Daley also attacks her whirlwind turnover of city executives as reflecting instability. But she counters that allowances must be made for the rapid transition that comes with significant change.

Byrne also must weather attack by Daley and others on counts of shortchanging blacks on representation at high levels of local government, awarding excessive executive raises, and providing cronies and financial supporters with lucrative public contracts.

FINANCES

Byrne has raised extraordinary amounts of cash, largely from those who do business with the city and from city employees, in fund-raising cocktail parties. Her most recent political fund report, required by state law, showed she took in $2.68 million between July 1 and Oct. 3, and had $1.34 million on hand when that collection period started. Doubtless there will be some further cash contributions during the campaign. Two of Byrne’s closest associates say she certainly will spend at least $3 million on TV and radio commercials, newspaper and billboard advertising, campaign staff and facilities, phone service and the like.
Griffin to run Byrne election drive

By Basil Talbott Jr.
Sun-Times Political Editor

Mayor Byrne plans to open a downtown campaign office at Michigan and Wacker with a staff directed by William Griffin, campaign sources said Thursday.

Griffin reportedly is being paid at least $5,000 a month to oversee the operations of the campaign, the sources said.

Several members of Byrne's administration are moving over to the office and are being shifted to the campaign payroll.

Included in the shift are Steve Brown, director of Byrne's legislative liaison office. Brown will be the campaign press secretary, the sources said.

Carl Bator, director of the mayor's Office of Neighborhood Programs, will work with campaign support groups throughout the city.

Griffin, a partner in Brady & Griffin, a public-relations firm, will continue as campaign overseer. He has been working for Byrne's political fund since August.

State Rep. Alfred G. Ronan (D-Chicago), an associate of Ald. Richard F. Mell (33rd) and a patronage force in former Gov. Dan Walker's campaign, will serve as Griffin's chief deputy, the sources said.

Ronan served as chief deputy to Joseph Novak, campaign manager for Adlai E. Stevenson. Novak intends to go to work for State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, who is challenging Byrne in the mayoral primary Feb. 22.

Among others already working in the campaign are David H. Sawyer, the New York-based new-media consultant who has been producing Byrne's television commercials.

Byrne has raised about $8 million while she has been in office. Her campaign aides have predicted she will spend about $3 million running for a second term.
Washington mayoral bid is expected

By Lillian Williams

Close associates of Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.) predicted on Sunday that he would run for mayor, but the congressman said he will not announce his intentions until Wednesday.

Washington declined to discuss his decision Sunday, but David Canter, chairman of the Hyde Park-Kenwood branch of the Independent Voters of Illinois—Independent Precinct Organization, said Washington will be a candidate.

"I know in my guts that Harold will run," said Canter as he began notifying some of his independent organization associates to attend the Washington press conference.

But the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, president of Operation PUSH, said he was still trying to induce Washington to challenge Byrne and Daley. "I'm not optimistic about it, but I'm going to give it my last try," he said.

IF WASHINGTON doesn't run, Jackson said, other possible candidates include Judge Eugene Pincham, Deputy School Supt. Manfred Byrd and state Comptroller Roland Burris. Others who have expressed interest in running include Aldermen Danny K. Davis (29th) and Clifford P. Kelley (20th).

Another top priority is registering another 100,000 blacks before the primary, Jackson said. The last registration drive increased the number of black voters in Chicago to 600,000.

Jackson said he will ask the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners to deputize 100 ministers from the South and West sides to help in registration.

Meanwhile, State's Attorney Richard M. Daley scheduled a fund-raiser Dec. 15, hoping to generate $500,000 for his mayoral treasury as workers began circulating petitions to put him on the ballot, a campaign source told the Sun-Times Sunday.

Invitations were to be mailed Monday to the fund-raiser, at the Hyatt Regency Chicago, the source said.

THE MONEY will supplement about $300,000 remaining in Daley's campaign fund. Daley told reporters Thursday at his declaration of candidacy that he expected his campaign to cost $1.3 million.

Meanwhile, Daley supporters in more than 15 wards began soliciting signatures on 700 petitions. Only about 3,000 signatures are required to qualify as a candidate in the Feb. 22 Democratic primary, but Daley hopes to turn in thousands more.

The petitions are being circulated in scattered neighborhoods, including three South Side black wards and two West Side black wards, according to the campaign source.

For mayoral race... CHI/DEF - Tues., November 9, 1982

Expect Washington to say 'yes' Wednesday

by Chinta Strausberg

The $1 million question is will Congressman Harold Washington run for Mayor of Chicago? Operation PUSH president the Rev. Jesse Jackson Monday said, "It's a strong rumor that has raised my hopes." Other sources say speculation is high that Washington will run.

An aide to the Black Congressman said Washington, 60, has many white supporters who are contributing to his campaign both financially and morally. Washington is slated to announce his intentions Wednesday.

Jackson said he asked Chicago Board of Election Chairman Michael Lavelle if he could deputize a number of Black ministers, but Lavelle, who is also an attorney, said it was against the law, but as a compromise, Jackson asked if the judges, who are deputized, could meet with the ministers. He said, "The ministers could do the mobilizing and the motivating, and the judges could do the on-site registration."

More than a week ago, Washington said at a press conference that if he were to run for mayor, he did have from $500,000 to $1 million in his political war chest. Sources said Sunday that figure could be higher.

The excitement of the results of Blacks voting in large numbers in last week's General Election has not died, and Rev. Jackson said he and 100 ministers will launch a voter registration drive in hopes of putting 100,000 Blacks on the book before the primary.

For the first time in the history of Chicago, there are 600,000 registered Black voters. Board of Election Commissioner Corneal Davis has called that figure "the largest single voting bloc" in Chicago with the Polish group following. He said there are still between 150,000 and 200,000 Blacks still unregistered.

Congressman Washington had said he would run for Mayor if 50,000 Blacks would register. During the massive voter registration drives, launched primarily as a protest when Mayor Byrne appointed three controversial whites on the CHA board, 200,000 Blacks were registered. The Chicago Board of Election challenged 116,413 voters. The total city registration now stands at 1,549,064, according to Davis.

Though Washington's new press secretary, Paul Davis, 25, former reporter for the Citizens Newspaper and the Chicago Weekend, said "Washington did not authorize anyone to speak of his intentions to run for mayor," Renault Robinson, the Congressman's campaign manager said Washington will announce Wednesday.

Washington's scheduled press conference is set for 11 a.m. at the Hyde Park Hilton Hotel. According to Robinson, who is also a commissioner for CHA, "A lot of people have been concerned about what kind of campaign a Black will run... and questions of why did he wait so long. I think these and any other questions will be answered Wednesday."

"People don't realize just how much
Washington is reluctant, but ready

By Lilian Williams and Basil Telbott Jr.

Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.) told a private meeting Tuesday that he doesn't want to run for mayor, but will bow to public pressure and wage a vigorous campaign.

"To be blunt, I don't want to run for mayor. I like Congress," Washington told about 40 people in an impromptu address at the Hyde Park Hilton Hotel.

He told the meeting, closed to the press, that he has been trying to find another person to run, "but unless he appears within 24 hours I will announce that I will run for mayor."

In other mayoral campaign developments:
- Former Ald. William S. Singer (43rd) declared himself out of the running.
- The Rev. Jesse L. Jackson announced a drive to register 100,000 more black voters by the Feb. 22 primary election.
- Speculation circulated in City Hall that Mayor Byrne might decide to skip the primary election and run, instead, in the April 5 municipal election.

WASHINGTON LAST TUESDAY won re-election to a second term in Congress, but a "deep-seated and long-standing" commitment to blacks' political progress has drawn him into the mayoral race, he said.

Washington will continue to serve as a congressman during the mayoral campaign.

For mayoral race...

CHI/DEF - Tues., November 9, 1982
white support Washington has...from downtown to the Northside."

Robinson said his sources say Mayoral candidate Richard Daley believes he can get 40 percent of the Black vote...assuming that Mayor Byrne will get 10 percent of the vote.

"They are basing their win on Blacks," Robinson added, "because built into the poll bias is that Blacks don't vote. They (the pollsters) relied more heavily on what the whites said and discounted the Blacks. Now they are trying to revise that based formula because they got tricked."

A reliable source said Byrne and Daley "will not be highly visible in the Black community whereas before they had written off the Black vote because of the myth that Black folks don't vote."

When asked about rumors that another Black will allegedly be pitted against Washington to split the votes, Robinson said, "Anybody else who creeps up will be out. Washington is the only legitimate candidate. He recently won re-election after getting an unprecedented 171,000 votes."

Asked if Washington could win, Robinson said, "I believe once whites see that he is a solid Black candidate who has the support of his community they will evaluate Daley. Neither Daley nor Byrne have the stature that Washington has."

The 60-year-old Washington pledged to conduct a robust campaign with a platform that will bring the city "into the 20th century."

Blacks have pierced the barriers of legislative offices, such as alderman and congressman, but they still lack the power that comes from an executive position such as mayor, he said.

If elected, Washington said, he will appoint whites to his cabinet as well as blacks.

The audience included Urban League President James Compton; Jackson, Operation PUSH director; bankers Alvin Boutte and George Jones; independent politicians Timuel Black and David Canter; former state Rep. Robert E. Mann (D-Chicago) and lawyers Thomas N. Todd and E. Duke McNeill.

PRESENT WERE West Side activist Nancy Jefferson and Aldermen Clifford Kelley (20th) and Danny Davis (29th).

The news of Washington's candidacy took Singer, an unsuccessful candidate for mayor in 1975, out of contention.

Singer said he dropped plans to commission pollster Patrick Caddell to do a city survey after he heard about Washington's impending announcement.

"I thought I might be able to put together a black-white coalition if Harold had decided not to run," Singer said. With Washington running, the black support would not be there, he noted.

With Washington's apparent entry in the race Wednesday, Singer said he would give Washington, State's Attorney Richard M. Daley and Mayor Byrne each a chance at winning.

Meanwhile, Jackson launched a drive to register 100,000 more black voters, and predicted that Washington will be elected mayor if he runs.

Washington will be able to win election because he can draw white votes as well as black votes, Jackson told a press conference in the headquarters of Operation PUSH.

Jackson said he expected "political reciprocity" from whites, because blacks for decades have supported white candidates for city offices.

He said about 100 ministers from the South and West sides will work with teams of election judges in the registration drive under an agreement reached Monday with the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners.

Michael E. Leveille, chairman of the board, said the board agreed to help register voters in churches but warned that no supporter of Washington, Daley or Byrne can work in the drive. "Our outreach program can't be used to promote or oppose a candidate."

"We have agreed to do churches for the Rev. Jackson," Leveille said. "The only question is how many churches we can register in simultaneously. We have heavy requests from Hispanics, too."
WASHINGTON ANNOUNCES FOR MAYOR

For Immediate Release Wednesday, November 10, 1982

Congressman Harold Washington announced his candidacy for mayor Wednesday, pledging to unite Chicago, to govern with justice and accountability.

The congressman told a press conference at the Hyde Park Hilton Hotel that Chicago is a city in decline, with a steady erosion of jobs, housing and population.

"Chicago can only be rebuilt if all the people of Chicago and her leaders work together," he said.

He accused the Byrne administration of failing to provide governmental stability, and failing to deal with the problems of decaying neighborhoods, poor health services and unemployment.

"People are starving and businesses are failing at the highest rate since the great depression," he said, and the city's response has been "fat consultant contracts for a few politically connected firms and jobs for a few patronage workers."

In an indirect reference to the candidacy of State's Attorney Richard Daley, the congressman said that all the candidates, declared and undeclared, were committed to "politics as usual," and the "shell game" of current city financing.

Washington pledged to gather the best talent from throughout the city to govern, including whites, Latinos, women and blacks. He declared that on his first day in office he would sign a "Freedom of Information" order, opening the files of city government to all of its citizens.
"'I'm a candidate'...
Standing beside his fiancee, Mary Smith, Congressman Harold Washington Wednesday announced his mayoral candidacy. He blasted the Byrne Administration for having a city where people have to live with rats, potholes, a poor education system, unemployment, no food and little hope. (Defender photo by Brian Jackson.)

WASHINGTON ANNOUNCES FOR MAYOR --- ADD 1

"I see a Chicago in which the neighborhoods are once again the center of our city, in which the streets are safe from crime, in which businesses boom and provide neighborhood jobs, in which neighbors join together to help govern their neighborhoods and their city," the congressman said. "Some may say this is visionary. I say they lack vision."

(for more information, contact Renault Robinson, 874-5300)
REP. HAROLD WASHINGTON (D-III.) announces his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for mayor Wednesday at the Hyde Park Hilton. "Only I can rebuild Chicago," he declared. (Sun-Times Photo by Jim Klepitsch)

Washington leaps into race for mayor

By Lillian Williams and Basil Talbott Jr.

Rep. Harold Washington (D-III.) jumped into Chicago's mayoral race Wednesday with a declaration that only he can rebuild "a city divided ... a city in decline."

The 60-year-old congressman from the South Side made the formal announcement of his Democratic candidacy before a racially mixed audience at the Hyde Park Hilton, 4900 S. Lake Shore Dr.

Although he was "a reluctant prospect" for the mayoral campaign, Washington said he now will cam-

Lu Palmer loses radio show

Journalist Lu Palmer lost his popular 11-year radio commentary show Wednesday when the show's sponsor, Illinois Bell Telephone Co., determined the program was too partisan.

Palmer, who has endorsed mayoral candidate Harold Washington, contended he is "the first casualty of the black mayoral thrust." Bell denied that assertion.

Bell advertising manager Robert Campbell said, "I don't care if he supports Mayor Byrne or [Cook County State's Attorney] Richard M. Daley. We bought a news commentary program, but quite often it's been a platform for partisan political support. It undermines the advertising effectiveness of the program."

Palmer's commentary, called "Lu's Notebook," aired twice daily on radio stations WJPC, WVON, WBEE and WGCI.
Washington leaps into race for mayor

Continued from Page 3

campaign pitch at all Chicagoans, Washington said, "We have these terrible problems in Chicago because leadership has not driven for unity and pointed in new directions."

Washington also declared, "Since 1955, women, Latinos, blacks, youth and progressive whites have been left out of Chicago government. Since 1979, business, labor and the intellectual communities have been allowed but token involvement in Chicago government."

The biggest hand from the crowd followed Washington's pledge to sign a freedom of information order "to open the secret files of City Hall."

White supporters in the audience included Ald. Lawrence Bloom (5th), state Rep. Barbara Flynn Currie (D-Chicago) and former Ald. Dick Simpson (44th).

Black supporters included Ald. Allan Streeter (17th), Ald. Danny K. Davis (29th) and Lu Palmer of the Chicago Black United Communities.

The Rev. Jorge Morales, leader of the Westtown Concerned Citizens Coalition, said his group was forging a black-Latino coalition to work for Washington. Scott Marshall, a laid-off steelworker who co-chairs a labor group called Jobs or Income Now, said Washington "is definitely the candidate of the unemployed."

Declaring he will run as an independent Democrat in the Feb. 22 primary, Washington said it "is not my intention" to appear before the Chicago Democratic Party slatemakers.

Washington was the second major candidate to enter the race. Last week, State's Attorney Richard M. Daley announced his candidacy.

Washington's campaign director, Renault Robinson, said a $750,000 campaign fund-raising goal has been set.

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Washington joins the race

We heard three distinct themes in Harold Washington's eloquent speech announcing his candidacy for mayor. Each deserves a round of applause:

1. Chicago's mayor must master the nuts-and-bolts basics of a well-run city—tight financial management, quality services, shipshape physical facilities.

2. Chicago's mayor must value excellence above political expediency. "Jobs and contracts," Washington said, must be "dispensed fairly to those who qualify."

3. Chicago's mayor must be able to inspire confidence and a cooperative spirit in a city that throughout its history has squandered precious resources on racial, ethnic and territorial hostilities. Each of these, of course, benefits all the people. Washington is determined not to run as "the black" candidate, and we hope that sinks through. His superior service in the state Legislature shows what he means; he worked effectively with Machine Democrats, independent Democrats, Republicans, whites, blacks, women, men.

Yet what deep satisfaction Washington's candidacy brings to Chicago blacks. For decades they've been the most potent force in electing mayors, but for decades they've been blocked from sharing the power they secured for others. Now, 27 years after William Dawson sent Richard J. Daley to City Hall, a black Chicagoan has a chance to get there himself.

We look forward to further speeches from Washington—and every one else in this race—specifying how to achieve the goals he outlined.
Washington: 'My life is as open as anyone else’s

by Chinta Strausberg

Candidate defends his past

In reaction to a recent article in the Sun-Times on a prediction of a massive white voter registration turnout to block Congressman Harold Washington’s election as mayor, a civil rights activist says the charge is a “gimmick to sell newspapers and is out of order, since racial tensions have been around in Chicago for a long time.” Leaders are saying the “mudslinging and witch hunt” has begun to cast doubt on Washington.

Dr. Conrad Worrill, convener of the Chicago Black United Front (BUF) and professor at the Center for Independent Studies, said Thursday that Sun-Times columnist Mike Royko “is just pushing the Polish interest. This is just a gimmick to sell newspapers, and I hope that Blacks who read his article will switch to the Defender and the Metro News to get a real analysis of the political climate in Chicago.”

(continued on page 3)

React to Washington’s mayoral bid ‘exciting’

by Chinta Strausberg

Reactions in the Black community of Congressman Harold Washington’s announcement that he would run for mayor was one of excitement.

Charles A. Hayes, international vice president and director of United Food & Commercial Workers, (AFL-CIO & CLC), said Wednesday, “Washington’s announcement was long overdue, and with Harold Washington, we have a candidate that can win and serve all people.”

Washington announced his candidacy for mayor Wednesday to over 1,500 people at the Hyde Park Hilton Hotel. Rev. John Porter, pastor of United Methodist Church, prayed before Washington made his announcement. He said, “We will run a multi-racial campaign. Washington can rule with justice and equity and represent all people which will be a first time in this entire century.”

Rev. Al Sampson, pastor of Fernwood United Methodist Church said, “This is a great time for those Blacks who died for this moment.”

Ald. Danny Davis (29) said, “The enthusiasm is beyond anything I have witnessed in the city...in fact in my entire life. It is a rebirth. Anytime you have a room full of middle class Black people and you can’t get them to be quiet, that tells you something.”
‘I paid penalty for tax error’
—Washington

By Basil Talbott Jr.
Sun-Times Political Editor

Calling his failure to file income-tax forms two decades ago "a stupid thing," mayoral candidate Harold Washington said he has "paid the penalty" and considers himself a "first-rate public servant."

The Democratic congressman confronted the income-tax issue for the first time in this campaign in a wide-ranging radio interview in which he also:
• Asserted that there will have to be "a substantial" increase in city taxes to rebuild the city and upgrade services such as schools.
• Accused Mayor Byrne of "playing tiddlywinks" with the city budget and promised an alternative budget.
• Contended that the record of State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, another mayoral contender, is "horrible" on civil rights, human rights and fair employment practices.
• Disclosed that he will endorse aldermanic candidates all over the city, hoping to defeat many of the current 18 black aldermen.
• Asserted that the CHA, now headed by Andrew J. Mooney, should be chaired instead by a black to "reflect the tenancy."

WASHINGTON TALKED about his tax violations and his mayoral program on "For the Record," to be aired at 10:30 p.m. Sunday on WIND-AM.

"I was never accused of failing to pay taxes," Washington said. "It was failure to file returns in the 1960s. The total amount of money was less than $400 and it was paid.

"How does one explain stupidity?" Washington remarked. "You do stupid things, you suffer the consequences."

Conceding the issue to be "legitimate," Washington said he tried to put it to rest in his unsuccessful 1977 campaign for mayor. The congressman said he was not "trying to minimize the seriousness" of the matter but said it "had not been clearly portrayed in the press."

Washington said U.S. District Court Judge Joseph Sam Perry "commended me highly by saying I was an excellent public servant but perhaps I hadn't paid enough attention to my private business. He felt that, like Moses, I should take 40 days to reflect on my situation."

THE CONGRESSMAN also commented on his suspension from the bar by the Illinois Supreme Court in 1969 after a Chicago Bar Association probe of charges that he had taken money for legal work he never performed.

"It was a failure to pursue cases, involving practically no money," he said. "I didn't pursue a reinstatement because, at the same time, the tax matter came up."

Asked if he had changed since his tangles with the court and the bar, the congressman said: "The record says I'm a first-rate public servant who has assiduously pursued his responsibilities to the public."

Calling for a frank discussion of the city's needs, Washington said mayoral candidates who are saying there will be no tax increases "are hoodwinking the people."

Real estate taxes "are high," so the next mayor will have to look elsewhere, he said. Pressed for his alternative, Washington said he would "not opt for any particular tax."

Agreeing with Daley that Byrne's 1983 budget is not realistic, Washington said he will release his own critique Sunday.

Turning to Daley's record, Washington criticized votes Daley cast in the Illinois Senate on fair employment practice reforms.
'It's our turn'
—Washington

By Mark Brown

Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.) told Chicago blacks Sunday that “it’s our turn” to hold the city’s reins of power.

Speaking to a nearly all-black audience at Bethel A.M.E. Church, 4448 S. Michigan, Washington urged his listeners to make sure he gets 100 percent support from the city’s black community in his mayoral bid.

And he suggested they "make it unashionable and uncomfortable for any black person" not to register and vote.

"WE’VE BEEN GIVING white candidates our votes for years and years and years, unthinkingly, hoping that they would include us in the process, deep seatedly knowing that they probably would not," the congressman said in an impassioned speech to a full house.

"And so now it’s come to the point where we say, ‘Well, it’s our turn. It’s our turn.’ And we don’t have to make any excuses for it. You don’t even have to explain it."

Washington, who admitted before the official announcement of his candidacy last week that he was somewhat reluctant to enter the Democratic mayoral fray, did not sound at all unwilling Sunday.

He said his campaign would not be geared exclusively to blacks, but he added, "This is the base."

Hispanics, women, “progressive” whites and poor whites would be urged to join his program, Washington said.

"I am not stupid," he said. "I understand how the world is made, and I know there are problems in some other communities. We’re going to reach out for them, but this is the base. This is the base. We don’t have to be ashamed of it."

He emphasized he thinks blacks should look to him unanimously as their candidate.

"I STAND HERE like you sit here— as a result of 400 years of travail and struggle in this country. And that travail and struggle has come up with a product called ‘us.’ We’ve been through the crucible," he said.

"We’ve been pushed around, shoved around, beat, murdered, emasculated, literally destroyed. Our families have been systematically disrupted. There’s been an unfair distribution of all the goodies. No system works for us. We influence no institutions in this country except our own. We have no power. We have no land."

"But through all that struggle we’ve stayed together. We’ve maintained our equanimity. We’ve become more courageous. We’ve become more tolerant. We’ve become more understanding. We are humanitarian. We have elevated Amazing Grace to the level of an art. And now it’s our turn."

The audience, assembled by community organizer Lu Palmer, included several black aldermen and other black leaders.

They interrupted Washington several times with applause and at one point chanted: "We shall see in ’83."

When Washington finished speaking, Palmer said that in addition to the congressman’s suggestion to make it “unfashionable and uncomfortable” for blacks not to register and vote for him, it should also be made “unhealthy” for them.

Washington once more was highly critical of Sun-Times columnist Mike Royko for a column last week about how the congressman’s candidacy would spur a white voter registration drive.

Claiming Royko had "whetted the appetite" of racists, Washington said Royko should "keep his cotton-pickin’ hands off this matter of racism."

"There will be no racism coming from this campaign," Washington said.

At Bethel AME
Washington gets thunderous applause

Declaring that Blacks “don’t have to make any excuses or apologies” about voting for one of their own, mayoral candidate Harold Washington told a cheering audience of community residents this week that he “will not abuse” their vote.

The tempo was up, the atmosphere highly charged as Washington repeatedly was greeted by thunderous applause and cheers from more than 1,000 persons who braved frigid weather Sunday evening to hear Washington deliver an election analysis.

The event, sponsored by the Lu Palmer Foundation and the Chicago Black United Communities, was held at Bethel AME Church, 4448 S. Michigan Ave. and drew a cross-section of Blacks from varied ages, professions and neighborhoods.

Washington received the longest ovations when he scored Sun-Times columnist Mike Royko for injecting racism in the mayoral race, and when he outlined the Black struggle, saying “we’ve come to a point now where we say ‘it’s now our turn.’"

As for Royko, the Black congressman asserted, “I say this to Mr. Royko: there will be no racism coming from this campaign, no put-down of other groups ... if racism does come out, we’ll know the benchmarks of where it came — Page 2, Nov. 2, 1982,” an apparent reference to Royko’s column location and the recent gubernatorial election.

Washington told the overflow crowd they need not try to “make excuses” for supporting a Black candidate. Other ethnic groups would not hesitate to back one of their own, he noted.

“You don’t have to explain, or make excuses, or apologize,” Washington asserted. “It’s not negative, it’s positive...we’ve been voting for whites all this time, hoping that someday they’d do right by us.”

Washington and other speakers urged persons to continue voter registration efforts, warning that the fight has yet been won. Podium guests included Aldermen Danny Davis (27th), Clifford Kelley (20th), and Allan Streeter (17th); Attorneys Anna Langford, a candidate in the 16th ward, and Tom Todd, and Art Turner.

Lu Petitions were also circulated for both Washington and Lu Palmer, whose radio show was dropped last week.
In 'my kind of town'

Race for Mayor free-for-all

There could be another Daley in Chicago's City Hall, but only over the bloodied body of Mayor Jane M. Byrne.

And she is a very hard lady to put down. State's attorney Richard M. Daley, whose name still sounds like a war cry to many Chicago democrats has challenged Byrne to come out and fight in Chicago's Feb. 22 Democratic mayoral primary.

The fight card promises an all-out bonnybrook between the mayor and the man she has cause to fear most.

Daley, is the son and designated heir of the last of the great big city bosses - Richard J. Daley, Mayor of Chicago and its symbol for 21 years until his death in 1976. The name still stirs fond memories in the hearts of many Chicagoans.

Bryne won City Hall in 1979 through sheer guts, street smarts, and amazing luck. She will not quit it without a brawl.

To complicate matters, Rep. Harold Washington, D-Ill., a veteran Black State Legislator and Congressman, has entered the sweepstakes. With Blacks comprising more than 40 percent of the city's population, he could wreak havoc with any political scenario.

To Chicagoans, the Democratic mayoral primary is the really big show. It decides who will run the city and deal with the big money and national power.

A seasoned politician observed, "with the governor race over and the football players on strike, this is really all we've got to think about."

Republicans have not been a real factor in this showdown for decades. They have nobody eager to run and no respectable city or county organization. All the marbles are on Feb. 22 and this Democratic primary could be like no other.

The Nov. 2 congressional-gubernatorial election gave evidence that:

• The sleeping black giant of Chicago politics is starting to wake up. City Blacks registered and voted in massive numbers that made a substantial difference.

• The Chicago Democratic machine is alive and kicking.

A few months ago, this political organization was judged by many as moribund and no longer able to deliver the vote.

Technically, the revived machine is allied with Byrne. But the heartstring tug of the Daley name still lives in machine politicians and that, plus the Black vote factor, could change a lot of things.

Byrne, in her one turbulent term, has made a lot of people mad, few more so than the Blacks who once supported her. Daley could capitalize on that. But Harold Washington might hurt him more than the mayor, since he could erode the anti-Byrne vote on the south and west sides.

Byrne has a streak described by some as mean and vindictive. So has Rich Daley, neither is prone to forgive or forget.

She has twisted arms all over Chicago to raise a campaign chest of $3.5 million. She has so plastered her name on Chicago billboards that this has been described as "designer city," scarcely any worthy civic undertaking is not labeled Mayor Byrne's this or that.

But she is in trouble and as it, she could use another miracle.

She got a miracle in 1979, when she beat the machine, Chicago was an angry city. It groaned under a massive blizzard. Nothing seemed to move. Mayor Michael Bilandic, the machine's man, did not seem aware he was barely crawling.

The Black wards were in revolt. So were blue collar white wards. Byrne, once a pro-tege of Mayor Daley and campaigning in his name, promised a kind of salvation — Blacks would be ignored no longer, the ethnic neighborhoods would bloom again, if the terrible snow ever came again, she would clear the streets.

She won in a landslide, then she turned City Hall on its head and did her level best to take over the Chicago machine.

Richard Daley, in his announcement of candidacy, delivered a partisan but largely accurate account of some of her administrative ways:

"Through the revolving doors of the past three and a half years there have been: three streets and sanitation commissioners, four budget directors, four comptrollers, two senior financial advisers, three planning commissioners, three consumer affair commissioners, three directors of economic development and four police superintendents."
A black mayor?
Definite ‘maybe’

By Brian J. Kelly
and Basil Talbott Jr.

Can a black be elected mayor of Chicago next year?

In barrooms and boardrooms around the city last week the question was posed seriously for the first time.

The answer is an unequivocally maybe.

As was reported in the Wall Street Journal, Harold Washington (D-Ill.) announced his candidacy for mayor Wednesday, several commentators rushed to suggest there is a strong possibility that he might win.

Interviews with political specialists and the experiences of other cities indicate a Washington victory is conceivable, but would depend on a combination of factors that could be difficult to pull together at the same time.

As the race begins, there are so many unknown variables that it would take an algebra teacher rather than a political pundit to come up with a good guess.

White and black political analysts point out that Washington has a mathematical chance in the Feb. 22 primary. He would then have to run in the April 12 general election and Chicago, in terms of registered voters, is still largely white.

Earlier this year when he first considered running as a U.S. Senate candidate, Washington took a historical perspective. He noted in interviews that blacks who became big-city mayors had all fulfilled certain conditions.

Usually the winning candidate had suffered through a losing effort that brought him widespread public recognition. The second time around, there was a surge in black voter registration that led to a high turnout. The candidate won a huge black plurality and was often tipped over the top by at least 10 percent of the white vote.

This was generally the case in Cleveland; Gary, Ind.; Newark, N.J.; Detroit; Atlanta; Hartford, Conn., and Los Angeles—racially mixed cities that have all elected black mayors since 1967.

Whether these conditions can be met in Chicago has been the subject of much debate among political analysts.

So far, Washington has made his sacrificial run—getting 11 percent of the vote in the mayoral race in 1977. A registration drive sparked by black community groups over last summer has been unprecedented in its success. The gains were solidified by a historical black turnout in the Nov. 2 election.

The next condition will have to be met by someone other than Washington. At least one other white candidate must enter the race.

The only announced candidates for the primary are Washington and State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley. No one interviewed gives Washington a chance of winning a head-to-head race with Daley.

In all of the other mayoral races examined, the black candidate benefitted from at least two white candidates splitting the vote.

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Harold Washington
Age 60, the former state representative and state senator now is a congressman. He lost a race for mayor in 1977, getting only 11 percent of the vote; he took five wards and got few white votes. Washington faces at least two strong white candidates and probable opposition by most of the Democratic Party organization. His chances for newspaper endorsements and the extent of his financing are uncertain. He will need a continuing drive for voter registration, a huge black turnout and some white votes to win.

Carl Stokes
Cleveland (1967-71)
Age 55, a former state representative. He lost in 1965, then came back to beat two whites in a three-way Democratic primary. Helped by a black registration drive and 80 percent black turnout, he also took 20 percent of the white vote to win by a tiny margin in majority white city.

Thirman Milner
Hartford (1980-3)
Age 50, a former state representative. Milner, New England’s first black mayor, gained from a split in Democratic ranks and an appeal to poor whites and Hispanics. With more black turnout than white, he won with more than 10 percent of white votes; three whites split the rest.

Tom Bradley
Los Angeles (1973-82)
Age 64, a former policeman and city councilman. He lost narrowly to incumbent Sam Yorty in a 1969 racial campaign, then beat scandal-scarred Yorty in 1973 with broad coalition support and strong newspaper endorsements in a large

Kenneth Gibson
Newark (1970-3)
Age 50, a city engineer. He lost in 1966 before a summer of riots, then faced incumbent Hugh Addonizio, on trial for extortion and tax evasion. Gibson ran as a moderate against Addonizio’s racial campaign and won with more than 10 percent of the disaffected white votes.
Chicago ripe for a black mayor

by Chinta Strausberg

Will Chicago join Gary, Atlanta, and Los Angeles in electing a black mayor? Ald. Danny K. Davis (29) said Monday Chicago will take this giant step forward and predicted the Black community will reject "hustlers" who pimp off Black voters for the other side.

"The Black community is ripe for a Black mayor," said Davis, in an exclusive interview. "I believe the Black community will reject these hustlers, and I see mass defections from those camps. Plantation politics is dead in Chicago. This is a new day."

Davis added, "The only people who are for sell are the Black power brokers and the hustlers, but there will not be any people with them—not this time. People are moving on a peoples agenda, and not a hustler's agenda."

Asked about charges that Blacks vote on emotions rather than issues, Ald. Davis said, "People react out of situations, but there has never been this situation before where there is a clear-cut unequivocal opportunity for Black and progressive thinking whites in this city to elect a Black mayor. The situation now calls for Black leadership with white involvement and white interaction...making the whole effort a partnership."

Asked if Chicago is ready for a Black mayor, Davis said, "There are forces in this city who recognize that the salvation of Black people is linked with the salvation of Chicago. To save the City, there must be a coalescing of Blacks, Hispanics and other oppressed people so that they can find their share of the American dream."

Reliable sources say Washington, 60, will officially announce his candidacy Wednesday at a press conference. A source said the possibility of his running has both Mayor Byrne and Richard Daley "nervous." In fact, one source said Daley allegedly called Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young recently and asked for his endorsement.

Bob Benjamin, press secretary to Daley said Monday this was not true. Sources say Daley is looking for "Black faces" for his upcoming radio and TV ads. The source said Daley is expected to win 40 percent of the Black vote, but Benjamin said Daley has not targeted a figure but "hopes to get every vote for everybody."

Renault Robinson, campaign manager for Washington said Monday, "Washington is not going to let anyone broker him. We have our own people to do our polls, and we believe we if we didn't think we'd win, he would not be out there. Washington successfully ran against the machine without opposition. He has been in the machine, and out and has risen all the way."

Washington, who in the '70's marched with the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in the Chicago freedom crusade.
Vrdolyak and the Black voter turnout?

Dear Editor:

As I read Kup’s November 4 column, I was stunned and confused by Mr. Kupel- nent’s explanation for the tremendous Black voter turnout at the polls on November 2. I asked myself, why is Ald. Ed Vrdolyak receiving all the credit for getting the voters out?

The concept of the Black voter registration drive was conceived during the boycott of Mayor Byrne’s Chicago Fest. This ‘pregnancy’ was nurtured by Rev. Jesse Jackson and other Black ministers, Black politicians and just plain, concerned Black folks. The ‘birth’ of Tremendous Black Voter Turnout on November 2 was managed with minor complications. We, the ‘baby’s’ family, welcome our new baby, and will carefully watch our baby’s development, making sure that our baby matures profitably.

As one of the proud parents, I’ve been thinking about our baby’s future, and know what? I would like for our baby to grow up and, by golly, become President of the United States of America. Why not?

Darlene Duke-Crawford

Harold’s petitions to be filed Dec. 6

by Juanita Bratcher

Petitions to get Congressman Harold Washington on the ballot for mayor will be filed on December 6, said Tom Young, political director for the congressman at a meeting held at the Charles Hayes Center, 4859 S. Wabash, Saturday.

Young announced the opening of four Washington for Mayor headquarters on the West, near North, South, and the Up- town area of the city.

On the West side, Ald. Danny Davis’ headquarters, 221 S. Cicero, will be used; on the North, Chicago Housing Tenant Organization, Marion Stamps, 440 W. Divi- sion; Uptown area; Uptown People Coalition, 1222 W. Wilson; and on the South Side, the Afro-American Patrolman League, 7801 S. Cottage Grove.

In other developments, Mazzar Mangun, a ward leader in the 1st Congressional District, told a group of Washington’s sup-
City headed for rousing 4-way battle for mayor

By David Axelrod
Political writer.

CHICAGO MAYORAL politicking intensified Monday amid growing signs that the city is headed for a rousing, four-way Democratic primary that could deeply divide party leaders.

Cook County Assessor Thomas Byrne endorsed his longtime ally, State's Atty. Richard Daley, as U.S. Rep. Harold Washington (D., Ill.) prepared to announce his own candidacy on Wednesday, and Ald. Roman Pucinski (41st) fueled speculation that he may enter the race.

Meanwhile, Mayor Jane Byrne, who has been campaigning for re-election unofficially for months, continued to avoid mention of the increasing competition.

The torrent of campaign activity prompted lively chatter Monday in the corridors of City Hall, where several Democratic committeemen privately complained that they are being placed in a difficult position by the race.

MOST OF THE committeemen, concerned with preserving their patronage, are expected to publicly back Byrne, who already has won the endorsement of her hand-picked party chairman, Ald. Edward R. Vrdolyak (10th).

Vrdolyak has said he will call the ward leaders together later this month or in early December for the mayoral endorsement.

But several key committeemen already have made it clear that they will stick with Daley. If they ignore the decision of the slatemakers, the Feb. 22 mayoral primary could end up a free-for-all.

In his endorsement of Daley on Monday, Hynes accused Byrne of "aggravating" the city's problems with unstable rule.

"It is time for leadership that is truly concerned about people and their neighborhoods; that is strong.

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Mayor

Continued from page 1

competent and reasonable; that will restore genuine calm and stability to the governing of our city," he declared at a press conference in the Bismarck Hotel.

HYNES, who chided Byrne for imposing "unwarranted and unjustified" tax increases that have boosted property taxes by 40 percent during her tenure, was the second committeeman to officially endorse Daley. Last week, Thomas Lyons, the Northwest Side 45th Ward committeeman, became the first party leader to endorse Daley.

About 10 committeemen are expected to publicly back Daley, including some of the top vote producers in the city.

"If I stick with Byrne, I'll carry her in my ward by 1,000 votes," one committeeman said Monday. "Daley. I could carry by 10,000. I'd like to be with her, but I don't know if I want to go down in flames."

THE PROBLEM was dramatized in recent weeks when Park District Supt. Edmund L. Kelly, the 47th Ward Democratic committeeman, reportedly was faced with a rebellion of several of his top precinct captains. They favored Daley, although Kelly already has agreed to serve as Byrne's campaign manager.

Washington's imminent candidacy, the result of a draft by black community leaders, could put the black committeemen in an even greater bind.

"I think the sentiment in the black community will be so strong that it will be hard for the black committeemen not to back Washington—at least in public," said Ald. Clifford Kelley (30th), a Washington partisan who is not a committeeman. "A lot of those guys are running for the City Council next year, and they can't afford to oppose Harold."

Washington's plans to enter the race have increased the likelihood that Pucinski, who ran a strong mayoral race in 1977, will join the fray to capitalize on the divided field.

PUCINSKI, who has his own strong following on the Northwest Side and among the city's large Polish community, said the prospect of divisions within the party could force Vrdolyak to take the unprecedented step of keeping the organization publicly neutral in the race.

"I think Eddie might go with no endorsement rather than ripping up the organization with this kind of fight," said Pucinski, a ward committeeman, whose candidacy would be served by party neutrality.

Vrdolyak was on vacation Monday, but other party leaders scoffed at Pucinski's suggestion.

"I expect there will be slatemaking and we will have a candidate," said Ald. Edward M. Burke (14th), a Vrdolyak ally.
Daley touted as early favorite in upcoming mayoral derby

By David Axelrod

STATE SEN. Jeremiah Joyce [D., Chicago], a key ally of State’s Atty. Richard Daley, stopped by City Hall last week to visit some of his former colleagues on the Chicago City Council.

One of the aldermen Joyce buttonholed was Fred Roti of the 1st Ward, who, along with many other prominent Italian-American politicians, is a strong supporter of Mayor Jane Byrne’s re-election bid. Daley, of course, is seeking to unseat her.

“One of the best ways to help you, Freddle,” said Joyce, grinning from ear to ear as he wrapped an arm around the diminutive alderman. “I think you are riding the No. 4 horse in this election. I’m on No. 1.”

Now that the state elections are over, the jockeying for position has begun in City Hall for what promises to be the most competitive mayoral race in recent history.

TWO CANDIDATES have said they will enter the Feb. 22 Democratic primary—Daley and U.S. Rep. Harold Washington (D., Ill.). A third, Ald. Roman Pucinski (41st), has said he will decide whether to jump in within the next two weeks.

Though Byrne has maintained in recent days that she is not yet an official candidate, she is campaigning intensely in her own way.

Last week she announced a piecemaking, on a day-by-day basis, various aspects of her city budget, from tax relief to more money for prenatal care for the poor.

“She is running an incumbent’s campaign, using all the perks of her office to create some good publicity for herself,” Pucinski said. “I can’t fault her for that. That’s what every mayor does.”

BUT NO MAYOR in recent memory has faced the kind of imposing, multicandidate challenge Byrne can anticipate.

Most observers rate Daley, son of the late Mayor Richard J. Daley, as an early favorite. But no one is ruling any of the others out in a primary that can be won with a mere plurality. There will be no runoff. It’s winner take all.

Daley enjoys the great benefits of his father’s name, a devout following on the heavy-voting Southwest Side, generally favorable marks for his stewardship of the state’s attorney’s office and the widespread presumption that he is the most viable alternative to Byrne.

“Right now, from everything I can see, Daley is the man to beat,” said a Northwest Side Democratic committeeman who has not yet to choose sides.

BUT DALEY, WHO HAS kept a low profile since entering the race Nov. 4, still must present specific ideas on management of the city’s problems. His foes suggest that when the time comes to address issues, Daley’s candidacy will be crippled by his inability to speak well.

Byrne is armed with the vast powers of her office, which have helped her stock her political war chest with more than $3 million for the race. She comes off well in television commercials and is an aggressive, effective campaigner. She also has toned down her strident, shoot-from-the-lip style, affecting a more statesmanlike demeanor in recent months.

But it isn’t clear where she can draw together a winning constituency. Party leaders throughout the city concede Byrne has problems in their areas, suggesting an uphill fight.

Nevertheless, she is expected to prevail, though far from unanimously, when Democratic slatesmakers meet before Thanksgiving to select their mayoral candidate.

COMPELLING THE situation is the most serious black candidacy in the city’s history, that of Washington.

Buoyed by burgeoning voter registration in black neighborhoods, Washington is capable of drawing enough black support to make him a potential winner in a primary against three, and perhaps two, white opponents.

Washington can draw 250,000 to 300,000 votes, and more if he wins white liberal support or if a new black voter registration drive is as successful as the one that led to almost 100,000 new black registrants before the last election.

Most politicians estimate the turnout will be slightly higher than in the 1979 primary, when a little more than 800,000 ballots were cast in the battle between Byrne and Mayor Michael Bilandic. Washington’s total would be formidable, based on such projections.

“IN MY OPINION, at this point, I would say Washington would be the winner in a four-man race,” a Southwest Side ward Democratic committeeman said.

Without Washington in the race, Daley would have been expected to win many votes in the black community. Although black votes provided Byrne with her victory margin in 1979, the mayor since has become anathema to that community because of her appointments.

Daley’s forces reportedly worked through intermediaries to persuade Washington to stay out of the
Report 100,000 signatures collected for Washington

by Juanita Bratcher

More than 100,000 signatures on petitions have been collected to put Congressman Harold Washington on the ballot for mayor, and Washington’s supporters vowed they will collect another 50,000.

Richard Barnett, a petition coordinator volunteer for the campaign, said Washington will file 15,000 signatures when he goes to the Board of Election Commission today on the first day of filing to get on the ballot.

He also said steps are being taken “to protect our own.

If Mayor Jane Byrne and State’s Attorney Richard Daley file to run as independents on Dec. 13, Washington will file as an independent too. However, if they don’t file as independents, neither will Washington.”

Barnett told Washington’s supporters at the 1st Congressional District weekly meeting, 4859 S. Wabash, that “nothing can stop us now.” He stressed that the overall issue of the campaign was not money “because money can only take you to the ballot box, but it can’t punch.”

Even though Byrne has about $8 million and Richie Daley will is expected to get about $3 million in campaign funds, Barnett said, “we won’t comeme near to that. But, Washington will make the difference in this election.”

Barnett made reference to Byrne winning the last election while only spending $150,000 to Billianic’s $3 million.

“Once people get information on all three of the candidates,” he remarked, “it’s no way they won’t vote for Washington.”

Barnett admonished supporters that Washington’s campaign is not a Black civil rights thing “it is geared toward all the people. We refuse to let them paint Washington into a corner. We’re not going to, and we will see that everything is done legally.”

Disputing media reports that Washington’s campaign isn’t structured and not in place, Barnett said, “this campaign and structure are in place, and therefore will be moving forward. Don’t fall for it when precinct captains say that Washington doesn’t have a good campaign. You don’t get over 100,000 votes if you don’t have a campaign.”

Petitions are circulating all across the city now, Barnett said, and he cautioned attendees not to xerox petitions because they are not valid. “Also, those individuals who were petitioners for signatures in the Primary Election can’t be petitioners for signatures on the independent petitions.” However, Barnett said registered voters who signed primary petitions can also sign independent petitions provided they are residents of the city.
Byrne to run: Dem slating likely

By Basil Talbott Jr. and Lillian Williams

Mayor Byrne plans to declare her candidacy for reelection Monday and appears headed for slating by the Democratic Party the following day.

Confirming exclusive reports in early editions of the Wednesday Sun-Times, Byrne political consultant William Griffin said, "The mayor is confident she will be endorsed by the party."

A Sun-Times survey of Chicago's 50 Democratic ward committeemen confirmed that Byrne is virtually assured of winning slating by the Chicago party for the Feb. 22 primary.

The survey found 20 committeemen committed publicly to the mayor and six leaning toward her. Unless there is an unexpected reversal, those 26 would give Byrne a greater vote than either of the two other major candidates could now chalk up.

The survey showed State's Attorney Richard M. Daley with eight definite pledges from committeemen and one other committeeman leaning toward him. Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.), the third candidate, had public commitments from four committeemen.

Many of the other committeemen were ducking phone calls, pleading indecision, or as one said, "I've got something to sell. I'm not giving away anything. I'm not running a welfare office."

Among the most candid committeemen was Ald. Vito Marzullo (25th), dean of the City Council. Shrugging and cocking his head slightly, Marzullo told a reporter as he went into the mayor's office, "I've got to be with her. I've got Indiana in City Hall."

Undoubtedly, Marzullo's reference was to his son,

Robert, deputy commissioner of the bureau of streets, and to his precinct captains who have city jobs.

The mayor scheduled her formal re-election announcement after meeting Tuesday with Ald. Edward R. Vrdolyak (10th), who was installed as Cook County Democratic Party chairman by Byrne and Charles R. Swibel, her chief political adviser.

Vrdolyak could not be reached to discuss the rules on party endorsement procedures. An associate said he disappeared to play golf after meeting with Byrne.

In the endorsement process, each committeeman will cast a weighted vote equal to the number of voters in his ward in the March 16, 1982, primary election. The 26 committeemen pledged or leaning toward Byrne would give her 240,938 votes—just shy of the 268,305 she needs to get a majority.

In Tuesday night ward meetings, Ald. Robert Shaw persuaded precinct captains in his predominantly black 9th Ward to endorse Byrne, and 22nd Ward precinct captains voted to back Daley.

Byrne's announcement will be made with less fanfare than those of Daley and Washington. That low-key announcement will be in keeping of the mayor's new subdued campaign style featured in her first television ads, which start airing Wednesday.

Byrne made a "modest buy" of two weeks on all local stations except WBBM-TV, which has refused to sell her time. Joe Orso, sales director for Channel 2, has declined to sell spots to mayoral candidates until they are officially certified Dec. 29, a station spokesman said.

Meanwhile, Washington announced that he will not appear before the party slate-makers next Tuesday. Renault Robinson, the congressman's campaign manager, said the party's endorsement has little value.

"Endorsements don't mean the committeemen won't work for you. We are operating on the premise that many committeemen will support Harold Washington formally and informally," he said.

Robinson cited the endorsement of Byrne by five black committeemen on the West Side. "We think the committeemen in that area have been usurped by Ed Quigley," Robinson said, referring to Sewer Commissioner Edward A. Quigley, committeeman of the virtually all-black 27th Ward.

"To have a white man cracking the whip over a number of obedient blacks is the kind of thing we are trying to change," Robinson said.

Daley said he hasn't decided whether to appear before the slate-makers.
Harold, Richie to ignore Democratic slatemakers

by Chinta Strausberg

Mayoral candidates Congressman Harold Washington and Richard M. Daley Wednesday said they would not appear before the Democratic Central Committee slatemakers next Tuesday.

Renault Robinson, campaign manager for Washington said that the Congressman had been asked to appear by a number of Black ward committeemen, but that Washington believes "there is no difference between Jane Byrne and Richard Daley in their quest to control the machine—or what is left of it."

Daley said, "In view of the fearlessness of patronage and in view of the influence of the chair, who has already announced his personal choice," he would not appear.

Robinson said, "They are fighting for control over something we want to get rid of. We are offering an end to the machine—to go before a handful of men rather than to the people for endorsement is absurd.

"We don't believe that the endorsement has any meaning. It should come from the people. Another reason we are doing this is that Washington is not making any deals with ward committeemen who for too long have been on the wrong side of the fence. Once Washington is in, he will dismantle the machine."

Robinson said he didn't want the independents to find themselves "up against the wall because we have committed ourselves to the Democratic incumbents who have been working against the interests of the community." Robinson said Washington has never solicited any support from anyone but would not refuse to accept it.

Referring to the Democratic Central Committee slatemaking meeting where the machine will endorse one candidate next week, Robinson said, "We believe people should take a good look at the draining impact of the machine endorsement."

"The machine's ability to crank out the votes and bring in the dogs no longer works."

2 Dem leaders back Washington

By Lillian Williams

The news that Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.) will run for mayor stirred a flurry of activity in City Hall Monday, with two Democratic ward committeemen joining his camp.

The mayoral field for the Democratic primary seems likely to get even more crowded because Ald. Roman C. Pucinski (41st) said he is considering a mayoral bid.

Other politicians interviewed Monday either scrambled to Washington's corner, or took positions on the sidelines.

The Democratic committeemen, Ald. Eugene Sawyer (6th), and Alan Doby of the 5th Ward in Hyde Park, publicly said they support Washington. Sawyer said his constituents are clamoring for a black mayoral candidate, and that he must comply.

Ald. Clifford P. Kelley (20th) was more blunt: "You've got white committeemen defecting to [Cook County State's Attorney Richard M. Daley], so why should black committeemen continue to support the Machine?" Daley announced his candidacy last Thursday.

"If a black committeeman does support the Machine, it will be tantamount to buying a deck chair on the Titanic. The Byrne administration is going down," Kelley contended.

Fourteen of the city's 50 ward committeemen are black.

City Treasurer Cecil Partee, the 20th Ward Democratic committeeman, refused to commit himself, saying, "I have heard that at least six people plan to run for mayor. Some of it is in the rumor stage. When all have announced, then I'll make a statement."

One black committeeman said he's ready to trade with all comers, explaining, "I'm going to see who will promise the most. I've got something to sell. I'm not giving away anything. I'm not running a welfare office."

Illinois State Comptroller Roland Burris is expected to announce his support for Washington, 60. He had a private meeting with the congressman Monday afternoon.

Planning for the Washington mayoral bid has been under way for a year, said Renault Robinson, a Chicago Housing Authority board member who will be part of Washington's steering committee.

"We've got our own pollsters who say we can win," Robinson claimed.

Behind the scenes, Robinson said, Washington supporters have hammered out two key elements of campaign strategy—ways to reach white voters and methods of convincing blacks that Washington can win. "Black people are conservative," Robinson said. "They won't waste their vote on a candidate who can't win, and we're going to make sure that black voters are aware that Washington can win."

Washington refused comment Monday. However, sources said he will announce his candidacy at a press conference at 11 a.m. Wednesday in the Hyde Park Hilton.
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TOTAL: 516,610

This list was compiled from interviews with most committeemen by Basil Talbott Jr., Harry Golden Jr., Lillian Williams, Lynn Sweet and Michael Briggs. The determination of those “leaning”—denoted by (I)—for a candidate were based on interviews with party sources.
A new kind of election

As of Monday, when Mayor Byrne formally begins her campaign for re-election with the backing of most Democratic committee men, Chicago will face a situation new to most voters: a three-way mayoral race whose outcome is genuinely in doubt.

Mayor Byrne, State’s Atty. Richard M. Daley, and U.S. Rep. Harold Washington are strong contenders in a real contest; voters this time will have to choose a mayor instead of merely ratifying a decision by party leaders. And to an unusual degree the choice will put private loyalties to a test. Many voters will be pulled various ways by their own racial, political or neighborhood feelings; besides judging the candidates they’ll have to take a thoughtful look in the mirror.

This is a healthy change, and much of the credit for it belongs to Mr. Washington. If he does not become the city’s first black mayor, he will at least be the man who forced Chicago to take a close look at itself. Just by being a black candidate with a realistic chance of winning, he has changed an election into a genuine, hard-edged, conscience-pricking decision.

For generations, Chicago mayoral elections were a choice among white, middle-class lawyers or professional men. The only question about a candidate that really mattered was whether the Democratic organization was backing him.

Some of these preconceptions (including the pronoun “him”) were disproved in 1979 when Jane Byrne defeated the organization-backed incumbent Michael A. Bilandic. But this time just about all the “safe” assumptions will be tested.

For one thing, the candidate lists are not closed; others—for example, Ald. Roman Pucinski (41st)—might enter, causing still more complicated political and ethnic crosscurrents.

For another, the former Democratic “machine” is now two or three machines in various stages of disrepair. Even lifelong organization loyalists will have to choose between Mayor Byrne’s organization and Mr. Daley’s. And no white-dominated machine is likely to weigh heavily with black voters seeing a chance to elect a black mayor.

With all these variables in play, one can even imagine a scenario in which an attractive independent candidate would be lured into the field.

Each of the candidates has a weak spot that the others will exploit: Mayor Byrne’s reputation for vindictiveness and changeability, Mr. Daley’s wooden speaking style and his roots in the 11th Ward Old Dominion. Mr. Washington’s problem is his conviction in 1972 for failure to file income taxes for four years, and the one-year suspension of his license to practice law, a penalty for failing to provide legal services that clients had paid for. (The clients were reimbursed.)

These are serious matters. They should be balanced against Mr. Washington’s capable service in the legislature and in Congress; still, a conscientious voter can hardly help asking what led him into these jams and whether the circumstances have a bearing on his ability to run a city.

One quality that any and all candidates need to display is an ability to meet tough challenges head-on. The way Mr. Washington and his supporters meet this one will tell a great deal about the kind of campaign they are going to run and what kind of administration could be expected from the candidate.
Age of Independence?

Masking truth

The word "independent" used to have some specific meanings in a Chicago election. It usually meant some devout liberal, with suicidal tendencies, who allowed himself to be talked into running against Mayor Daley or some other powerhouse.

Tradition required that he rant and rave about the evil of patronage, vote-buying and Machine politics, be in favor of truth, justice and the American way, and receive the endorsement of all the cheese-eating, liberal do-gooder groups.

Tradition also required that he not be taken seriously by any sane person and that he concede defeat about 30 seconds after the polls close.

NOW, THOUGH, THE WORD independent appears to be losing its traditional Chicago meaning.

All three candidates for mayor are true Machine creatures. Yet each is or has portrayed himself or herself as something of an independent.

And even those potential candidates who are skipping the primary, and hoping to run in the general election, are planning to come on as independents.

The most obvious example of a newly born independent is State's Attorney Richard M. Daley.

Daley now sounds very righteous as he twits about the abuse of Machine power, the patronage system, the amassing of huge sums of campaign money, and all the other activities that used to delight everybody in the late Mayor Daley's household.

This is the same Richie Daley who was not at all offended by Machine politics when it permitted his father to put him on the head and send him to Springfield as a senator and a Machine hatchet man.

Nor did he look revolted when the Machine's profit system made it possible for him and his brothers to get rich fast in the insurance business and the practice of law. Or maybe he thought that all those clients flocked to the Daley boys' insurance and law offices because they were charmed by his smile.

Now Richie roams the Lakefront, rubbing elbows with the same wine-sipping liberals he was raised to believe should be deported.

BUT, THEN, HE'S JUST following the example of Mayor Byrne, who also began political life as a Machine faithful, then was reborn as an independent, and now is a born-again Machine creature.

When she first got into politics as a Daley protege, she acted as if anybody who had independent tendencies smelled bad.

But when Mayor Daley died, and she got the boot from Mayor Michael Bilandic, she suddenly became almost a classic independent. She was against all the Machine's vices, and even created a new boogeyman—the lowly, legendary "evil cabal."

Then she amazed everyone, including herself, by winning. Now that the Machine is her Machine, it seems almost as nice and harmless as a Cuisinart.

And the most evil of that once-evil band of caballeros—Fast Eddie Vrdolyak—is her loyal friend, although she's smart enough not to test that loyalty too much by turning her back on him.

THEN WE HAVE U.S. Rep. Harold Washington, who gives the impression that he is the most independent of the three candidates. When Washington gets to talking about the Machine, you would think that it steals and eats little babies.

This is the same Harold Washington who began his political career years ago as a faithful follower of Rep. William Dawson.

This is the same William Dawson who controlled the city's black vote and used it to help elect one Machine candidate after another, including himself and Mayor Daley.

Later, Washington became a faithful follower of Ralph H. Metcalfe, who was a loyal Machine alderman and congressman for much of his career.

Washington, of course, didn't find the Machine patronage system repugnant when it provided him with a job in City Hall's law department, made him a state hearing officer and put him on other public payrolls.

Nor did he say much about the evil of the Machine when it sent him to Springfield as a
legislator, where he was generally counted on to be a faithful fellow.

It wasn't until Metcalfe developed a late-life social conscience and independent streak that Washington decided he, too, should try it.

IF WASHINGTON FULFILLS Jesse Jackson's fantasies and wins, then we'll probably see Ald. Roman Pucinski running in the general election as an "independent." And he'll be about as independent as any Machine alderman and ward boss.

Or maybe the "independent" candidate will be Tom Tully, the former assessor, who was a protege of the legendary Parky "Hi Kee" Cullerton, who was the Machine's chief dollar-collector.

You would think that with almost everybody becoming an independent, and saying awful things about Machine politics, the feelings of the Machine's many precinct captains would be hurt.

After all, they are what the Machine is all about—the faithful payrollers who go out and hustle the vote.

But as one precinct captain said: "It's like the song goes: 'You always hurt the one you love.'"

"So I don't worry. When it's all over, they'll still love me. At least the winner will, and that's all that matters."

Bare move to draft Vrdolyak

Black ward bosses seek safe alternative

by Chinta Strausberg

The Chicago Defender learned Wednesday that a group of Black former Mayor Byrne supporters have begun a draft movement to have Ald. Edward R. Vrdolyak (10) as the next mayor of Chicago.

In exclusive and confidential interviews with several Black elected officials who were concerned with "saving the city," the group agreed that "Mayor Byrne cannot win because she has been a poor mayor who is running for re-election on her record which is bad news."

One official said, "We think Mayor Byrne's policies have been racist, and the radio programs she has bought time on—on Black radio stations—is nothing more than a pack of lies. It's enough to make you regurgitate."

"That Black Westside group who is working with the Mayor with this program are just rented people. Before they (the machine) used to own us; now we can be rented."

Another Black official said, "Vrdolyak is a good compromise candidate who can win and unite this city. Congressman Harold Washington can't win. What sensible Black person would vote for him?"

"If the race comes down to Washington and Byrne, we're afraid the split would cause Byrne to win, and none of us want that." Byrne's office did not return this reporter's calls.

Another defector from the Byrne camp said, "We want Eddie to run for mayor to save the Democratic Party, and he is the only one who can do it. Eddie doesn't want the position because he is loyal to Byrne because she helped him win the Democratic Party chairmanship." Vrdolyak did not return this reporter's call.

The source said Vrdolyak is expected to get 30 votes (continued on page 40)

(continued from page 1)

VOL. LXXVIII - NO. 139 Thursday, November 18, 1982

next Tuesday when the Party will hold its slate-making session. "We have to do something because the party is so split," added the official.

Asked if Blacks would vote for Vrdolyak, the source said, "Those who really know the man will vote for him. Many people think Eddie is a racist, but he has gotten more Blacks jobs than anyone in this city. Just look at the Byrne administration. You won't find one Black in any decision-making position who can authorize funds or sign a check. It wouldn't be that way with Eddie."

Asked about the massive Black voter registration drives, and a desire from the Black community to elect Washington, several Black elected officials agreed that "it's just not the time," and said that should Washington win the primary, and the group conceded he would, efforts to get Ald. Roman Pucinski (41) to run are already in the making.

The source said, "I have heard that if Washington wins, everyone is being told to stay out of the mayoral race so that Pucinski could win so Chicago could still have a white mayor."

The same source added, "I hope Washington does not make his race a racial issue. I believe he will win the primary but will lose the general election because it will be on a one-on-one situation."

Some former once powerful sources say that in the possible four-way mayoral race, Byrne defectors have thrown a monkey wrench into the spokes of the Democratic machine which will allegedly cause it to come to an uneven halt or a standstill.
Washington takes jab at Democratic bosses

By Lillian Williams
and Tom McNamee

In a blast at Democratic Party bosses, Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.) charged Thursday that Mayor Byrne discriminates against women and said Edward R. Vrdolyak probably will "beat the drums" to boost white voter registration.

Also on the mayoral campaign trail, Vrdolyak, county Democratic chairman, said his support of Byrne will be limited to a vote for her at the state convention, while the third candidate, Cook County State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, received the backing of another ward committeeman.

Washington pledged to confront Vrdolyak about "talking out of both sides of his mouth" about a possible white backlash against a serious black mayoral candidacy.

Washington, who is black, charged that while Vrdolyak publicly opposes the idea of voting along racial lines, Vrdolyak "probably will beat the drums to get whites to register to vote to block Harold Washington from becoming mayor."

Washington's comments came at a taping of "Eyewitness Forum," which will air at 1:30 p.m. Sunday on Channel 7.

In support of his charge that Byrne discriminates against women, Washington said he has failed to appoint women to top decision-making posts and that city government has been filled with "women typists and gofers."

Speaking later to reporters after an appearance at Northeastern Illinois University Center for Inner Cities Studies, 700 E. Oakwood, Washington also attacked the media, Daley and his father, the late Mayor Richard J. Daley.

The media, he said, have underestimated the political strength of the black community and tend not to give equal credibility to black candidates. They keep speculating about how many votes Washington will take from Daley, but he said, "I can't take votes from Richard Daley he doesn't have."

Washington said Sun-Times columnist Mike Royko, in a Thursday column speculating that there will be an increase in white voter registration in response to a black mayoral candidate, "beat the drum" for a reaction on the part of the white community.

"If this campaign becomes racially polarized," Washington said, "I think we can look back to Nov. 11, the Chicago Sun-Times, Page 2, and point the finger at Mr. Royko."

Royko responded to Washington's charges by saying: "I see nothing wrong with reporting that the Democratic ward committeemen are planning a large white voter registration drive after more than a year of covering and writing about a black voter registration drive."

"The ward committeemen are planning the drive, they know it and the press knows it, and all I did was write about it. Apparently Mr. Washington thinks it's OK to promote a black registration drive but wrong for me to report the beginning of a white voter registration drive."

"I think Mr. Washington is confused."

Of Royko's discussion in a Friday column of Washington's legal license suspensions and failure to file income-tax forms, Washington said he has discussed these matters many times and they happened more than 10 years ago. He has repeatedly been endorsed by the media since, he said.

He said of the late Mayor Daley, "He was a great builder, bricks and mortar, but..."

Turn to Page 27

Continued from Page 20

he didn't do anything for the human equation... He laid the foundation for a racist community."

Earlier Thursday, Vrdolyak, alderman and committeeman of the 10th Ward, stressed that he had endorsed Byrne before he became party chairman, and left open the possibility of an open primary in which no candidate would be endorsed by the party.

He professed that he didn't know for sure whether Byrne would be a candidate.

Vrdolyak said he intends to run a fair slating session and would work for whomever the party endorses, even if it is not Byrne.

Vrdolyak discussed the mayoral race in tapings for "For the Record," to be aired at 10:30 p.m. Sunday on WIND, and "Chicago News Conference," aired at 9 p.m. Sunday on WMAQ radio.

Daley's endorsement Thursday came from his cousin, 18th Ward committeeman John M. Daley.

Also reporting on this story were Basil Talbott Jr. and Harry Golden Jr.
Ward bosses, Washington in 'secret' meet

by Chinta Strausberg

While Mayor Byrne announced her mayoral candidacy Monday, Black and white ward bosses allegedly agreed that they could not bring in a Byrne vote as a result of "testing the waters." The Defender has learned that an alternative plan by white politicians is being designed to combat the Black support of Congressman Harold Washington.

The Defender recently learned that nine Black aldermen asked for a meeting with Washington last week and secretly met with him at a Southside church. Sources say they are scheduled to meet again but would not say when or where.

While Congressman Washington confirmed the rumor, he said the meeting "was nothing strange," and said it was they who requested the meeting. When asked why was the meeting called, he refused to comment.

A reliable source said, "The aldermen were trying to get certain types of assurances from Washington. Some of them were trying to make up their minds and others were trying to determine what would be the relationship after he wins."

The source added, "I got the impression that they were very much concerned about endorsing him, and they wanted to make sure that his mayoral candidacy was on firm ground—and that he had the base of organizational support."

Mayor Byrne sat alone at Monday's one-hour press conference. Her husband, Jay McMillen, stood in the midst of reporters. Byrne said he would be working in the capacity of a husband throughout the campaign.

Byrne said when she took office in 1979 the city had a $1 billion deficit, but an official from The Civic Federation, a watchdog of the city and other governmental agencies, said that figure was actually $78 million. He said Byrne included the figures $459 million from the school board deficit and $300 million in non-property taxes plus $100 million in real estate to arrive at that figure.

Saying that the city is financially sound, Byrne was caught off guard when it was pointed out that in 1980 the school board had a $125 million deficit, and that the school finance authority has projected an equal amount in the fall of 1983.

Byrne was reminded that when she took office she had promise not to accept anything over $1,000 in campaign contributions but that one company gave more than that. Asked if she had not broken her promise, Byrne said she would rather read what she said in 1979 before answering.

Congressman Washington, reacting to Byrne's announcement, said he was pleased that Byrne entered the race. He said he was looking forward to debating with her. He added, "I wish I shared Mayor Byrne's optimism as to the state of the city."

One Black aldermen, who asked not to be identified, said, "I think Byrne's announcement was laced with only part of the story of the Jane Byrne Administration during the past three and a half years."

"If one were to look at the other side, one would have to take into consideration the amount of perpetual instability that the residents and the financial community suffered that kept them in a constant frenzy wondering whether our government is sound."

"Byrne's administration has been a ruthless one displayed by a lack of sensitivity in numerous occasions to the residents of this city."

He said the "insensitivity" was highlighted during the CHA controversy "where the citizens had a legitimate concern to see their government in operation and not be locked out of the City Council Chambers." The aldermen said Byrne sent in city workers "who should have been working" to fill up the seats. The incident sparked one of the largest voter registration drives in the history of Chicago resulting in 600,000 Black registered voters.
The mayor's proposed budget is one of "smoke and mirrors," Washington said. It shuns the needs of the city's neighborhoods, imposes "hidden taxes" and will leave a budget gap requiring new postelection levies, he added.

WASHINGTON joined in the criticism voiced last week by Byrne's other announced primary opponent, State's Atty. Richard Daley, that the mayor has financed election-year tax relief with funds that will be unavailable in subsequent years.

"The deceptive balance in Byrne's budget is being achieved only through more than $80 million in one-time revenue sources," he said in the session with reporters, in the Midland Hotel. "These tricks will not balance the city budget next year, or in years thereafter."

Moreover, Washington objected to the city's heavy reliance on utility taxes. Chicagoans will be paying $120 million more in utility taxes in 1983 than they did four years earlier, when Byrne was elected, he said.

[Though the city has raised some utility taxes in recent years, revenues from such taxes, which are based on a percentage of the bill, have skyrocketed along with the price of energy.]

Byrne splits machine

by Chinta Strausberg

The split in the machine was obvious at Tuesday's Chicago Democratic State platemaking session when, for the first time in Chicago's history, a Democratic mayoral candidate received 33 votes out of a possible 50. Mayor Byrne received 33 "yes" votes and nine "no" votes; seven ward committeemen voted "present." The weighted vote for Byrne amounted to 319,933 out of a possible total of 516,619 votes.

Absent was Ald. Clifford Kelley (30), who blasted the party for holding the platemaking session on the only day the public had to have input into the $2 billion budget. Kelley said, "Mayor Byrne was not even here to see what went on. When Daley was alive, he never missed his budget hearings."

Cook County Commissioner John Stroger prevented a move to call for a voice vote for the nomination of Jane Byrne for mayor. He requested a roll call, and members of the audience started shouting, "Call the roll."

Ward committeemen Robert Shaw (9), James C. Taylor (16), William Parker (17), Cecil A. Partee (28), William Henry (24), William Caroll (28), Jola McGowan (30), and Wilson Frost (34) were some of the Black elected officials who seconded Byrne's nomination -- giving her praise for "a job well done."

Ward committeemen William Barnett (2), Tyrone Kenner (3), Timothy C. Evans (4), Alan Dobry (5), Eugene Sawyer (6), and Niles Sherman (21) were some of those who voted "present."

U.S. Representative Dan Rostenkowski (32nd), who voted "no" for Byrne, told the Defender he had "mixed emotions" and had not made up his mind yet. County Assessor Thomas C. Hynes (19) also voted "no."

One of the Black ward committeemen who voted "present told the Defender, "Voting 'present' was an attempt to get off the hook. We know Byrne can't win, but we don't want to jeopardize our situation. No one has talked to us."

The committeeman added, "Vrdolyak called on Blacks like Taylor, Shaw and Parker -- the ones he knew would make glowing remarks about the Mayor. Not once did he call on a ward committeeman who was having problems with his ward."

Vrdolyak referred to the Democratic Party as "the family," and chided those who were absent, but, sources say there is a feud rising within the "family," and the alleged bottom line is that they don't want Jane M. Byrne for another four years, and if they did, they couldn't bring in the vote.

Saying that he and Byrne had a "rocky start" that was due primarily to personality conflicts, Vrdolyak said: "I don't always like what she says to me sometimes; she is a very solid, tough lady who is not afraid to say no."

"We will have our family fights, but if anybody wants to take on this organization, they'd better pack a lunch, because it would be an all-day job."

Senator James Taylor, responding to those who voted "present," said, "They have weak backbones."

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Mayoral politics and polish

The new Jane Byrne—taut, restrained, just a bit severe—finally has declared her intention to run for a second term. She was promptly taken to task on some of her assertions of accomplishment by the new Richard Daley—more articulate thanks to his speech lessons, fewer rough edges than in the days when he was very much his father’s son as a legislator in Springfield.

Meantime, Rep. Harold Washington, not quite so new but still trying to throw off the stigma of some criminal tax problems he had awhile back, seems the most genuine and articulate of the lot. But he has a long way to go before he develops people’s confidence in his capacity to govern.

That, for now, is the field in the mayoral primary, with Ald. Roman Pucinski and Ald. Edmund Burke threatening to jump into the general election if Rep. Washington should happen to win the primary, just so loyal Democrats won’t have to be faced with voting for a black or, God forbid, a Republican.

One of the odd things about it is that all these Democrats have tried in one way or another to pretend to be independents.

Mr. Daley wants, despite his birthright, to persuade the lakeshore crowd that he is anti-Machine. He even managed to portray as a “boycott” his decision not to go before the Regular Democratic Organization slatemakers. The reason he is “boycotting” is that he knows he would be turned down decisively if he asked to be slated.

Mayor Byrne’s new image is aloof and managerial, above the fray of partisan politics. Compared to four years ago when she was a shrill voice shouting oaths from the back of the crowd, this year it is almost as if she thinks she is running for city manager.

Rep. Washington is reminding no one of his roots in the organization. It is still an open question whether, should he win, the Machine would go into gear behind or against him. Democratic Party Chairman Edward Vrdolyak sometimes sounds as if he would be willing to support Rep. Washington rather than face Mr. Daley as mayor.

There don’t seem to be any real independents about to jump into the race. And although former Gov. Richard Ogilvie’s name gets mentioned now and then as a possible Republican candidate, that seems at this point to be quite remote.

So for now, what you see is what you’ve got. And the candidates—Mayor Byrne hiding her temper, Mr. Daley working to unshackle his tongue, Rep. Washington minimizing the significance of his past problems with the law—are all trying very hard to distract your eye from their flaws with a high-buff coat of polish.

Ward bosses ‘mug’ mayor

IT WAS A simple but symbolic act, something akin to the shifting of portraits in Moscow’s Red Square, which signals so well the political infighting shrouded by Kremlin walls.

But this time the battle was waged over corned beef and cabbage on Chicago’s Near North Side, and it was the mayor’s mug shot yanked off the wall by a bunch of Democratic precinct captains.

According to those attending the Wednesday night 42d Ward dinner meeting at ward headquarters, 945 N. State St., ward officials manifested their displeasure with Jane Byrne by deciding overwhelmingly that she had no place in their gallery of party leaders.

“OVERWHELMINGLY,” however, might be too tame a description for the decision-making process. Several of those present reported that more than 100 ward workers leaped to their feet with raucous applause when the idea was suggested.

Following the “vote,” ward Secretary Frank Bruno dutifully lowered the mayor’s blowup photograph, which until that moment had graced ward office walls in the company of Cook County Board President George Dunne, Ald. Burton F. Natarus (40th), ward President Ira Colitz, committeewoman Lena Bruno and State Rep. Jesse White (D., Chicago).

“After the group had concurred in support of (mayoral candidate Richard) Daley, one of the members got up and moved that Byrne’s picture be removed,” said Dunne, adding simply: “So it was removed.”

Trib 12/2/82 pg 7
Charges Blacks paid less

by Chinta Strausberg

A Ph.D. candidate in political sociology at the University of Chicago Wednesday charged city officials of depriving Blacks of more than $100 million in lost income because of salary differentials. City officials have denied the charges, saying "You can't extrapolate from raw data."

Rodney D. Coates, a Ph.D. candidate who expected to graduate in June, said he used the City's EEO4 reports to glean his information. He said, "I tried to talk to at least four department heads about the data, but they refused. Everyone played the nut role on me, but I got the information."

According to Coates' report, out of 47 department heads, eight are Black and one Hispanic. Coates claims that those departments headed by Blacks are usually in the social service domain, and that they have the smallest staffs and the lowest budgets.

He said Cecil Partee, City Treasurer, has a staff of 27 with a budget of $513,000. Amanda Rudder, Commissioner of the Chicago Public Library with a staff of 916, reportedly has a budget of $23,412,968; and Rachael R. Ridley, with a staff of 312 reportedly has a budget of $323,651.

Coates said Commissioner Lenora T. Cartright has a budget of $3 million and a basic staff of 142 people. The Commissioner of the Department of Health, Hugo H. Murriel, allegedly has a staff of 1,411 and a budget of $34,398,916. Coates said the Police Board, which has a staff of two people and is headed by Rev. Wilbur N. Daniel, has a budget of $248,775.

According to Coates, there are 37,720 total City employees of which 10,144 are Black, or 26.9 percent. He said there are 1,182 Hispanics representing 3.1 percent of the city's workforce.

Coates said the average income for all City employees is $24,600 a year, and that the average white makes $1,500 more. Blacks on the average, allegedly make $3,500 less. The average white employee," added Coates, "makes $5,500 more than the average Black municipal employee."

According to Coates, "The longest municipal functional areas are police and fire protection, but these same departments have the greatest number of Blacks employed."

His report showed that there were 13,569 people, or 36 percent working at the police department, and of this group, 3,116, or 23 percent are Black. He said 5,101, or 13.52 percent work for the fire department but that Blacks were 13 percent of that number.

Coates said, "The Department of Human Services, with a Black Commissioner, employees 142 people. Separate reports were not available for this department. In this functional area, 3,032 people are employed—most of whom are Black who make up 58.1 percent or 1,762 of the 3,032 employees."

He said that the Financial Administration and General Control, which includes the Mayor's office, employs some 1,852 people, 31 percent of whom are Black.

Coates added, "Blacks employed by the police department, on the average, make $6,290 less than their white co-workers. The average Black income is $20,430, to whites $27,500. Whites, on the average, working for the fire department, make $4,380 more than Blacks—$27,890 for whites to $23,510 for Blacks."

A City Hall source, who asked not to be identified, said, "This is true, but what he fails to understand is that there are many employees who are 25-year veterans who are white, and of course they make more."

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Municipal Departments

The following chart represents Municipal Departments ranked by the percentage of Blacks earning more than $20,000.

% Making $20,000 or More Annually

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Black %</th>
<th>White %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dept. of Human Services</td>
<td>43.4%</td>
<td>49.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Development</td>
<td>33.2%</td>
<td>63.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanitation &amp; Sewage</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
<td>68.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>25.4%</td>
<td>56.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>20.1%</td>
<td>78.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Resources</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
<td>77.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Admin.</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
<td>78.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Protection</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>78.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utilities and Transportation</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
<td>86.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Streets &amp; Highways</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td>85.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire Protection</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>89.1%</td>
</tr>
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(Figures represent 1981 year)

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Functional areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Black Avg</th>
<th>White Avg</th>
<th>Income All</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Utilities and Transportation</td>
<td>20,430</td>
<td>27,500</td>
<td>26,720</td>
<td>6,290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Protection</td>
<td>20,430</td>
<td>28,450</td>
<td>25,360</td>
<td>8,240</td>
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<tr>
<td>Streets &amp; Highways</td>
<td>20,410</td>
<td>26,350</td>
<td>25,200</td>
<td>5,940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>17,280</td>
<td>22,770</td>
<td>20,080</td>
<td>5,510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>21,340</td>
<td>26,470</td>
<td>24,410</td>
<td>5,130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire Protection</td>
<td>23,510</td>
<td>27,890</td>
<td>27,150</td>
<td>4,380</td>
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<tr>
<td>Financial</td>
<td>18,420</td>
<td>22,030</td>
<td>20,810</td>
<td>3,610</td>
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<tr>
<td>Administration/</td>
<td>16,660</td>
<td>18,881</td>
<td>17,771</td>
<td>2,150</td>
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<tr>
<td>General Services</td>
<td>20,760</td>
<td>23,600</td>
<td>22,180</td>
<td>1,420</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community Dev.</td>
<td>22,310</td>
<td>23,700</td>
<td>23,220</td>
<td>1,390</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sanitation &amp; Sewage</td>
<td>20,860</td>
<td>21,900</td>
<td>21,870</td>
<td>1,010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural</td>
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<tr>
<td>Resources</td>
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Chicago's machine is squeaking

If you harbor any doubts that Northern urban politics may have taken up where old-style Southern politics left off, witness the present turmoil in Chicago's Democratic machine.

The nation's oldest political machine is in an unprecedented dither about the prospect of a black congressman — a Democrat — being elected mayor in 1983.

In a three-candidate race it is clear to most veteran politicos that U.S. Rep. Harold Washington, 60, who began his career as a 15-year-old Democratic assistant precinct captain, could win the Democratic primary in February and the mayoralty in the general election in April.

If the primary were held this week, Washington, who represents Chicago's 1st Congressional District on the South Side, would most likely be the winner, concedes Ald. Edward Vrdolyak, chairman of the Cook County Democratic Party and Mayor Jane Byrne's No. 1 strategist and field general.

There is a broad feeling here that the two other candidates — Mayor Byrne and State's Atty. Richard M. Daley, son of the late mayor — will split the white vote, making it fairly certain that a combination of blacks and disenfranchised whites would hand Washington a primary victory.

Why the crisis over a Washington triumph? Haven't blacks been elected mayor — for successive terms — in other cities, such as Atlanta, Los Angeles, New Orleans and Birmingham, Ala.

Did any of these cities fall to pieces because of the administrations of blacks? In fact, Los Angeles, where black voters are nearly infinitesimal, re-elected Mayor Tom Bradley several times and then ran him for governor of California. Both the labor and business leaders of Detroit say that city is better off because of Mayor Coleman Young.

But despite its long and open dependence upon the black vote for survival, Chicago's machine bosses "ain't ready for reform" when it comes to including blacks in the political power equation. When it became undeniable clear that Washington was riding the crest of political ferment in the long-dormant black community, the narrow-minded strategists of the machine blatantly announced their "stop-Washington" plans.

Two of the party's leaders — Ald. Roman Pucinski (41st) and Ald. Edward Burke (14th), announced that they may run on an "independent party" ticket in the general election — on what everyone will conclude as a white ticket. They don't come out and say that.

Listen to the voice of Ald. Burke, a sanguine Byrne supporter and 14th Ward committeeman:

"I think it would be important for the Democratic voters of Chicago to have an alternative if someone were to be the Democratic nominee who is not competent and capable to be the chief executive of Chicago."

Burke was candid. He said he would run in the general election only if Washington were nominated by his party. "I don't think Washington is capable of being mayor of Chicago," he told The Tribune's political writer David Axelrod last week.

Why is Washington incapable in Burke's mind? Because of Washington's background, a reference to Washington's income tax troubles in the early 1970s?

Burke's sudden sense of morality is strange indeed. This is the same Burke who never uttered a sound while former Ald. Thomas E. Keane, his old crony and floor leader of the City Council, used his machine contacts to buy tax delinquent properties and resell them to public agencies where Keane had influence. In 1974 Keane was convicted of 18 counts of mail fraud and spent a year and nine months in federal prison before his parole.

What did Burke's oh-so-moral machine do when Keane went to jail? It showed its respect for the old stickster by appointing his wife, Adeline, to Keane's council seat.

Washington's income tax problems involved a shortage of around $400 because of his failure to file with the Internal Revenue Service, although deductions had been made from his salary. Keane's earnings from his tax delinquent land scheme have been estimated to be $413,580.

But the oh-so-moral party of Mayor Byrne, Vrdolyak, Burke and Pucinski continues to view Keane with great reverence. The Byrne machine recently hired Keane, 76, to design the remap of the city's political wards. This remap is a federal requirement every 10 years after the census reports.

If Burke is so concerned with morality, why didn't he fight the hiring of Keane?

Moreover, all of Byrne's well-done television commercials harp on a single theme: How she "inherited" a city that previous mayors (all white) had mismanaged into near fiscal ruin.

All the present Democratic machine bosses campaigned vigorously for the re-election of the two previous mayors, including those, who, according to Mayor Byrne, left Chicago with an "indebtedness of nearly $1 billion." And that sort of mayoral incompetence cannot be blamed on Washington or any of his supporters. But that kind of double standard is representative of the antiquated politics operating in Chicago.
3 indicted in bombings of black family's home

By William B. Crawford Jr.

THREE WHITE men were charged in federal indictments Monday in connection with the bombings last summer of a home belonging to a black couple in south suburban Burnham.

Two separate indictments named as defendants Earl "Buddy" Goodin Jr., 21, 14455 Bensley Ave.; Gregory J. Gawel, 23, 14420 Cahoun St.; and Michael Seabrook, 24, 14021 Hoxie Ave., all of Burnham.

They are charged with violating the civil rights of Mildred James, a Chicago Transit Authority bus driver; her husband, Charles, who is paralyzed and confined to a wheelchair; and their three children. Charles James' paralysis resulted from a job-related injury, authorities said.

At a news conference in the Dirksen Federal Building, U.S. Atty. Dan K. Webb said the family moved into their home in Burnham in the summer and immediately "were subjected to repeated acts of violence and threats."

A PIPE BOMB was tossed against the garage door and the following day a Molotov cocktail was tossed against the family house, missing a living room window, but hitting an outside wall, Webb said.

Webb called the acts "racially motivated" and said that Monday's indictments were the first time the U.S. attorney's office here had brought criminal civil rights charges in an open housing case.

Webb said that obtaining indictments in open housing cases was almost impossible "because there exists a code of silence" among participants in such cases. However, Webb vowed that should similar cases arise in the future, "I intend to have the FBI investigate the case and investigate it until the case is solved."

AFTER THE NEWS conference, Webb singled out for praise the work of two federal prosecutors, Sheldon Zenner and Thomas A. Durkin, who spearheaded the grand jury investigation. He called their work "thorough and extensive." He also praised the work of Edward Lawhead, Burnham police chief, whose work, he said, was instrumental in putting together the case.

Mildred James, who sat silently and alone at the rear of the jammed room during the news conference, told reporters afterward that the harassment included ugly phone calls, shattered windows and other threats.

Things became so bad that at one time Burnham police stationed a patrol car outside the home around the clock, she said. However, when police were pulled away, "all hell broke loose again," she said.

She said her husband had to be removed from the home for a period because of the fear that "if the house caught fire, he would be trapped in the house in his wheelchair."

One of Monday's indictments, containing seven counts, charged Goodin and Gawel with violating the family's civil rights and with conspiracy and firearms violations in connection with the explosion of a pipe bomb July 27 at the James family's home.

In a separate indictment, Seabrook was charged with violating the civil rights of the James family by allegedly throwing a Molotov cocktail at their home July 26.

Goodin and Gawel also were charged with obstruction of justice for allegedly attempting to influence a grand jury witness to testify falsely in the case. In addition, the indictment charged Goodin with perjury for allegedly telling falsely before the grand jury on Nov. 8.

Tribune photo by Walter Kane

Mildred James listens during a press conference Monday at the Dirksen Federal Building while U.S. Atty. Dan K. Webb (right center) announces the federal indictments against three white men allegedly involved in "racially motivated" acts of violence against James' south suburban Burnham family.

Flanking Webb is Thomas A. Durkin (left) who spearheaded the investigation, and Edward D. Hegarty, head of the Chicago bureau of the FBI.
ONE OF MY long-time critics has posed an important question to me, one that any newspaper columnist should take seriously. The question has to do with what my critical views as "a great big contradiction in the kind of politics" that I've advocated in this column.

"How do you have the nerve to urge black people and white people to vote for a black man for mayor — just because he is black — when you object to whites like me voting for a candidate because he is white? Why don't you admit that you are a racist just like me?" the caller asked.

The fact that this man always describes himself as an unashamed, open racist does not give me a license to ignore his question. Although this critic did not frame my position correctly, I suspect it is an interpretation held by many individuals who don't view themselves as, and do not want to be, racists.

I DO NOT support the candidacy of Rep. Harold Washington (D, Ill.) for mayor of Chicago simply because he is black. While I do not want him to be denied the mayor's chair because of his race, I can think of many black whom I could not support even if they were running against Mayor Jane Byrne. And that should say a lot.

I welcome this opportunity to explain my position on race and political representation because I'm concerned today with a situation in my immediate community that will call for a careful political decision. In my 5th Ward on the South Side, blacks have become a clear majority of the population.

Meanwhile, the ward is represented in the City Council by Ald. Lawrence S. Bloom. The ward also has a white Democratic committee man, Alan Dobry. Bloom and Dobry are independents who usually take positions identical with the city's independent black elected officials in the City Council and in the Illinois General Assembly.

For several months I have been asked by several black ward residents if I was going to help them get rid of Bloom and Dobry. When I asked who was being considered as replacements for them, I frequently was told that they were going to put in two black guys.

Who are the black guys? One answer went like this: "We're working on something. We think we can work out a deal with Ed Vrdolyak to get some help. If we do, the situation will look good for a black alderman and a black committee man."

I promptly informed my "brothers" that I was not about to vote for any "black guy" just because he is black.

MY RACIALLY "proud" neighbors did not need to be informed that Vrdolyak is chairman of the Democratic Party of Cook County and was interested in becoming the big boss of the South Side. Therefore, the inevitable question.

How black can an alderman or a committee man be if he is not nothing more than a public address system for the machine?

I also insist on questioning the character and commitment of "brothers" who may not be sponsored by the machine. The City Council is not without its examples of "brothers" who won their seats on anti-machine, if not anti-white, tickets. In a matter of weeks several began to act as though they are not akin to anyone black but themselves and their cronies.

Who can forget brother Ald. Robert Shaw (9th) in 1979 when he campaigned for Democratic committee man against that "white guy" named Alex Adduci. Shaw won. Mayor Byrne won a dependable ally. But what did black Chicago win?

I'm not an admirer of Washington because of pigmentation. I can think of a long list of black politicians who would not get my vote, except probably as a wasted protest with the clear understanding that they could not win.

ONE YARDSTICK of my respect for Washington is my anticipation of the mayoral debates. If Byrne and State's Atty. Richard M. Daley are willing to debate him, Washington will show the whole public that it is the superior spokesman not only for Chicago's racial minorities, but also for the aspirations of the thinking white citizen of this last quarter of the 20th Century.

The real truth is that I could not vote for a mayoral candidate whose vision is tunnelled to the aspirations of blacks only — when 60 percent of the city's population is comprised of others. The one-dimensional racial approach has been the great sin of all past mayors of Chicago. It is a legacy that I don't want to see passed on to any future mayor of Chicago.

It is a legacy that I firmly believe will be rejected affirmatively by Washington who, in my judgment, would emerge as a genuine brother to us all.

Won't let race become issue, Byrne declares

By William Recktenwald

A DAY BEFORE announcing her candidacy for re-election, Mayor Jane Byrne worked to shore up her image in the black community Sunday by assuring a South Side church congregation that she has not "written off" Chicago's black vote.

After a warm reception from the more than 100 people attending services in the New Tabernacle Baptist Church, 1142 W. 62d St., the mayor said, "I will not let race become a campaign issue; that would be a step backward.

"One thing that has been said is that Jane Byrne has written off the black community. I know of nothing that I have done in the past 3½ years that would make anyone think that. "I am here because I have written of no one, and I love all of you," Byrne said.

REV. NORMAN L. Russell, the pastor, introduced Byrne as "a great person with a great big heart."

The mayor will announce her candidacy for re-election at 10 a.m. Monday in City Hall press conference, her aides said Sunday. Cook County State's Atty. Richard M. Daley and U.S. Rep. Harold Washington already have announced that they will challenge Byrne in the Feb. 22 Democratic primary.

Since her election as mayor in 1979, Byrne told the churchgoers, blacks have been appointed to important positions, such as school superintendent, chairman of the police board and executive director of the public library. Those choices were made not because the appointees are black but because they are well qualified, she said.

"I could go on to tell you everyone that we have changed to give you representation in this Cabinet," Byrne said. "I want you to know there are 22 representatives of the black community in my Cabinet and want you to know there were two when I walked in that door."

After her election, Byrne's relations with the black community deteriorated when she passed over 1st Deputy Police Capt. Sam Nolan for appointment as superintendent and 2nd Deputy Police Capt. Robert McCall, minority group members. Both were passed over in favor of Assistant Police Chief Jerry Hunsicker and Assistant Police Chief Nathaniel L. Twyman. The last public statement that Byrne made about the matter was Feb. 24, at a community meeting for the District 11th precinct.
Voting for mayor not so black and white

There is an unsavory tone developing in Chicago's Democratic mayoral primary race that all citizens should reject.

It is the element of race being injected into the campaign by those supporters of U.S. Rep. Harold Washington (D., Ill.) who want to unite all blacks behind his candidacy.

Washington himself has disavowed that tactic.

But from the tilt of their rhetoric, it is obvious that some of his supporters believe that the city's more than 600,000 registered black voters will vote only for a black and that blacks vote only on a basis of race.

That, of course, is an insult to the integrity and intellect of Chicago's blacks. It also is potentially divisive in a city whose economic, political and social stability are dependent on racial harmony.

Further, it is a lie because it suggests that because whites apparently will vote only for candidates of their race, blacks had better get their act together or perish politically.

That canard is easily contradicted by the ballots tabulated in the recent unsuccessful bid of Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley to become California's first black governor.

Bradley lost by only 52,295 votes out of a total of about 7.5 million cast. Which means that millions of whites joined blacks in helping to compile Bradley's impressive tally.

Which also makes me wonder why politicians of any color are so hung up on that issue as February's Democratic mayoral primary election draws near.

Either a candidate is worth his salt or he isn't. Race never should be a determining factor and voters elsewhere have proven that it often is not.

Certainly, no black would want whites to vote only for white candidates. Some, however, indicate the reverse when it comes to promoting Washington's candidacy in their community.

They expect blacks to vote only for black candidates. They seem to be attempting to make race the sole criterion of this election. And if they succeed, it would be the first time in more than 50 years that race would become a major factor in a Chicago mayoral election.

Historically, when substantial numbers of Chicago blacks were Republicans in the 1920s, some Democrats tried to convey the impression that their party was the party of whites only.

Otherwise, the record shows that major mayoral candidates over more than half a century always tried to get both black and white votes.

Mayors Ed Kelly, Martin Kennedy, Richard J. Daley, Michael Bilandic, and Jane Byrne all made a conscious effort to rally blacks to their cause.

Daley, in six elections, never lost a black ward.

Now, we have a candidate — Harold Washington — whose promoters proclaim him as the black people's candidate. That implies that whites won't vote for him and that blacks will have to try to wrest the mayoralty from white control by sheer weight of numbers.

That pitch, if successful, can only serve to split the city into racial camps, the last thing any community needs.

Admittedly, Rep. Washington didn't use that approach when he last ran for mayor in the 1977 Democratic primary.

But times have changed. The rhetoric has increased, so much so that Washington is being offered by some supporters as the black people's candidate, even though he says he wants to unite all Chicagoans.

In recent months, black leaders have been attacking Mayor Byrne for not having appointed more blacks to the Chicago Housing Authority and Board of Education.

However, when Washington's campaign gets underway, I will be surprised if he promises to appoint more poor whites and Hispanics to the same boards if he is elected.

Ideally, candidates of any race should not be expected to urge that people of one race be named in sufficient numbers to dominate any public panel.

Voters — black and white — would be shocked if a white candidate demanded control of the same panels by whites. But it seems to shock no one that some black leaders are essentially demanding the reverse.

That's a double standard and it is a reflection of cowardice in both races when nobody stands to object.

I hope that as the primary campaign progresses, the test of racial fairness that will be applied to Mayor Byrne and State's Atty. Richard M. Daley also is applied to Washington.

At the same time, I hope the media do not treat Chicago's first serious black mayoral contender with kid gloves in discussing his qualifications and platform. That also would be an insult.

Chicagoans have too much at stake in the city's future to vote purely on racial or ethnic lines. And the next four years will be too crucial to be left to the vagaries of racism as practiced by anyone.
The racial truth of politics

Now that the 1983 campaign for mayor is on with a solid black candidate in the running, the volume is being alternately turned up and down on the topic of race, which has never exactly been whispered about in most quarters of the city.

It is disquieting that so much energy has been channeled to this subject instead of the more important matters of the financial condition of the city, schools and housing, or even the innocuous topic of ethnic festivals. Instead of focusing the blame of racist behavior as a factor, it may be time to face the music and dance: It always has been a factor. Everyone of every hue in this city may at last have to tackle the black-white issue and realize that it is not so black and white. Racism is a two-way street.

The black side has its historic points for debate. One cannot be a full-fledged black here without adhering to the beliefs that [1] Riverview was shut down because "we" started to be more prevalent; [2] the shape the Loop is in has less to do with the lousy economy than with the fact that "they" wrote it off, headed for North Michigan Avenue and decided to let "us" have it, and [3] no one in power cares about the public schools because only "our" children attend them.

Likewise, no white person here worth his salt would dispute the beliefs that [1] when "those people" move in, it's time to move out; [2] don't ride the "L" or go downtown after dark because, well, you know. . . and [3] "they" are taking the best jobs and getting all the social programs money and soon they're going to take over and the city is going to go down the tubes. (On that last point, little do whites know that some blacks are looking over their shoulders at the burgeonning Hispanic population, which is expected to outdistance blacks in a decade, and thinking, if not saying, the same thing. By the way, Hispanics will always be more palatable to whites than blacks, despite similar problems.)

These points are prickly because, though they are not statements of fact, they are statements of fact about perceptions. The truth hurts. Everyone may be trying to downplay racial innuendo in the mayor's race but that does not invalidate it as a problem. It can't be wished away.

U.S. Rep. Harold Washington, a candidate who just happens to be black, says he wants to be everyone's candidate and has addressed taxes and other problems that make no racial distinction (except to those interested. Indeed, on both sides who believe "those people" are keeping us from getting anything). But at the same time he has exhorted the true believers that it is "our turn."

Mayor Jane Byrne, who has no more bridges to burn with the black community, is trying to construct a new one based on social programs in her new budget. Yet speaking before a black church congregation, she said: "I will not let race become a campaign issue; that would be a step backward."

State's Atty. Richard M. Daley is assured of some sympathy votes because of the memory of his dad, who at least spoke to blacks, though often in a different tone and language than he spoke to whites. He has taken on Michael Scott, one of the black school board members replaced by Mayor Byrne, as a deputy in his campaign.

With Aldermen Edward Burke [4th] and Roman Pucinski [41st] and whoever else has the urge putting in their names for a contingency "great white hope," just in case Washington takes the primary, it's time to acknowledge that race is going to be an issue whether anyone wants it to be or not. Accept this for the ugliness that it is, and stop all the false piety about how we are a decent enough people to rise above it. Chicago ain't ready for reform—not yet. But if we start now, we might be ready next time. Why keep up the pretense? Don't try to sweep it aside; deal with it. To solve the problem, we must first define it. This mayoral campaign may provide the best chance.

All those years of being called the most segregated city in the nation haven't been undeserved. Neighborhood boundaries in this town weren't made up by the cartographers. There are real, frightening reasons behind this racial standoff—and imaginary but more frightening ones—to be dealt with. It's a shame, but more shameful to be dishonest about it.

Some simple exercises can start the peace process. Blacks should keep in mind that every political maneuver isn't meant to shut them out, but whites should keep in mind that that is too often the case. Whites must stop thinking that every black teenager who whisks by on the sidewalk is a thug, and blacks might accept that more than a few whites genuinely understand and sympathize with them. Whites might think deeper about the historic and socioeconomic reasons—not excuses—for black shortcomings and not brush aside a race of people as hopeless and hopelessly all the same, with the exception of a few mutant achievers. Blacks might knock harder at the doors of opportunity and recognize that some will not open without special effort.

These ideas are not so naive as they may sound when one considers maintaining the status quo, and the status quo is the issue here. The crusades being waged on both sides are galling. Blacks are not trying to take over, though some of them may well think this is the big one. Whites can't keep running everything, though many certainly would like to. A pax on both their houses. The point is that this mayoral race, whoever wins, could be the great political emancipator for everyone in this town.

But first everyone has to 'fess up, and everybody has to give—and take.
Byrne boasts of black gains

By Harry Golden Jr.

Mayor Byrne boasted of new spending for the needy and increased city business for blacks as U.S. Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.) entered the race for mayor Wednesday.

Byrne went to the Englewood Health Center, 641 W. 63rd St., to tell the press of an extra $1.7 million in her 1983 budget for emergency food, drug and household heat programs. She then went to a businessmen’s meeting at the Radisson Chicago to report that the city has substantially increased purchases from black and Latino firms.

The mayor made the appearances to try to stem a drift of black voters to the black congressman.

THE ENGLEWOOD press conference was the fourth called by Byrne to tell in advance some plans for the budget that will go to the City Council Friday. The first announcement came Saturday when she confirmed Sun-Times reports that she planned $30 million in real estate and business tax cuts.

The Sun-Times learned Wednesday that a bonanza from re-funding O’Hare Airport will provide the city with $57 million, and that Byrne will dip into the money to give 5 percent pay raises to 12,000 city employees.

Byrne, preparing a budget that will rise from the present $1.8 billion to $1.9 billion, has refused to tell how much the general fund will gain from the airport refinancing plan disclosed in Saturday’s Sun-Times.

But airline industry sources said the coveted debt “reserves” totaled $52 million in an audit a year ago and probably swelled by 10 percent with interest earnings.

BYRNE SAID Wednesday that she will boost the emergency food appropriation from the current $350,000 to $2.2 million. She also announced an increase in funding for prescription medicine for the elderly and the needy from $1.2 million to $1.8 million.

A heat program for those in apartments whose landlords are prosecuted for failing to provide heat will go from $215,000 to $400,000, she said.

City Hall sources Wednesday said the budget will contain a flat 5 percent cost-of-living raise for white-collar workers in the city’s 40,000-member work force.

Daley claims minority employment up by 58%

by Chinta Strausberg

State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley announced Wednesday that in less than two years, the number of Black assistant state’s attorneys increased by 58.3 percent, adding that this was a first for Chicago.

The study was conducted by Norman S. Early, chief deputy district attorney in Denver, Colorado; a report by the Equal Employment Opportunity Program filed by the Cook County State’s Attorney’s Office in 1980 said the success record since 1980 shows a continuing commitment “to provide all individuals full equality of employment.”

The period of assessment by the Professional Advisory Committee of Daley’s office was between December 1, 1980, and July 22, 1982. The report said Hispanic assistant state’s attorneys (ASAs) increased by 33.3 percent, and the number of female ASAs increased by 33.7 percent.

Daley said since December 1, 1980, minorities comprised ten percent of all ASAs hired. Daley added that this figure was twice the number of minority graduates from American Bar Association-approved law schools, both in Cook County or in the State of Illinois, and two-thirds higher than the proportion of “minorities who graduate from law schools” nationwide.

According to the report, there were 397 male ASAs to 83 females in 1986, but as of July 22, 1982, there were 447 males to 111 females. There were 512 white ASAs in 1982, 38 Blacks and 8 Hispanics, for a total of 558 ASAs.

Males increased since 1980, by 12.6 percent; females, 33.7 percent; and whites, 13.8 percent, as opposed to 8.3 percent for Blacks. Hispanics saw a 33.3 percent increase in hiring.
WASHINGTON: Also said he will issue an analysis of the city's tax and investment policies within three weeks. A report with proposals for solutions will follow, he said.

Asked later about the analysis, Washington said it would include criticism on the city's use of consultants "when there are supposedly well-trained administrators in these jobs," and how the city is "featherbedding" its employment rolls with the use of patronage.

At the rally, Washington attempted to woo his supporters with a host of grievances against Mayor Byrne and the other Democratic hopefuls, State's Attorney Richard M. Daley.

"Only during election time do you get the streets cleaned and the garbage picked up," Washington said.

"That asphalt for the streets you paid for two years ago, you're just getting it now."

Washington, who has expressed willingness to debate Byrne and Daley, ridiculed both for hiring of speech and campaign specialists. "You start sounding too much like a Madison Avenue product," he said.

WASHINGTON also criticized the $8 million campaign fund Byrne has raised in office, saying, "It's dangerous for a politician to have that type of money." The fund is "a conflict of interest that can't be explained away," he said.

Washington's North Side supporters, who include some community organizers, said the congressman offers a change in direction for the city's government.

In this [North Side] area, people are being hurt by city policies of neglecting services. We need to spread the benefits beyond the Loop and a few select neighborhoods," said Ralph Scott, president of the Metropolitan Tenants Organization, which plans no endorsement, however.
Black politicians choose up sides in Mayor’s race

Black politicians have begun choosing up sides in what is shaping up to be one of the hottest Democratic Primary races for the Mayoral nomination in the history of Chicago.

A Westside coalition of Committeemen, including three Blacks, is supporting Mayor Jane M. Byrne’s bid for re-election; Cook County Commissioner John H. Stroger is backing State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley; State Senator James C. Taylor, the mayor’s top Black aide, has promised to “do everything I can to see that she gets re-elected” and 21st Ward Alderman Niles Sherman has announced his support for Congressman Harold Washington, “who has tremendous support in my area.”

Strong support appeared to be emerging for the incumbent mayor on Chicago’s Westside.

“I pledge to you, here and now, we’re going to re-elect Jane Byrne Mayor of Chicago,” Alderman William Carothers, Democratic Committeeman of the 25th Ward, declared Saturday before an applauding partisan audience at Unity Fellowship Baptist Church, 211 North Cicero.

Carothers’ emphatic remarks came during a broadcast of “Report to the People,” aired weekly over WBEE and WXOL Radio and sponsored by the Committee of Thousands for Better Government.

Alderman Carothers praised Mayor Byrne for her efforts to help bring modern housing to the Westside, including an $11,000,000 development to his own (26th) ward, and the upgrading of city services.

Alderman Carothers said he was also speaking for four other Westside Committeemen who, “together with the people, are writing a new Westside Story.”

Carothers said the Westside coalition he spoke of includes the 24th, 27th, 28th, 29th and 37th wards and represents a total of ten percent of the city’s 50 ward Committeemen and a total registration of at least 150,000 voters.

The 29th Ward Democratic Committee, Iola McGowan, and Ald. Frank Damato, Committeeeman of the 37th Ward, also participated in the Saturday morning broadcast. Damato was appointed to his 37th ward posts by Mayor Byrne to replace the late Thomas Casey.

Committeeman McGowan also serves as Vice President of the Chicago Park District and as Vice Chairman of the Democratic Party of Cook County.

The 24th Ward is represented by State Rep. William “Bill” Henry, who was named Committeeman following the sudden death of Ald. Walter Shumpert three weeks ago.

The 27th Ward is represented by veteran Committeeman Ed Quigley. Quigley and Damato are white.

Meanwhile, two other prominent Black politicians, State Rep. Carol Moseley Braun and former Ald. Anna Langford, who had announced several months ago that she would run for mayor, have both declared for Washington.

State Senators Richard Newhouse and Charles Chew said they are still undecided as to whom they will support.

Daley gains support with Scott backing

by Chinta Strausberg

One of two Black former Board of Education members dumped by Mayor Byrne last year has joined Assistant State’s Attorney Richard Daley in his bid for mayor.

Michael Scott, who last year, along with Leon Davis, was denied a renewed school board term in favor of two white women from the Southwest side of Chicago, say Scott is now Daley’s deputy director in his campaign according to reliable sources.

The sources said Scott, 33, will be leaving his position as the director of the Lawndale People’s Planning and Action Conference effective immediately. Scott reportedly will also be resigning as vice president of External Affairs at the Pyramid West Development Corporation, and will be reporting directly to Bill Daley, campaign manager for Richard Daley.

Contacted by the Daily Defender Sunday, Scott said he didn’t have time to comment.

Scott was once the chairman of the Economic Development Committee of the Westside Association for Community Action, and a board member of the Operation Brotherhood as well as the Better Boys Foundation.

Scott’s support of Daley came as no surprise to several Black leaders who said earlier that “it was a sell out to the Black community.”

Rev. Jesse Jackson Saturday said, in reference to Blacks who “defected to either the Byrne or Daley camp,” “These people are nothing more than political transvestites.”
Daley best for blacks, aide says

By David Axelrod and Monroe Anderson

IF RICHARD DALEY became mayor, he would increase the number of blacks on public boards and commissions and in the upper echelons of city government, his top black campaign aide said Wednesday.

Michael Scott, a former Board of Education member who is deputy campaign manager for Daley, said he has received assurances from Daley that blacks would be given an "equitable share" of the power if Daley is elected mayor. The new state's attorney, became the city's chief executive next year.

While Scott was making that assertion in taping a radio program, the new slate of Republican candidate, State Rep. Bernard Epton (R., Chicago) was taping another, defending his proposal to double the state income tax.

Epton, who was appointed to the seat by late mayor Jane Byrne in 1979 and opposed by the mayor 18 months later in favor of a white who did not favor busing, said that Daley will spell out his commitment to minority representation during his campaign.

"I BELIEVE the kinds of programs and policies he will introduce will see black people participating at a level that brings the kind of sensitivity that the black community will be satisfied with," said Scott, in taping "For the Record," to air at 10:30 p.m. Sunday on WIND-AM.

Conceding that Daley may not have been sufficiently sensitive to the needs of minorities in his years as a state senator, Scott said Daley has undergone a "metamorphosis" since assuming his current position.

"You grow and develop as you move from a legislative district to a job where you represent an entire city," said Scott, who lauded Daley's record of minority hiring as state's attorney.

Scott said he joined forces with Daley last summer after receiving mixed signals from allies of U.S. Rep. Harold Washington (D., III.) about whether Washington, who is black, would run for mayor. Since then, Washington has entered the Feb. 22 primary against Byrne and Daley.

Daley described the Washington campaign as "a revolution of expectation rather than one of action."

Scott predicted Daley will gain 35 percent of the black vote, which would deprive Washington of the numbers he needs to win. Byrne will run poorly among blacks and whites, he said.

news

In race for mayor

Stroger defends support for Daley

by Chinta Strausberg

rejecting opposition to his backing Richard M. Daley for mayor, Cook County Commissioner John H. Stroger, Jr., Wednesday said he has not sold out the black community and denied his actions will result in "political suicide."

Entering his fourth term, Stroger, 53, said he has been working for Daley for the past eight months and said he does not want to see Mayor Byrne returned to office.

When asked why he did not support Cong. Harold Washington, who recently announced his mayoral candidacy, Stroger said: "I have never sat down and discussed his political future where I will play a role. I was never asked.

"Daley asked me many months ago to assess him, and I have been doing that. I did not make this decision yesterday. All of this is nothing new, and this does not mean I am anti-Washington, either. It does mean I am for Daley for mayor of Chicago because I think he ran win. Daley has a broader base (support than the other candidates.)"

When questioned if he were not selling out the black community, Stroger said, "That's not true. I have supported Ald. Marion Barnes in all of her fights with the Byrne Administration, and I have sought the mayor when I thought she was wrong. I have demonstrated that I am for the black community."

"I think there is a group of people in Chicago who are trying to program us to re-elect Jane Byrne, and I am against Byrne. I have done what I believe is right. If my votes will cause people to vote me out of office - so be it - I'll just have to go. I am black," Stroger said.

"I believe that Daley can be supportive and truly be representative to blacks in Chicago. If I didn't believe that, I would not be supporting him, and if Daley had not made commitments and assurances to me that he would be a representative person for all constituents, I wouldn't be working for him.

Stroger said when the late mayor Richard J. Daley was alive, he told him when he was wrong. Stroger said, "I have been fighting for blacks' inclusion in policy long before many of these people came on the scene. I have not sold out my people.

Dr. Conrad Warren, co-founder of the Black United Front of Chicago (BFU-CHI), said: "I think the Community Council is a temporary measure."

"It is too premature," When asked if he would support Washing- ton, Black, said, "I will endorse a can- didate who has not sought my support. I will make public my choice in late Decem- ber or January."

A City Hall source predicts Washington will drop out of the race and Illinois Majority Leader Dan Ruckowski will enter. The source said, "Washington is a community candidate. He is not a consensus one."
Byrne names Stewart to interim post

Mayor Byrne Wednesday named Bennett Stewart, former U.S. representative from the 1st District, to an interim job in her cabinet, replacing Steven Brown as director of her Inter-Governamental Affairs Office.

Fair’s location decided

PARIS (UPI) — A world’s fair will be held in Paris in 1989, to be followed by a joint fair in Chicago and Seville, Spain, in 1992.

The Bureau of International Expositions (BIE) Wednesday approved the dates and sites for the fairs, after defeating a Soviet motion to delay a decision.

The decision came after a day of arguments over the unusual request to hold fairs at three sites within three years.

Stewart, who was first appointed alderman of the 21st Ward in 1977, also served as ward committeeman in 1972, holding both positions until he won a special run-off election in 1978 after the death of Congressman Ralph Metcalfe.

In Washington, Stewart served on the House Appropriations Committee and the HUD and Transportation Department subcommittees. He also played an active role in the Congressional Black Caucus.

Defeated in his 1980 reelection bid to Congress, Stewart was appointed administrative assistant to Byrne in 1981, handling federal legislative affairs.

A native of Alabama, Stewart was formerly an assistant principal in Birmingham and also taught sociology there at Miles College. Before entering city government in 1988, he was an insurance executive in Birmingham and Chicago.

Stewart and his wife, Pattye, are the parents of three grown children.

Byrne cites her hiring of women

MAYOR JANE Byrne told a women’s conference Saturday that the City of Chicago, like other employers, could improve its record in hiring and promoting women, but she defended her administration’s record on the issue.

“The City of Chicago is probably as guilty as any employer in not finding enough opportunities to correct this imbalance,” Byrne told a group attending the 1982 Women Employed Conference at the Americana Congress Hotel, 520 S. Michigan Ave.

But, Byrne said, she has brought more women into responsible positions in city government and has worked to wipe out inequities in pay scales.

Byrne made the comments in response to charges last week from a government employees union, which said Byrne’s administration discriminated against women in salaries and job assignments.

REPRESENTATIVES from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees said an analysis of the city’s 1981 payroll showed women made up only 19.6 percent of the city’s work force. Its analysis also showed that while four of five male employees earn more than $20,000 a year, the same is true for only one of five women.

The differing pay scale for men and women who perform the same jobs has been struck down, Byrne said.

She encouraged more women to seek positions in government and to work on policies that would enhance women’s roles in the work force.
City budget: ‘Thrill’ is gone
Where once critics bore in, now hearings are simply boring

By Robert Davis

The old timers around City Hall like to reminisce about the days when the annual round of Chicago City Council budget hearings used to last long into the night, with independent aldermen boring into department heads with incisive questioning at the midnight hour.

But that was when the idea of a billion-dollar budget was something predicted for far in the future—if ever.

The 1983 proposed Chicago budget, nudging the $2-billion mark, is currently under city council scrutiny, and one of the meetings actually lasted until 7 p.m., although it started late that day.

Times have changed in the city budget process in the last few years with generally brief and lukewarm arguments popping up sporadically.

To be sure, the independent aldermen, headed by the loquacious Ald. Martin Oberman (43d), the dean of the lakefront liberal faction, has been crying out about the city's claimed temporary use of city employee pension funds to finance day-to-day city operations until the end of the year. And Oberman, at the beginning of the budget season on Nov. 15, predicted a water rate increase, later denied vehemently by city finance officials.

But the give and take of pro- and anti-administration aldermen is absent this year, as it also has been absent in the last few years.

And when the council held its annual public hearings on the budget this year, there were at times only two or three aldermen in the council chambers listening to the testimony.

The main reason for that was that Ald. Edward R. Vrdolyak (10th), who doubles as the chairman of the Cook County Democratic Organization, had scheduled mayoral slating sessions at the same time in the Bismarck Hotel across the street.

Vrdolyak, the city's most powerful alderman, skipped all of Finance Committee's budget hearings this year, and so did many of the other aldermen.

City department heads would go to the meetings with their prepared statements of past accomplishments and proposed future triumphs, but Ald. Wilson Frost (49th), committee chairman, usually waived the reading of the statements and dismissed them.

On one day last month, Mayor Jane Byrne was host at a civic luncheon honoring Swedish King Gustav and invited all of the city's aldermen.

When a few of the independent aldermen, including David Orr (49th) and Marion Volini (48th), returned to the chambers after the noon lunch, they found that Frost had sped through the appearances of four department heads while they were away. They howled, and Frost finally consented to bring back the department heads at a later date.

As recently as the brief term of Mayor Michael A. Bilandic, administration aldermen were assigned specific departments to defend against the onslaught of the independents.

The loyalists were given prepared responses to attacks, and after the independent aldermen made their charges, the selected aldermen rose to give their prepared speeches, often their only speeches of the year.

Byrne has eschewed even this practice. The independents are allowed to question department heads, usually under time constraints, and the cabinet members are allowed to leave undefended but also unsalted.

In spite of the respite from long hours in the past, one old-timer does mourn the passing of one of the traditions.

We used to have a bottle of booze in the backroom for those long meetings," the seasoned council soldier said. "Now they're over before my coffee has cooled down."
Chicago's Shadow

By Marc Zalkin

Anticipating another round of City Council budget hearings, scheduled to begin later this month, All Chicago City News will soon release details of the city government’s “shadow budget.”

Defined simply, the shadow budget contains the hidden costs in the operation of city government. The monies that are diverted completely from the communities, are spent in the course of city business, but deliver no services whatsoever to the city’s three million residents.

However, the operation of a $2 billion a year city government is not simple. Behind those hidden costs lie a handful of people (contractors, consultants, brokers and politicians) with special interests, who are eager to grab up hundreds of millions in tax money for themselves.

Fortunately, Chicagoans have an elected city council paid to examine the mayor’s annual budget request each year and guarantee that the money will be spent for the good of the people.

Unfortunately, most council members will look the other way this year as they have done for so many years in the past.

In 1982 the city of Chicago paid more than $5.5 million for advice, almost $3.5 million to rent office space, $21 million to rent equipment and $54 million on heat and lights.

The Mayor’s Office of Budget Management, alone, rented equipment for $3 million, one half million more than the city spent on rat control this year.

The Corporation Counsel’s (the city’s attorney) office, which has 131 attorneys on staff, paid $2 million to other law firms.

The $1.458 million spent by the Health Department on consultants

The Mayor’s Fabulous Salaries

The ten highest paid department heads are earning an average of $11,000 more than the members of the President of the United State’s cabinet and $35,000 more than department heads for the state of Illinois.

Chicago’s top echelon officials may well be the highest paid group in the country earning an average of $80,500 a year while the members of President Reagan’s cabinet earn $69,500 and the Governor’s department heads average $45,000.

The fabulous salaries of Mayor Byrne’s appointees have been criticized as extreme in the past. But, the mayor and her allies have defended the pay scale as necessary to attract top flight professionals to work in government.

The argument weakens when the salaries are compared with those of other government officials:

• The Governor of Illinois, at $58,000 a year, would be 39th in the city of Chicago, ranked by salary.
• The Attorney General of Illinois (paid $50,500 in 1982), the states highest law enforcement official with 800 employees, is paid $40,000 a year less than Chicago’s corporation counsel (paid $90,000 in 1982), who has 234 employees.

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THE SHADOW BUDGET---

What the money is spent for • How much money • What it could pay for

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>COST</th>
<th>COULD PAY FOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Equipment</td>
<td>$17,000,000</td>
<td>340 additional Board of Health Doctors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayor’s Investigations</td>
<td>$400,000</td>
<td>320,000 Senior Meals</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finance Committee Investigations</td>
<td>$620,000</td>
<td>68,000 additional hours of rat Control</td>
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<tr>
<td>Property Rents</td>
<td>$3,490,000</td>
<td>173 Public Health Nurses</td>
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<tr>
<td>State Street Mall</td>
<td>$737,000</td>
<td>19 additional school dentists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside Legal Fees</td>
<td>$2,000,000</td>
<td>99 additional paramedics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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and property rents could have paid the salaries of an additional 60 doctors or public health nurses working in the communities.

Even further removed from the public eye is the $200 million plus portion of the city budget called "General Expenditures" assigned to the city's multi-million dollar finance department.

While many of the costs here appear to be legitimate, many others are questionable and may in fact be hidden expense accounts for top city officials.

Among these are $670,000 for investigations by the city council Finance Committee, under the direction of 34th ward alderman and Byrne council floor leader, Wilson Frost; $400,000 for Mayor Byrne's investigation of city "departmental operations"; $200,000 to study cost cutting at the Board of Education; and another $200,000 for "the expense of relocating city departments and agencies."

Also under this vague heading, $17 million was allocated this year for the purchase of machinery and equipment for no particular department. $737,000 was spent for the upkeep of the State Street Mall, in addition to the $1.2 million spent by the departments of Streets and Sanitation and Public Works for upkeep on the mall.

Chicago's shadow budget has many sides and many layers. The exact amount, in dollars wasted or diverted from the communities is not yet known, although it may be as much as 25 percent of all the city's money.

But it is clear that the only people benefiting from the spending of these monies are the few that take it to the bank.
Reveal 49% increase in city payroll during Byrne term

Mayor’s Palace Guard cited

By Marc Zalkin

Perhaps the biggest story of this year’s raging battle over the city budget is the dramatic 49% increase in city payrolls under the Byrne administration.

In the middle of this growing payroll story, there has been a quiet consolidation of an elite core of very well paid city employees, called the Palace Guard by the mayor’s critics.

There are now 14 city officials making more than $75,000/year. There were none in 1980.

There are now 25 city officials making more than $65,000/year. There were none in 1980.

There are now 37 city officials making more than $55,000/year. Only one, the mayor at $60,000/year, made that much in 1980.

There are now 289 city officials making more than $45,000 (but less than $55,000 per year.) Only 52 jobs in city government paid that much 3 years ago.

The base for the mayor’s Palace Guard has come from the expansion of skilled tradesmen and city executives earning more than $35,000/year. This group has grown from 444 in 1980 to over 3,100—a 700% increase—in the 1983 budget.

The fabulous salaries are set against a background of economic depression over the last 5 years in Chicago. Layoff, a sluggish economy, and the movement of thousands of jobs from the city has brought 62% of all households to surviving on less than $20,000/year, or less than two-thirds of the incomes enjoyed by the Mayor’s Palace Guard.

Mayor Byrne’s requested budget for the next year will pay city employees $385 million (49%) more than they received in 1980, the first year in her term that the Mayor could write a budget.

The largest chunk, more than a quarter of the increase, has gone to the Chicago Police department, where the number of Deputy Superintendents and District Commanders making more than $45,000/year has increased from 6 to 90 since 1980.

While much has been said about Byrne’s giant expensive fundraisers, few people have the facts on where the money has come from. The Mayor’s campaign disclosures on file with the County Clerk, indicate that almost one-third of the money raised in the last two events has come directly from this Palace Guard.

One Northwest side alderman was recently quoted as characterizing city hall as a “Royal Court” where the mayor commands and the elected aldermen obey. The “Palace Guards” are the elite of city employees positioned to protect the “Royal Court.”

The All Chicago Community Congress budget study has been examining the city’s 1983 budget since it was published in order to identify its weaknesses and bring them into the February 1983 Mayoral election.

Byrne and Daley feud over budget

By Harry Golden

Aides of Mayor Byrne and State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley, one of her challengers, fired off new statistics Monday in a row over the integrity of the 1983 budget.

City Comptroller Anthony N. Fratto and Budget Director Albert A. Boumenot called a City Hall press conference to denounce Daley’s Sunday critique as “poor analysis,” displaying “a lack of comprehension about the budget process.”

Fratto and Boumenot said the newly proposed $1.9 billion executive budget is sound and that its tax savings and service expansions can be maintained in 1984.

Even as they spoke, however, Daley delivered to City Hall reporters new studies designed to show the 1983 budget was shakier than Daley originally charged and that Byrne’s tax boosts were even greater than he earlier alleged.

Daley had suggested the budget relied on $90 million in one-shot revenue increases and that the 1984 budget would be left with a gap requiring tax increases or service cutbacks.

But Fratto and Boumenot said the estimate of cable TV receipts was modest and would continue, that small sales of property were budgeted at a normal pace and that only $62 million—a bonanza from O’Hare Airport refinancing, less $4 million
Daley hits Byrne on budget plan

By Mark Brown

Mayor Byrne is trying to mislead Chicagoans with a $1.9 billion budget “based on fiscal mismanagement,” Cook County State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley said Sunday.

In another mayoral campaign volley, Daley said Byrne’s proposed 1983 budget is an example of “political expediency,” postponing tough decisions about the city’s financial problems until after the Feb. 22 primary.

He said Byrne is budgeting spending increases that she plans to pay for with revenues that will be available only in 1983, such as $66 million expected from refinancing of O’Hare Airport debt.

“This means that in 1984 revenue will have to be made up for these non-recurring one-shots by increasing taxes or drastically reducing services,” Daley said at a press conference at the Hyatt Regency Chicago.

Daley seized on a Byrne statement that the budget should be considered her first because of fiscal problems she inherited.


He then recalled optimistic statements by Byrne at her previous two budget announcements in which she downplayed the city’s financial problems.

Big Apple-bound

Mayor Byrne leaves Sunday from O’Hare Airport for New York City, where she is to attend a meeting of the U.S. Conference of Mayors. (Sun-Times Photo by Barry Jarvinen)

Byrne, Daley aides feud over budget

Continued from Page 3 in interest costs—could be regarded as non-repeating.

Normal swelling of revenues, without increases in tax rates, will bring an extra $34 million in 1984, they said, so the net shortfall would be $28 million.

Byrne’s top finance officers said they could pick up that shortfall with economies throughout the departments. They said it was Byrne’s “intent” to maintain the modest tax relief for property owners and employers in the 1983 budget.

Daley’s new material included a study showing a gain of $451.2 million in taxes and fees of the “Byrne administration.”

The study was flawed, however. The study counted total growth of revenues from utilities, for instance, without separating the growth resulting from increased utility charges from the growth that comes with increased taxation.

A Sun-Times study last July 28 showed Byrne has initiated some $300 million in non-property taxes and fees and $100 million in real estate taxes.
City Debt increased 130% since 1979

By George Atkins

Chicago's debt has increased a whopping 130 percent under Jane Byrne's administration. Byrne has acquired almost $890 million in new debt since taking office, and has mortgaged the city to the year 2013. Prior to her administration, the city would have paid off its debt by 1999.

The staggering facts, acquired through a comparison of city comptroller statistics listed in bond issues, directly contradicts the mayor's recent campaign boasts of "balancing the budget" and "putting Chicago back on a firm financial footing."

The tremendous increase in debt is also reflected in the city budget. The city now allocates over $111 million more to pay off its debt than when Byrne took office. Every man, woman and child in Chicago now owes $317 more to the city debt than when Byrne's term started.

Shortly after taking office, Byrne charged that she had inherited an unbalanced budget and that the city was short of cash. Following the announcement, the mayor asked for council approval of $142 million in loans to shore up the city's cash position and then flew to New York to meet with officials from the bond rating services.

Although the city's bond rating had been lowered, Byrne emerged from the meetings claiming that she was confident that the rating would be raised before the end of her first term. Neither rating service has raised the city's rates since then.

Bond ratings are important because they help to determine how much interest the city will have to pay on the money it borrows.

Over the objections of 14 aldermen, the city council approved the borrowing. Opposition aldermen had claimed that the borrowing was not necessary and would result in higher taxes. Byrne countered by saying that Bilandic's mishandling of the record snowfall had left the city owing $64 million and that by paying off the city's short term debt at that time, Chicago's long term financial situation would improve.

The borrowing also included $30 million to pay off an earlier borrowing for the city's sewer system. Byrne told the council that cash was no longer needed for the sewer system since she had instituted a new sewer surcharge.

As a result of the borrowing, real estate taxes were increased by $39 million and Byrne later had to borrow another $30 million for sewer projects.

Byrne's latest borrowing was $65 million for "land clearance and site preparation for the North Loop project." Including the interest on the money borrowed, city taxpayers will pay out a total of $205 million to subsidize the real estate developers involved in the project. No other private project in the city's history has received that much assistance.

The North Loop project has been promoted by Chicago's last three mayors but has drawn the wrath of most neighborhood community organizations as one more example of placing downtown interests before the neighborhoods. Most recently, the project made the headlines when the Hilton hotel chain backed off from building a new hotel in the area. Byrne had wanted to offer the hotel chain a large tax break, but under pressure from community groups the county assessor refused.
Washington hits Byrne’s budget

by Chinta Strausberg

In the first of a two-part budget message in response to Mayor Byrne’s 1983 budget, mayoral candidate Congressman Harold Washington said Sunday that the Mayor’s budget is made up of “smoke and mirror” designed to hide taxes that are borne by the poor.

At a press conference at the Midland Hotel, Washington said if he is elected, he will “trim the excessive amounts of fat from the city’s budget.” He said he will bring accountability of the elected officials to their constituents by revamping the budget approval system.

Washington said the city should begin reviewing the budget six months in advance and allow for more time for citizen participation.

Referring to the “hidden taxes,” Washington said these taxes were from cigarette, utility and the transaction taxes and called them “insidious.” Saying that Byrne’s budget and “shortcoming” that were repeated the “same inadequate approaches to the city’s major problems seen in the past,” Washington said the lost of housing and businesses in the last ten years has resulted in a smaller tax base.

“Yet,” he added, “we are raising the same amount of revenue from the property tax as we did ten years ago. This means that individual property taxpayers are having to pay more to generate the same amount of taxes.

“The citizens of Chicago are paying extra for the failures of past administrations to maintain existing property and expand the tax base.”

Washington announced that he would have a truth squad of which he will be a member to follow Mayor Byrne throughout this campaign and to “monitor what Byrne says and to correct any mis-statements of fact.”

Asked to give an example, Washington said Byrne’s recent trip to Mt. Pisgah’s Food for the Hungry was one in which “Byrne said she was not aware there were hungry people in Chicago. This shows she is not doing her job.”

“There has been a concentration of Loop and near North construction at the expense of the neighborhoods.” He added, “Behind Byrne’s smokescreen of a minor decrease in property taxes, we find the new, hidden tax increases that have been accumulating over the past twelve years.” He said citizens will be paying $120 million more in utility taxes than they did prior to Byrne’s taking office; $95 million more in sales tax, and $53 million in sewer surcharge.

But Washington said with these extra taxes, “the deceptive balance is being achieved only through more than $90 million in one-time revenue sources. He said, “These short-run tricks will not balance the city budget next year, or the year after.”

According to Washington, since 1971, the utility taxes have increased 42.7 percent, and under Byrne’s direct leadership, from 1980-1983, they have increased $120 million, or 64.4 percent “leading to a 1983 utility bill of $312 million for Chicago taxpayers.”

Washington added, “These Byrne tax increases have the harshest impact on low and moderate income families who pay a higher proportion of their budget for necessities while families with the fewest resources bear more than their fair share of the city’s taxes—services for these households are being cut.”

Ald. Larry Bloom (5) said Washington’s proposal to make each department head justify each line item in the budget “has never been done before in the history of City Council.”

Oberman says next mayor must work on city finances

By Harry Golden Jr.

The next mayor must trim a bloated payroll, increase property taxes a bit and try farming out garbage collection and other services to private enterprise, Ald. Martin J. Oberman (43rd) said Friday.

The dean of anti-administration independents vehemently attacked Mayor Byrne’s $1.9 billion budget for 1983 and her 3½-year record. He suggested the stern measures that he thinks necessary to restore unsaive city finances.

Byrne, meanwhile, in a speech at the Palmer House to 250 municipal bond dealers, boasted of fiscal reforms and an atmosphere that will aid economic growth.

Byrne said she inherited deficit city budgets and had to deal in 1979 with failed school finances. But new controls mandated by those emergencies, she said, will better equip the city to lure new jobs that will increasingly be in the fields of high technology, finance and service businesses.

Oberman, tapping the “Chicago News Conference” program to be broadcast on WMAQ radio at 9 p.m. Sunday, said the city must reduce its 41,800-member work force by not filling vacancies for several years. He also said it must cut back the pay of 10,000 tradesmen from the so-called “prevailing wage” levels paid to seasonal construction workers in private enterprise.

Gradually—in a few wards at a time—the city should follow the pattern of Minneapolis and other big cities in turning over refuse collection, snow and ice control, street cleaning and street repair to private firms, Oberman said. He said he is convinced that would vastly reduce the $300 million-a-year cost of the 7,000-member Streets and Sanitation Department.

Oberman grudgingly praised the move to reduce four-man garbage crews to three men, a change he has sought for eight years. But he said he would have returned the $9 million saving to real estate taxpayers instead of using it to provide twice-weekly service, as Byrne plans.

Byrne, he said, is responsible for what he portrayed as the precarious nature of city finances, characterized by big debt obligations and non-recurring revenue sources such as an expected bonanza from refinancing O’Hare Airport.

Oberman, a leading North Side liberal, would not identify his choice in the Feb. 22 mayoral primary but said he is convinced Byrne will “run last” among the three in the field.

“I think she’s extremely unpopular and I don’t think the people are fooled by her new suit and her television commercials,” he said. “They have witnessed the zenith in City Hall for four years.”

In continuing budget hearings in the City Council Finance Committee Friday, Aviation Commissioner Thomas Kapsalis said the administration plans an O’Hare Airport revenue bond issue of $150 million to $250 million in 1983 to start a $1 billion expansion program to absorb the $50 million debt remaining from the original 1959 construction.

Wiping out the old debt, he said, will free $86 million in debt reserves for general city purposes. The airport bond issue will be in addition to a $65 million bond issue for public works and an $80 million bond issue for water works.
WASHINGTON: "Make Chicago Fair to the Neighborhoods"

Mayoral candidate Harold Washington continued to hammer out criticism of the Byrne Administration's neglect of neighborhood needs during a packed meeting at a northwest side rally of campaign volunteers. Speaking at Bethany United Church of Christ in the 47th ward, the popular congressman received a warm welcome from 250 supporters who have been among 700 circulating his petitions throughout northwest and southwest side neighborhoods.

Noting signs in the crowd of "11th ward volunteers" and "33rd ward volunteers," Washington briefly dispensed with opposition efforts to characterize his candidacy in racial terms. "My being here today is an extension of a long quest to try to heal this city, remove divisiveness, give people alternatives and talk about the issues the people want to see as issues."

Indeed, the Congressman wasted little time in pressing the issues to the forefront of his remarks. "The problems of this city are so fantastic, it is frightening," he stated. "We've got a crisis in health care. Health funds are being cut, health care delivery agencies are being truncated (chopped to pieces). Money that should be spent in the neighborhoods is spent downtown on Loop development to the utility tax increase and called for new, creative ways to raise revenue. He suggested that "trimming fat" from the city patronage filled bureaucracy would be the best place to start.

Mayor Byrne's enormous campaign war chest was also targeted by Washington as a major issue in the upcoming election. "Where did Mayor Byrne get that $6 million?" he asked. "It comes from the hides of city workers, and where does the rest come from? If you take the Mayor's election donation files, you will find business after business after business with city contracts giving 5-10-15 thousand to the mayor. That's a conflict of interest that can't be explained. You know they're getting special consideration."

Washington branded the practice as "dangerous" and advised voters not to be deceived by the charity handouts the Mayor makes from her campaign contributions. "In this one issue, you will find the whole character of the present and past administration—manipulating people, no matter how, no matter what the cost. Give them the impression you're doing something for them, when actually you're not doing anything."

"It's the responsibility of government to come up with programs which eliminate the need for charity," he declared.

"With our voting power," the congressman concludes, "we can change things, even in Chicago, which has a reputation beyond its borders of being corrupt, avaricious (greedy), divided by design and an oasis for special interest groups at the exclusion of others. I think I can be a catalyst for change. I believe I can heal this city."

The Congressman left to a standing ovation after an extended question and answer period with the audience. Closing the meeting, northwest side precinct coordinator Slim Coleman reported that the petition drive was "reaching into every precinct in every ward. The neighborhood people defeated Bilandic in 1979," he said. "Now we are better organized than ever, we have a candidate with a proven commitment to our communities and the cause of the neighborhoods. We are confident of victory."
exclusion of the neighborhoods. No serious concern for floating rehab money to improve housing in the neighborhoods is shown, only at election time are the streets swept and paved."

Washington leveled a stinging criticism of the Board of Education (BOE) saying "The BOE is a market for bond merchants, contractors and craft unions. There's no concern about the final product, no concern about the education kids are getting in grades K-12. It's a market, used for the benefit of a few and to the disbenefit of many. The schools are not," he continued, "a fountain and oasis where kids go to raise and improve their IQs, to raise and broaden their vistas and horizons. This is the best investment we can make and must continue to make no matter what the completion of the school and what the cost..."

Washington asserted that Mayor Byrne's claims to a balanced budget were erroneous. "They want to juggle their books and figures and give you the impression the budget is balanced, when it's not. We're going to force the two candidates to have an honest discussion about our fiscal conditions." Washington criticized the startling

Washington blasts Byrne Budget

At his first full blown press conference since his announcement for mayor, Congressman Harold Washington jumped forcefully into the election fray with a stinging attack on Byrne's proposed 1983 budget. After a careful analysis of the proposed budget, Washington summarized that "this 1983 budget can be seen as a document which proposes to reduce essential human services, such as health care and community development, to finance the standard city bureaucratic machinery with growing hidden taxes, and to continue to concentrate our economic development in the downtown area, to the neglect of the city's neighborhoods."

Analysis of the Byrne budget does in fact show a substantial upturn in the percentage of city resources put into Loop development while departments such as the already ailing Department of Health face funding cuts. Seventy-eight percent of transit money will be spent in the Loop and Lakefront. Sixty-eight percent of money for major street improvements will be spent in the Loop and Lakefront. Eighty-seven percent of money for bridges will be spent in the Loop or Lakefront. A full 58 percent of all specifically designated monies in the Public Works program will never reach 80 percent of the people or their neighborhoods.

Washington also called for "cutting the fat" in the governmental bureaucracies and for "zero based budgeting" by which each department would have to justify each budget item each year. He criticized the hundreds of millions of dollars spent in no-bid contracts to politically well connected consultants and friends of city hall, and the "imperial" salaries received by top aides. In fact the governor of the state of Illinois would rank only 39th by salary among Byrne's growing elite.

Blasting the Byrne alleged property tax "decrease" as a smokescreen, Washington pointed to three new hidden tax increases that have been growing throughout the Byrne administration. "Chicago citizens will be paying $120 million more in utility taxes than they did when Byrne took office. They will also be paying $95 million in Mayor Byrne's city sales tax and $53 million in Mayor Byrne's sewer surcharge." Washington continued, "Not even these costly extra taxes will pay for Mayor Byrne's budget. The deceptive balance is being achieved only through more than $90 million in one time revenue sources. These shrunken tricks will not balance the city budget next year or the year after. Chicagoans will have to make up the difference, in addition to the future costs generated by the city's indebtedness, which is being increased by $80 million in water revenue bonds and a $65 million general obligation bond."

Finally, Washington leaned heavily on the closed-door preparation of the budget which prevented any serious debate or input into the budget. Byrne gave the city council only three days to review the budget before deliberations began. Washington pledged a totally new process of budget review and public scrutiny similar to the one used in Congress.

Observers here feel the lack of balance in Byrne's budget between the Loop and the neighborhoods, and the budget's heavy reliance on utility taxes, will become major issues in the campaign. Washington's pledge for "fairness" in the budget to all sectors of the city and all sectors of the population may indeed become his strongest selling point, especially in the neighborhoods of Chicago, which defeated the last machine candidate on just these issues.
City’s fiscal woes call for revolution

There is need for a revolutionary approach to operating big city governments. And now is the perfect time to discuss that need as Chicago braces for what could prove its most strident Democratic mayoral primary in years.

Instead of resorting to name-calling and rhetoric, the candidates should concentrate on the role the mayor of Chicago will play as the city struggles into the 1990s with the monkey of economic recession on its back.

For years, Chicago and many other urban centers have been managing their affairs with an archaic administrative structure that worked relatively well while the economies of the great cities boomed along.

Private enterprise generated prosperity for all sectors of the community, including government. Few leaders worried about tomorrow. And citizens were content with the status quo.

Now, all that has changed. Most cities have the financial shorts. Tax revenues are declining. Private enterprise is in trouble. Industries and populations are fleeing the cities.

So the next mayor of Chicago should stop operating as though this still were 1989, whether it is Jane Byrne, Richard M. Daley, Harold Washington or anybody else.

The present approach to city management is a 19th Century hangover no one can afford or survive. The job of mayor cannot and should not remain what it has been in the past or in the present.

The mayor's primary concerns should involve means of financing municipal services and support, cooperation and active participation in the economic well-being of the business community.

With that vital, but narrower goal in mind, consideration also should be given to turning over to the private sector many of the day-to-day responsibilities of the mayor so that he or she can concentrate on what really needs to be done.

The mayor ultimately would remain responsible. But certain city services would be performed under contract by private purveyors, one hopes in a more cost-efficient manner. There is precedent for that thesis.

Mayor Byrne provided that last April when she proposed dismantling the city's vehicle maintenance bureau and farming out the repair work to the International Harvester Co.

Byrne since has changed her mind. But she was on the right track. City equipment was breaking down, overtime for the bureau's 300 employees was running $900,000 a month and, as the mayor observed, costs were "unreal."

Since then, the Regional Transportation Authority has hired a private contractor to operate its travel information center in a similar move to cut labor costs by $500,000 a year. So there is no reason the city can't do the same.

Obviously, City Hall could not delegate such municipal functions as police, fire, health, consumer sales and building, electrical and plumbing inspections involving enforcement of city ordinances. A distinction would have to be made between public safety and housekeeping.

However, there remains a wide range of other city responsibilities that could be farmed out including garbage collection, tree trimming, street repair, animal care and control, even alcoholic treatment facilities.

The Department of Streets and Sanitation could be a prime candidate. Even the massive clerical load of the courts system, especially Traffic Court, might be performed more cheaply and efficiently by private interests.

And a good case could be made for similarly turning over to outside contractors the operations of O'Hare International Airport, the water department and the Chicago Public Library.

Let the mayor and cabinet concentrate on the major problems that face Chicago in this decade. Make the financial thrust of their efforts paramount.

Emphasis should be placed on how to raise the revenue to pay the bills and how to rebuild the city's economic base by attracting new industries and jobs. Another objective should be cutting the costs of government.

And that is where private enterprise should be brought into play since it presumably can perform certain municipal chores more cost-effectively and without a giant army of payroller drones. That's what I mean by a revolutionary approach.

Private entrepreneurs would be awarded contracts by bids. Bids would be solicited from throughout the nation to reduce the risk of political rigging and to achieve the best possible deal.

With luck, there should be benefits beyond tax savings. Aldermen, ward committeemen and their clout would be excluded. So would the political influence of unions representing city workers.

Success of the concept would, of course, depend on the integrity of the mayor. I'm not saying that this idea is the total answer to more efficient government. But it certainly should bear discussion as one hopes the mayoral candidates take the high road in their campaign dialogue.
Black opinion poll
Mayor Byrne slips among Black voters

By Mark Brown

Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.) said Sunday he will assign "truth squads" to tell Mayor Byrne and "set the record straight" as the campaigns in the black community.

Washington said Byrne and Cook County's State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, with whom he is vying for the Democratic mayoral nomination, have been appearing before black groups with increasing frequency in recent weeks.

And as they've done so, Washington said, the mayor especially has "spewed a lot of misconceptions." The truth squads will keep tabs on what she has to say and respond to her, he said.

"WE'RE NOT GOING to harass the mayor," Washington explained in an interview. "But where she is contradictory or incorrect, we're going to set the record straight."

"The mayor is perhaps the most well-covered public figure in Chicago," Byrne political consultant William Griffth said. "What she says is consistent in any community."

Truth squads are a classic method of campaigning, the congressman said.

Although declining to discuss the mechanics of his truth squads, Washington said they would not try to interrupt the mayor during campaign appearances.

Washington first told reporters of his truth squad plans at a Sunday press conference called to criticize Byrne's $1.9 billion 1983 budget.

"ECHING ACCUSATIONS leveled a week earlier by Daley, Washington said the mayor's proposed budget hides tax increases and sets up the city for a fiscal crisis the following year.

Calling it a "budget of smoke and mirrors," Washington complained that Byrne was continuing to capitalize on soaring utility taxes, which he said have increased by $120 million since she took office.

He said Byrne was plotting a course toward "financial and human disaster." Washington said if elected he would work to change the city budget process, allowing six months of public hearings before the City Council acted on his budget.
Washington now leads the field, Vrdolyak says

By David Axelrod  
Political writer

U.S. REP. Harold Washington [D., Ill.] is the front-runner in the race for mayor because of his strong support among black voters, Cook County Democratic Chairman Edward R. Vrdolyak said Friday.

Vrdolyak, who is backing Mayor Jane Byrne in the Feb. 22 Democratic primary, said Washington would have the edge in a three-way contest with Byrne and State's Atty. Richard Daley.

"If you ask me who the front-runner in the race is now, I would tell you it's Harold Washington," said the chairman, in taping the "At Issue" program, to air at 9:30 a.m. Sunday on WBBM-AM.

"He has the numbers. He has great support in the black community, and the black community is aware and voting. Right now, he has the edge."

IN A RELATED development, Justice Seymour Simon of the Illinois Supreme Court announced that he would not be a candidate for mayor next year. Simon, a former alderman and president of the Cook County Board, had been urged by some liberal activists to consider the race.

"It would be a high honor to serve as mayor of this great city," said Simon in a prepared statement. "[But] I am happy in what I am doing, so I have decided not to run."

Denying that he was trying to foster a surge of white voter registration by touting Washington's chances, Vrdolyak said that the strong black voter turnout Nov. 2 supported his contention.

An unusually high turnout among black voters propelled the Democratic ticket to a landslide Chicago victory in the recent state election.

"YOU'VE GOT the numbers from Nov. 2, just look at them," said Vrdolyak, predicting even greater participation by black voters in February.

He said Washington could expect 70 percent to 80 percent of the black vote. But Vrdolyak made no estimate of how many votes that figure would represent.

Projecting a record turnout of 1 million voters in the primary, Vrdolyak said the winner will need "400,000 plus" to capture the Democratic nomination. He forecast a heated three-way battle to the wire.

Vrdolyak acknowledged that Byrne is a heavy favorite to win the endorsement of the Chicago Democratic Central Committee when the city's 50 ward committeemen meet Tuesday to slate their candidates for the primary.

Daley and Washington already have announced their intentions to skip the session, raising the possibility that their supporters among the committeemen might vote "present" rather than joining in the endorsement of Byrne.

"That would be like kissing your sister," Vrdolyak quipped. "It's okay, but it's not the best deal in town. I think they should stand up and be counted. If I were the only vote for someone, I would stand up for him and I would want my guy to be there."

Daley backer charges park district pressure

By David Axelrod  
Political writer

THE PERSONNEL chief of the Chicago Park District charged Tuesday that he is being forced out of his job for backing State's Atty. Richard Daley over Mayor Jane Byrne in the Feb. 22 Democratic primary.

Horace Lindsey, who has been feuding with parks Supt. Edmund Kelly over the mayoral race, vowed to go to court after the Chicago Park District Board reopened a contract he was granted in September.

Lindsey, who served as Kelly's top political aide for 15 years, also said he and other top precinct captains in Kelly's 47th Ward Democratic Organization had formed a Daley for Mayor organization. He vowed that they would give Kelly, who is for Byrne, "the beating of his life."

"We've got 200 volunteers, including a lot of Kelly's captains," said Lindsey, who added that he has joined with 47th Ward Supt. Thomas Allen to lead the rebellion. "That ward is solid Daley."

ARMED WITH a legal opinion that the commissioners acted prematurely when they appointed Lindsey for a new six-year term, the board Tuesday deferred action on his reappointment until January.

"They're trying to knock me out so a Byrne person can get this spot," said Lindsey, who is in a politically sensitive position as superintendent of employment for the 3,000-employee agency. "But there is no legal justification for it. It's all political."

"I'm going into court next week on a Shakman violation."

The Shakman decree bars the firing or harassment of workers for political reasons. Ironically, Lindsey signed the measure for the park district.

"AS SUPERINTENDENT of employment, I'm chief disciplinarian of the park district," he said. "I think they want that spot so that they can keep the workers in line for her [Byrne]."

Attempts by The Tribune to reach Kelly for comment Tuesday were not successful.

But Rick Halprin, counsel to the park district board, said Lindsey's appointment last September was not legal because there is no vacancy until Lindsey's term expires on Jan. 10.
Byrne workers accused of improper soliciting of mayoral petitions

by Chinta Strausberg

A Southside man from the 34th Ward has accused the Byrne Administration of fraudulently soliciting signatures for her mayoral primary, and an aide to Congressman Harold Washington said Byrne solicited three different petitions to make sure she's in the mayoral race.

Ronald Butler, who has lived in the 34th Ward for the last 11 years, says he was shocked when an unshaven white man knocked on his door this week with a folded piece of paper. He said the man said all Democrats had to sign the sheet, but when he demanded that the man, who did not identify himself, unfold the top of the paper, he discovered Byrne's name at the top. He said, “At that point I kicked him off my porch.”

“I saw some people signing that form—people aren’t aware what’s going on. This is the first time something has happened like this.” Byrne’s political adviser, Bill Griffin, was unavailable for comment at Defender deadline.

Renault Robinson, Washington’s campaign manager, said Tuesday, Mayor Byrne is circulating a standard petition for mayor for the straight Democratic primary. He said she is also circulating an independent petition bearing just her name that requires a minimum of 25,000 signatures.

Robinson said Byrne is circulating a third petition—a Third Party petition which he says would allow her to run in the General Election should she lose the primary.

“What Byrne is doing is subterfuge,” said Robinson. “Having her people cover the tops of her petitions is wrong, but these dirty tricks are expected from that camp. We’re running our campaign on a higher level.

Washington takes pitch to N. Side

By Manuel Galvan and William Recktenwald

U.S. REP. HAROLD Washington [D., Ill.], a candidate for mayor, attended his first major working meeting outside the black community Sunday when he addressed campaign workers in a North Side church.

Ald. Martin Oberman (43d), meanwhile, announced Sunday that he would seek a third term. Oberman, dean of the city council independents, also said he would endorse either Washington or State’s Atty. Richard M. Daley for mayor within the next few weeks.

“There are no circumstances which would permit me to endorse [Mayor] Jane Byrne,” said Oberman, who spoke at a sidewalk press conference in front of City Hall. “She has been far worse a mayor than her predecessors. City government is in complete disarray. She has raised taxes, increased wasteful expenditures and has shown that she is not worthy of that office.”

When Oberman arrived in front of City Hall, he found that speakers mounted on light poles were blaring out Christmas songs onto a nearly deserted La Salle Street. After an unsuccessful effort to have the music level reduced, Oberman proceeded with the press conference, accompanied by the music.

WASHINGTON’S opening remarks to campaign volunteers at the Bethany United Church of Christ, 4250 N. Paulina St., were less strident but carried the same message.

Washington said that after 3½ years in office, Byrne suddenly found the need for a “Madison Avenue image maker,” referring to the media consultant producing her television commercials.

He toned down the preacher-style oratory he has used for black audiences, but told the nearly 300 predominately white supporters he came from a “family of ministers” and would “save” the city.

“I’m in this world to be a servant,” he said. “I can heal this city. I’m going to reach out to all areas of the city and bring it together.”

Washington said he had tried to change the city’s political machine from within, but instead became “like Sugar Ray Leonard, standing outside and punching at it.”

THE CONGRESSMAN defended himself against charges that his only support will come from blacks. “Who has the right to assume a white won’t vote for a black person?” he asked.

He reminded the group, composed of several activists in the Lakeview and Uptown neighborhoods, that he was no stranger to their streets and had campaigned there often for various community causes.

“This is an extension of a long quest to heal this city,” he said of his mayoral campaign. “The bottom line...is to give people a feeling they’re involved in city government.”

The meeting chairman was Slim Coleman, an Uptown community organizer and ally of Washington who spearheaded a drive earlier this year to register voters in poverty areas.
The Gathering Before The Storm

All Chicago City News

• Election Analysis •

Congressman Harold Washington, fresh from a second term victory in which he carried over 97% of the 1st Congressional District vote, was besieged by the media on election night. Patiently he answered a barrage of confused questions. No, he wasn’t surprised at the massive turn-out in the Black community. After all, it was not reasonable to think that thousands of new Black voters had registered to stay at home during election time.

And no, the news analysts were not looking at the election quite right. It was indeed a referendum on Reaganomics, especially the congressional races since they were “closer” to the voters than the senate or governors races. But it was not a question of did the Democrats pick up 15 or 20 or 25 seats. The fact was, said the Congressman, that in elections held throughout the length and breadth of the country for Congressional seats, Reagan Republicans lost the majority of seats to anti-Reagan Democrats. “It was a smashing defeat for Reaganism.”

Ed Gardner, president of Soft Sheen receives an award from Ald. Danny Davis, and an award from CBUC presented by Harold Washington for his exemplary contribution to the “October 5 Come Alive” overwhelmingly successful voter registration drive.
How was this defeat put together in Chicago? Why yes it was the old coalition of the Democratic party, Labor, Blacks and Latinos, the poor and the powerbrokers of the machine. But then Washington dropped the bomb. It was a resurgence of the old coalition but it was an "uneasy coalition" come together temporarily to oppose Reagonomics. And next February, it would undoubtedly split apart.

The splitting apart of the massive November Chicago vote against Reagonomics was of course what everybody is waiting for and talking about. It will come in February. Boast as he would—and did—about the great resurgence of the Democratic machine, Chairman Eddie Vrdolyak was not capturing the ship but riding the mast and clinging to hold on.

The new surge of democratic voters, as Washington correctly pointed out, were not democratic voters at all. They were anti-reagonomics voters—Black, Latino and poor White, the unemployed and those fearful of losing all too tenuous jobs. Many had just registered: 29 percent of those who voted in Chicago on November 2nd were newly registered to vote. And they registered to vote in order to fight the "three evils"—Reagan, Thompson and Byrne.

One wing of the Democratic machine which Chairman Eddy Vrdolyak presides over is headed by Charles Swibel and their candidate is none other than the "third evil" Jane Byrne. Another wing is headed by Bill Daley, whose brother Richie seeks to return Chicago to the stability of his "Shoot to Kill, Aim to Maim," Urban Removal father Richard J. Daley. And yet another wing follows the self-proclaimed leader of the poles, Roman Puchinski, yet another likely candidate for mayor in February.

And then there is Congressman Harold Washington, sitting in front of the T.V. camera, exuding confidence. And well he might. For Washington in fact holds the key to the largest single block of votes that turned out in November. Washington's growing coalition of Black, Latino, poor Whites, rank and file labor, women and independents generally is in fact close to 60 percent or more of the November democratic vote.

The massive coalition that woke Thompson from an arrogant sleep and slapped Reagan in the face on November 2nd may yet survive the trials of February and go on to fight the Reagan foes tooth and nail for the survival of the majority of our people. But it cannot be led any longer by tiny factions, headed by wealthy powerbrokers. The survival of the anti-Reagonomics coalition depends on the successful emergence in leadership of men like Harold Washington with their hearts clearly in tune with us the voters.

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**Turn Around Chicago In 1983!**

Be it resolved that the city council shall thoroughly examine and make public the 1983 budget proposed by the mayor and shall pass no budget which does not significantly shift last year's budget priorities in favor of stabilizing neighborhoods, cutting out political patronage and contract exences and eliminating budget items targeted simply for Loop improvements until a balance between attention to the neighborhoods and the Loop has been achieved.

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Return this petition to

All Chicago Community Congress,
1222 W. Wilson, 60640.
Byrne issues challenge to debate

By Harry Golden Jr. and Art Petacque

Mayor Byrne Wednesday challenged her opponents to town-forum debates in the neighborhoods, including the 11th Ward turf of State's Attorney Richard M. Daley.

She said she will stress "leadership, experience" in verbal confrontations in school auditoriums in all communities in her quest for renomination Feb. 22 over Daley and U.S. Rep. Harold Washington (D-III).

The mayor, taping the At Issue program to be aired by WBBM radio at 9:30 a.m. Sunday, also said she no longer considered herself the underdog in the primary battle. In fact, she said, she is in a "pretty strong position" after her endorsement by two-thirds of the city's Democratic ward committeemen in Tuesday's slating session.

There's no clear front-runner now, Byrne said, and she subscribes to the notion that voters make their minds up in the last three weeks of a campaign, anyway.

The mayor said there were no surprises for her in Tuesday's approval by 33 of 60 committeemen, with the rest voting "present" or a simple "no" to her endorsement. In fact, she said, she and Ald. Edward Vrdolyak (10th), the Cook County party chairman, had a chart forecasting the result in almost every detail.

Moreover, she said, she talked in advance with some black aldermen who explained to her satisfaction that they had to vote against her endorsement, or "present," out of fear that Washington would field aldermanic candidates against them.

Byrne said she would welcome a town-forum format for debates, perhaps supervised by the League of Women Voters, in a large number of neighborhoods.

Washington has indicated willingness to debate Byrne and Daley has said only that he would consider it. Being a woman might have helped in her first campaign, she said, but probably will hurt this time. She sensed the possibility of resentment against women in

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Byrne issues challenge to debate

Continued from Page 5

high position by jobless men whose wives hold jobs.

And Byrne said that for almost four years, she has been falsely accused of exerting unfair pressure on city employees to gain her political ends. She said the false charges emanated from Daley's 11th Ward, which she said was aggrieved over the loss of a century of City Hall control in 1979.

"It became a pattern," Byrne said, "to run into court [with allegations of her violation of a federal court decree outlawing political firings and demotions] and to say, 'She's vindictive, she's mean.'"

Byrne was reminded that the court found merit in most of those charges and the city agreed to out-of-court settlements of hundreds of thousands of dollars.

She responded, "It wasn't true [that she violated the decree]. I didn't even know their names. I don't even know half the people. It became a pattern, when you got caught not doing your job and the supervisor finally fired you, to get in a long line that formed going to court.

Earlier Wednesday, at a City Hall press conference, she denied a specific allegation of patronage abuse.

She scoffed at Horace R. Lindsey's claim that he was fired as Park District superintendent of personnel on her orders.

Lindsey lost his six-year contract with the Park District Tuesday in an apparent split with park superintendent Edmund L. Kelly over the mayoral race.

Lindsey, who supports Daley in the primary, said it was "a pure political hit" authorized by the mayor.

Byrne denied any knowledge of the firing and said Lindsey's remarks reflected that "it's a political year and quite a political season."

Kelly on Wednesday said that he had no authority to fire Lindsey. He said the Park District board will decide whether Lindsey will receive a new six-year contract when his current contract expires Jan. 10.

But Kelly confirmed that he had ousted Lindsey as secretary of the 47th Ward Democratic Organization, the organization Kelly heads as ward committeeman, because of his move into the Daley camp.
Democrat mayoral trio nears 1st set of hurdles

By David Axelrod
Political writer

THE MAJOR Democratic candidates for mayor have problems to ponder this holiday weekend as they look ahead to what promises to be a fierce campaign leading to the Feb. 22 primary.

- For Mayor Jane Byrne, the immediate challenge is to hold the loyalties of the ward committeemen who last week made her the endorsed candidate of the Chicago Regular Democratic Organization.
- For State's Atty. Richard Daley, the question is whether he can afford to skip the mayoral debates.
- For U.S. Rep. Harold Washington (D., Ill.), the problem is organization. Three weeks into his campaign, he doesn't appear to have one.

Though Byrne won the party nod, the victory was tempered when one-third of the 50 committeemen refused to join in. Many of the rebels have sided with Daley or Washington, including some of the party's more prolific vote-getters.

More significant, however, were the candid expressions of many of the committeemen who voted for Byrne that their endorsements were not irrevocable.

COMMITTEEMEN SUCH AS Ald. Richard Axelrod (46th) openly declared their support was lukewarm and subject to pre-primary review. Ald. Edward M. Burke (14th), a key ally of Cook County Democratic Chairman Edward H. Vrdolyak, said defections from the mayor are always possible.

Other party leaders were even more candid in off-the-record conversations after the racistmaking session.

"I would say about a third of the guys who voted for her are soft supporters," a North Side Democrat said. "If we had taken a vote of the precinct captains in my ward, they would have said, 'Go with Daley.' They don't think they can sell Byrne."

"My bet is that if things don't start looking up by the middle of January, you're going to see committeemen jumping off the sinking ship."

THAT PROBLEM was demonstrated dramatically last week when a former aide to policy aide to Park District Supt. Edmund Kelly declared war on his former boss, vowing to carry Committeeman Kelly's 47th Ward for Daley.

He is Horace Lindsey, who is fighting an effort by the park district board to void his recently renewed contract as personnel chief and who refused that more than a score of top 47th Ward precinct captains would join a new Daley organization rather than abide by Kelly's endorsement of Byrne.

The problem is exacerbated by the fact that many of the committeemen do not have a strong affinity for Byrne, who has fought with most of them in the past, including Kelly, Burke and Vrdolyak.

Daley's forces are confident that they will pick up strength among the committeemen as the primary approaches, and Washington's supporters believe that several of the eight black committeemen who supported Byrne may be forced to back off in the face of community pressure.

AT THE SAME time, there are other committeemen who resent Daley and fear that he might restore his 11th Ward Democratic Organization to the position of City Hall dominance it occupied during the long rule of his father, Mayor Richard J. Daley.

These committeemen may be looking for another alternative if Byrne's campaign fails to generate much steam in the next six weeks.

Thus Burke, Ald. Roman Pucinski [41st] and others are exploring the possibility of filing as independent third-party candidates for the April 12 general election as a last-ditch position.

Candidates for a third party spot on the ballot have until Jan. 31 to file the required 25,000 signatures and come up with the slate for mayor, clerk and treasurer necessary to qualify.

Although no one will say it for the record, some anti-Daley forces concede privately that if Byrne looks like a sure loser in late January, they may abandon their efforts on her behalf and concentrate on nominating Washington over Daley.

THEN THEY would be in a position to back a white candidate against both Washington and the Republican candidates in the general election, on the theory that in such a field, their entrant could win.

Burke hinted at such a strategy last week when he said that he would put his name on the April 12 ballot, if legal questions about his running for alderman and mayor at the same time can be cleared up. He said he would run only as a safeguard against the election of Washington, whom Burke described as unqualified for the office.

All of these crosscurrents put pressure on Byrne, who added State Rep. Alfred Ronan [D., Chicago], a skillful orator, to her staff last week to act as a link between her campaign and the committeemen in the hope of staving off defections.

A key to holding her party support is to demonstrate momentum as soon as possible, which may be one reason why her campaign commercials began airing two weeks ago, before she was an official candidate for re-election.

Another point in her bid to score points has been her aggressive challenge to debate. Convinced that she will outshine Daley, a lackluster speaker, Byrne has pressed for frequent debates. Washington, who is perhaps the best debater of the three, immediately agreed.

HOWEVER, DALEY did not. The debate question is his quandary for the holiday weekend.

If he debates, Daley, who is a front-runner in most polls and in the eyes of his strategists, risks embarrassment at the hands of Byrne and Washington. If he declines, he risks reinforcing the impression that his foes have the hope to foster of a man running on his family name.

In contrast, Washington was still working this weekend to assemble his campaign team and open a headquarters almost three weeks after announcing his candidacy, apparently convinced that a movement for a black mayor can offset organizational deficiencies.

Renault Robinson was still functioning as "interim campaign manager," and some supporters complained that there is little indication that Washington is putting together the kind of first-rate group of organizers and strategists he will need to become the city's first black mayor.

"Right now, the most productive work is being done by parallel citizen's groups that have sprung up to help Harold, not by his own campaign," said Ald. John Kelly [20th], a Washington supporter. "I'm afraid that if he doesn't get a real campaign manager and staff who know what they're doing, he's going to blow this opportunity."
Pitfalls for black mayoral candidate

Personal view
William Sampson

THE NEW conventional wisdom concerning a black candidate for mayor of Chicago is that he or she stands a better chance of winning if the field is crowded. That is, if one strong black candidate runs against two or three strong white candidates, the white candidates will split the white vote and the black candidate will get the black vote. The Hispanic vote will be split three ways and, presto, the black candidate moves into the fifth floor of City Hall.

There's a major flaw in this thinking. It's wrong. It's simplistic. And, if it's not modified, it will seriously diminish the now strong possibility that a black can be elected mayor.

Remember, there are two elections: a primary and a general. The winner of the primary is not assured a victory in the other—unless the Democratic primary winner.

NONSENSE, YOU SAY, the winner of the Democratic primary in Chicago always wins the general election.

Well, that assumes that racism in Chicago is dead, or at least seriously wounded. I, for one, question that assumption.

Let's assume Jane Byrne runs in the Democratic primary—a safe assumption, given the millions she has raised. We know Richard M. Daley is also running hard, and that Rep. Harold Washington has thrown his hat into the ring. Many black political strategists and some whites as well think that Byrne will hold much of the Machine vote, including some black votes. Daley will garner some Machine votes, some independent votes and some black votes in both categories. Ald. Roman Pucinski and Rep. Dan Rostenkowski, if they enter, could take white ethnic votes from Daley and Byrne. Such a split in the Democratic primary is considered Washington's best chance for victory. He'd emerge as the Democratic standard bearer against the Republican sacrificial lamb.

But will whites vote for him? I think racism is so deep and wide in this city that there is a good chance white Democrats will prefer either an "independent" running in the general election or that Republican lamb.

A Pucinski, a Rostenkowski, a Daley or an Edward Vrdolyak could decide to bypass the Feb. 22 primary if he thinks Washington is likely to win and file to run as an independent before the Jan. 24 deadline. I suspect any of them would have at least the covert support of the Democratic Machine.

Harold Washington is certainly not a Machine Democrat, but if he were to win the primary he would presumably be the Machine's candidate. There's a serious question, though, whether the Machine is ready to be run by someone who is black, let alone someone who is black and reasonably independent. I think the Machine would rather support a so-called independent who runs only in the general election rather than the party's choice, if that choice is black.

Obviously, the regular Democratic organization would have to give Washington tacit and public support. But the money, the precinct captains and the clout might well be thrown behind someone else—someone who is white. Many, many votes would follow. Or, if there's no Democratic "independent" in the general election, these votes might go to a Republican.

Ideally for Washington, both he and Daley would pass up the primary, let Byrne win easily and then the three of them could fight it out in the general election. Washington could concede Machine support to Byrne, a lot of white votes to Daley and Byrne, and still win if he could hold most of the black vote and garner what one might call the "enlightened" white vote. Believe it or not, there are some whites out there who will support Washington if he is the best candidate.

BLACK VOTERS and others who support Washington must be aware that, if he wins in the primary, he must have some meeting of the minds with Machine leaders in order to avoid wholesale support for an opponent in the general election. He must somehow do this and still hold on to his black and non-Machine support.

This mission is made more difficult by what appears to be media indifference to the possibility that someone black may be elected. The possibility may be less than overwhelming, but it is real and should be taken very seriously by both the press and the public. The media must be careful to portray Washington as a legitimate contender for mayor of all the people, not simply the "mayor of black folks."

William Sampson is an associate sociology professor at Northwestern University.
C. VIABILITY
We have just filed the nominating petitions for our candidacy in the Democratic primary.

This campaign is built on the premise that the citizens from every part of Chicago want and deserve fairness, excellence and accountability in city government.

Together, we can move forward into the future with new vision and a new mutual respect among the fellowship of men and women throughout this great city.

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(for more information, contact Dave Potter, 874-5300)
3 prominent coaches join Washington

By Lillian Williams

The mayoral campaign of Rep. Harold Washington got off to a rough start, but an influential steering committee of business, professional and civic leaders has moved to stabilize the operation.

Coaches who have joined the Washington camp include civil rights veteran Edwin C. “Bill” Berry, former Chicago school board member Warren Bacon and Illinois Bell executive Dave Potter, a former Chicago Defender editor.

Renault Robinson, a Chicago Housing Authority board member, has been designated “interim campaign manager” by Washington, but it is unclear whether he will continue in that role. Robinson has been criticized for the slow start, but Berry said Robinson has been “working his brains out for the campaign.”

National political consultants, including Los Angeles-based Bill Zimmerman, have been interviewed for roles in the campaign, sources said. Zimmerman worked in the 1980 Citizens Party presidential campaign of environmentalist Barry Commoner.

Two prominent black leaders have ended up outside the formal campaign structure. They are the Rev. Jessie L. Jackson, national president of Operation PUSH, and Lu Palmer, a fiery grass-roots organizer who heads Chicago Black United Communities. Neither Jackson nor Palmer has been invited to serve on the steering committee.

Washington hasn’t said publicly why Jackson and Palmer have been left out of early planning. Campaign sources have suggested that the two men could hamper Washington’s effort to reach certain voters, and that their style differs from Washington’s.

Berry, the first member of Washington’s policymaking body to publicly assess the campaign, acknowledged startup delays, but attributed them to the candidate’s late entry into the fray.

“If people say we’re not organized at this point as well as the others, they are correct. Byrne’s been organizing ever since she became mayor, and Daley’s been organizing for over a year,” Berry said. “I’m very confident about our organization. We’re working well.”

Nevertheless, several operational problems are plaguing the campaign.

Washington hasn’t opened a campaign office to house his staff, volunteers and a telephone bank. Workers Friday were still using the crowded South Side offices of the Afro-American Police League.

Typical campaign fanfare—announcing advisers, financial plans and organization—has been lacking. For three weeks, Robinson has been promising an announcement “at the appropriate time.”

Washington hasn’t been able to campaign in Chicago as much as the other candidates. He attended the lame-duck session of Congress for four days last week, and campaign staffer Christopher Chandler said he may have to be out of town part of next week.

Although the campaign structure has been lagging, enthusiasm for Washington’s campaign has been growing.

Berry said the campaign will have an integrated staff and steering committee. Washington hopes to get 50,000 to 100,000 white voters, Berry said.

Among the whites in the campaign are former Ald. Dick Simpson (44th), who will help with precinct organization; Harold Baron, former Chicago Urban League research director, and George O’Hare, a public relations executive for Sears, Roebuck & Co. Northwestern University Professor John L. McKnight has agreed to research issues.

Organizing Washington’s campaign in key white North Side lakefront wards is Ron Stevens, 37, a lawyer who worked on Cook County State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley’s staff until June.

Other blacks on Washington’s policymaking steering committee include labor leaders Addie Wyatt, Charles Hayes and James Wright; West Side activist Nancy Jefferson; businessmen Cirilo McSweeney, and Edward Gardner, and banker Alvin Boutte.
U.S. Rep. Harold Washington's bid for the Chicago mayoralty is being guided by a blue-ribbon steering committee whose influential members include business, religious and labor leaders as well as several grassroots activists.

The 17-member steering committee was introduced at a news conference, Monday, in the Hyatt Regency Chicago hotel. Chairperson of the panel, which is in formation, is Edwin C. "Bill" Berry, special assistant to the President of Johnson Products Co., Inc.

"The Harold Washington campaign has attracted enthusiastic support throughout this city," Berry told the news conference, "because it is recognized that participation in this campaign makes it possible to live on the cutting edge of history.

"I regard what we are about as the most significant event for race relations that has happened in this country since the Brown decision (banning segregated schools). To be a part of this is exhilarating."

The Steering Committee members, their affiliations and campaign committee assignments are:

Warren H. Bacon, manager, Community Relations and Manpower Planning, Inland Steel Company, Chairperson, Citizens' Committee.

Walter H. Clark, executive vice president, First Federal of Chicago Savings and Loan -- Chairperson, Finance Committee;

29th Ward Alderman Danny K. Davis -- Co-Chairperson, Committee on Politics;
Edward G. Gardner, president, Soft Sheen Products Co., Inc. -- advisor, Voter Registration;

Nancy B. Jefferson, executive director, Midwest Community Council, Co-chairperson, Citizens Committee;

Charles A. Hayes, international vice president, United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, AFL-CIO -- Chairperson of Labor Committee;

Robert E. Mann, former state legislator and attorney -- Co-chairperson, Committee on Politics;

Harold Baron, author and researcher -- Chairperson of the Research and Issues Committee;


Rebecca Sive-Tomashefsky, executive director, the Playboy Foundation -- co-chairperson, Citizens' Committee;

George O'Hare, business executive -- Chairperson, Public Relations Committee;

Artensa Randolph, Chairperson of the Central Advisory Council, Chicago Housing Authority;

Robert Hallock, partner in the law firm of Kirkland and Ellis;

Addie Wyatt, religious and labor leader and executive vice president of the Coalition of Trade Union Women;

Juan Soliz, attorney and community leader;

Lerone Bennett, Jr., author.

Berry said that "the Steering Committee would grow to include more influential Chicagoans from every walk of life and every nook and cranny of our city."

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A major first...

Washington announces ‘blue ribbon’ team

by Chinta Strausberg

Calling it an historic first, Congressman Harold Washington, candidate for the Democratic nomination in the mayoral primary, Monday formally introduced his 17-member blue-ribbon committee, whose members ranged from the grass-roots level to Chicago's wealthiest.

The committee is chaired by civil rights activist Edwin C. "Bill" Berry, a top executive at Johnson Products Company and a former executive director of the Chicago Urban League. Berry said the integrated committee for Washington would work to "heal the divisiveness in the city — work for everyone, not just for the greedy who seize power."

Declaring that the committee does not represent "window-dressing," Berry said the five white, two Latino and ten Black members would be instrumental in working for Washington's election.

When asked whether Monday's announcement of the committee was a sign of disorganization in the Democratic party, Washington said: "This is a grass-roots movement and it is a train that is running on time."

Washington said Byrne has been running for re-election for the past three years and State's Attorney Richard M. Daley has been running for the last two years.

Washington blasted Daley's record on civil rights and women's rights when he was a state senator, saying "Daley's voting record was atrocious in these areas."

Washington added that a report on Daley's voting record would be released soon.

Charles Hayes, vice president of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, admitted that he once supported Mayor Byrne, but added: "I've switched because I believe that Washington is the best candidate. I changed because the Mayor changed. When Byrne first ran for office, she said it was for one term only, and she said she would work for the benefit of all. Today, I question her integrity."

Lerone Bennett, Jr., author and senior editor of Ebony magazine, said Washington's candidacy offers a new vision of politics that will bring all people in Chicago together, "which will reverse a trend of polarization in this city."

Dr. Conrad Worrill, convenor of the Black United Front of Chicago, said: "This press conference exemplifies the spirit, direction and essence of this movement to elect Chicago's first Black mayor. The representation of this steering committee reflects the campaign."

The Rev. Al Sampson, pastor of the Fernwood United Methodist Church, said, "This is a rainbow group of business, religious and labor leaders, women and Latinos who have been historically on different sides of issues. For the first time, everybody's come home."

Responding to Washington's charges, Daley replied, "Washington does not present a shred of proof for his charges, because there is none to be had."

Bob Benjamin, Daley's press secretary, said his (Daley's) voting record could be "stacked up against that of any legislator," adding that Daley and Washington frequently voted alike on civil and women's rights issues.

CONGRESSMAN HAROLD WASHINGTON WEDNESDAY ISSUED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT FROM WASHINGTON, D.C.

For Immediate Release

Wednesday, December 15, 1982

"I am pleased to announce that Al Raby has accepted the position as my campaign manager. As of today he will direct our efforts to win the mayoral election."

"Renault Robinson has served with distinction as interim campaign manager. Over the next two weeks he will work closely with Al Raby to assure a smooth transition, and then he will join the campaign steering committee."

"Al Raby has had a distinguished career in government and with civil rights organizations. He comes to this campaign after directing a voter registration drive in Nassau County, New York."

"In recent years he has served as director of the Peace Corps in Ghana, and with the Carter Administration as director of intergovernmental relations for ACTION, the umbrella agency for VISTA, the Peace Corps, and the Older Americans program. He was a special assistant to the Governor during the Walker administration, and a delegate to the Illinois Constitutional Convention."

"From 1964 through 1968 he was convenor of the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations, the Chicago based civil rights group that led the struggle for equality in the Chicago public school system."
Washington camp wooing ex-Byrne aide

By Lillian Williams

Rep. Harold Washington's newly appointed campaign manager, Al Raby, is considering giving Don Rose, the media adviser for Mayor Byrne's 1979 upset campaign, a role in the congressman's mayoral bid.

"I certainly will talk to Don Rose, and to many, many other people who are both friends and experienced political people," Raby said in an interview. But he cautioned, "Two days after my involvement in the campaign, I'm not prepared to make any predictions about who ... may be involved in it."

Rose was a key strategist in Raby's 1975 aldermanic campaign. In the 1960s he acted as a publicist for the coalition of civil rights groups that Raby headed.

The Washington campaign has some administrative "loose ends," Raby said, but the grass-roots precinct organization, headed by state Rep. Monica Faith Stewart (D-Chicago), is on track.

A Philadelphia resident best known for his Chicago civil rights activities, Raby has accepted the toughest challenge of his career.

He fought City Hall while he lived here in the 1960s, seeking equality in housing and public education. Now he leads a campaign to take the reins of local government, and to attempt to solve those problems.

"It's clear that Raby's approach will attempt to draw white supporters and workers. He clings to his long-held belief that Chicago can become a racially integrated city based upon cooperation and mutual respect."

"When you buy me, you buy that," Raby said. "You buy a person who believes we have to build a community based on cooperation and mutual respect, if not love. That's in the campaign, outside the campaign, and everywhere else."

Washington hired him on Wednesday to replace interim campaign manager Renault Robinson.

Victor DeGrazia, who managed Gov. Dan Walker's campaign a decade ago and hired Raby to coordinate South Side areas, said, "He was sensational. He's a great organizer. I think it was a smart move for Harold to hire him."

Some grass-roots blacks say they feel privately that Raby represents the interests of "the black establishment." Those blacks have refused to speak publicly about their concerns for fear of jeopardizing Washington's chances of winning, sources said.

Raby's low-key, temperate style contrasts sharply with Robinson's impassioned but unrestrained approach. Raby, however, praised Robinson for his role in forging the city's strongest black mayoral challenge.

"The campaign started in the minds of people like Renault Robinson and others who conceived of the possibility, and they put their time and energy into making it a reality. The Renault Robinsons of the world have to be given credit."

Washington had always intended to appoint a "permanent" campaign manager, Raby said, and Robinson's skills will be used to raise money and rally support for the congressman.

Raby's negotiating and organizing talents, used in local campaigning for President Jimmy Carter and for Walker, were major reasons for his selection, sources close to the campaign said. Raby won election to the Illinois Constitutional Convention in 1969.

"Look, he can bring together everybody from the black conservatives to the black nationalists, and he won't run a black-only campaign," a longtime Washington worker contended.

Raby agreed. "The reality of Chicago and the United States is that all of us have to live together," he said.

1,000 Washington buttons stolen from parked car

by Chinta Strausberg

A Southside civil rights activists says she was shocked to find that someone had broken her car window and had stolen 1,000 Harold Washington for Mayor buttons. She has issued a plea for their return.

"They are really a hot item," said Zeno-bia Black, wife of Loop College professor Timuel Black. Black said he had been hording the buttons for today's press conference that will be held at the Conrad Hilton by the Women Networking for Washington.

Black said the reporting police officer. Jonathan Thomas, from the 21st district took the couple's car and stored it in his personal garage; then after he got off duty, came back to the Blacks' home, and took professor Black to retrieve the car. "Everyone's not bad," said Zeno-bia Black, "but if you see somebody out there selling Harold Washington for Mayor buttons...they are not for sale."
Washington hires media adviser for campaign ads

By Lillian Williams and Basil Talbott Jr.

California-based media consultant Bill Cataldo has been hired to create television commercials for Rep. Harold Washington's mayoral campaign and Chicago political consultant Don Rose has turned down a lesser role in the campaign.

In other campaign developments:
- City Housing Commissioner Gilbert Cataldo said Mayor Byrne already has put into effect a home weatherization program proposed Saturday by State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, the third Democratic candidate.
- Preliminary negotiations for mayoral debates took place at a meeting convened by WTTW-TV and the Chicago League of Women Voters.
- Two anti-Byrne aldermen called for a City Council investigation of Byrne's use of the police list of people who turned in Tylenol.

ZIMMERMAN'S HIRING was disclosed by Dave Potter, press secretary for Washington (D-Ill.). Potter also said Rose would create a campaign brochure, but Rose later said he would not.

"They chose somebody else to do what I do," said Rose, who produced TV commercials for Byrne's 1979 campaign. "I will not participate in the campaign."

Zimmerman, reached Monday at his Santa Monica office, said he has urged Washington to hire former President Jimmy Carter's pollster, Patrick Caddell.

Caddell was in Chicago during the weekend to talk with Washington advisers, said Zimmerman, who grew up on Chicago's West Side.

"AS A 20-YEAR resident of Chicago, I'd like to push that Machine over the line," said Zimmerman, who grew up on the West Side. "It's time that people who haven't had a voice in government of the city to get a voice. That won't happen until an independent is elected."

Zimmerman devised commercials for the unsuccessful 1980 presidential campaign of Citizens Party candidate Barry Commoner and the successful campaign last November of Rep. Lane Evans (D-Ill.). He also devised promotion for California's nuclear freeze referendum this year.

Regarding the weatherization program, Cataldo said the program proposed Saturday by Daley was ordered into effect by Byrne a month ago.

While stopping short of accusing Daley of stealing the idea, Cataldo said every element of Daley's plan to conserve energy and help trim utility costs has been "put in place" by the Byrne administration.

Cataldo cited an unusual Saturday press conference by Byrne on Nov. 20 in which he announced a "comprehensive winter action plan." Byrne said consumer-oriented programs developed by Commonwealth Edison and Peoples Gas would mesh with a city program of public information on winterizing homes.

She said Peoples Gas had committed $4 million over two winters as seed money for low-interest loans to homeowners for certain weatherization improvements.

On Saturday, Daley made public a white paper promising much the same program at a Metropolitan Tenants Organization meeting on the West Side.

The first discussions about debates involving representatives of all three candidates took place at the downtown studios of WTTW (Channel 11). Bruce Dumont, a station producer, said negotiators went back to their candidates to discuss a proposed compromise for four debates.

"Dumont made a proposal, but none of us agreed to it," said attorney Thomas Foran, Daley's representative.

Dumont suggested three "fixed-focus" debates on specific topics set out in advance and one general debate. The league would line up other community groups as co-sponsors, and citizens instead of reporters would question the candidates, Dumont said.

In a City Hall press conference, Aldermen Martin J. Oberman (43rd) and Lawrence S. Bloom (56th) accused Byrne of wrongful use of confidential information for partisan political purposes.

Sun-Times columnist Roger Simon disclosed last Thursday that Byrne sent two mailings to people who turned in bottles of Tylenol after seven Chicago area people were killed by cyanide-tainted capsules.

Also contributing to this story was Harry Golden Jr. Reprinted from yesterday's late editions
Washington wins top spot on mayoral primary ballot

by Chinta Strausberg

Congressman Harold Washington won the lottery Monday that places his name first on the February 22nd Democratic mayoral primary.

The drawing took place in the offices of City Clerk Walter Kozubowski. Mayor Byrne received the second spot; Frank Ranallo, 72, a retired railroad employee, was third; State's Attorney Richard Daley placed last on the ballot.

Two other Democratic mayoral candidates were not eligible for the lottery because they filed later, but will appear sixth on the ballot. The two are Sheila Jones and William R. Markowski, 33, a CTA bus driver.

Republican mayoral candidate Bernard Epton won first place; Raymond Wardingley, a salesman, received second place; Ralph G. Medley, an unemployed teacher, will be third on the ballot.

In previous elections, being chosen first on the ballot allegedly gained the candidate votes. However, Chicago Board of Election Commissioner Corneal Davis said, "On the punch card system, it doesn't matter because all of the names will be together."

The position names were chosen at random by passersby in the City Clerk's office with the exception of Washington's name, which was drawn by Channel Nine reporter Don Harris.

Richard Daley was not present for the drawing of the lottery, nor was he represented there, but Daley's press secretary Bob Benjamin said, "It doesn't matter where his name appears. He will win."

Civil rights activist Dorothy Tillman said, "Washington's being placed first on the ballot...the first largest voter drive...a new day is dawning in the city of Chicago, especially when Black folks will determine their own destiny. We will come out en masse on February 22nd to clean up City Hall...to elect Washington and other independent aldermen.

"This is a new hope, a new spirit and a new direction, and I am proud that God has allowed me to be a part of this historical event."

Rev. Al Sampson, pastor of the Fernwood United Methodist Church, said: "Washington's position on the ballot is a signal that he will be the first Black man elected as mayor of Chicago."

Congressman Harold Washington (left), who won first place Monday on the ballot for the Feb. 22nd Democratic mayoral primary, is seen conversing with Sam Patch, (file photo) his district manager, who announced his aldermanic candidacy for the Third Ward. Patch will be running against incumbent Tyrone Kenner and civil rights activist Dorothy Tillman. The Chicago Defender carried the story exclusively four months ago.
Washington bares his 'financial skeletons'

by Chinta Strausberg

Saying that he made no excuses and that he was wrong, mayoral-candidate Congressman Harold Washington Tuesday revealed his "financial skeletons" at a luncheon at the Rotary Club.

Washington showed three charts that showed his indictment for failure to file federal income tax returns for years 1964 through 1969, the penalty, the reasons why the judge ordered a temporary suspension of his license to practice law, and a financial statement for 1964 through 1981. He said he will reveal 1982's tax returns by Jan. 31st.

"Everyone has skeletons," said Washington, "the only difference is that you may now look at mine. This is not to say that I am proud of this, but I don't wear a neon sign advertising it. I want to lay rest rumors that I have been charged with fraud, that I have been disbarred, and other untruths."

Washington, who was guest speaker at the Rotary Club luncheon, appealed to the business community to support his bid in the mayoral race and said the legitimacy of his candidacy "has been challenged not because of my 16-year legislative record..." or his Congressional record, but because of his indictment and conviction for failure to file federal tax returns and the suspension of his practice.

Opponents of Washington say he did not file from 1952 through 1963, but Washington denied those charges claiming that he did.

According to Washington, in 1964, his gross income was $8,899.92, taxes withheld were $1,221.08 and tax owed was $35.93. In 1965, his gross income was $13,370.83, tax withheld, $2,054.64 and tax owed $329.94. In 1967, $18,000 gross income, $2,422 taxes withheld, and zero tax owed. In 1969, gross income was $24,000, tax withheld $3,282, and $439.58 taxes owed for a total of $508.50 total tax owed.

The IRS-invoked fine was 40 days of imprisonment, three years probation, and a fine of $1,036.68.

The temporary suspension of his law practice for years, 1962, 1963 and three charges in 1966 were allegations that Washington failed to file divorce procedures after receiving payments of $75 and less. In 1966, one of his clients accused him of failure to represent him in a traffic matter after paying $150.

Washington's law license was suspended from May 20, 1970 to October 4, 1976.

Also at the meeting, Washington explained that he did not drop out of the mayoral debate sponsored by the Sun-Times and challenged his opponents to debate with him in an "open debate—not a structured one."

Mayor Byrne and Richard Daley said they never withdrew from the debate, and an aide to Daley asked, "Why did Byrne and the Congressman break their promise?"

Whether promises were broken or not, the next scheduled mayoral debate will be held on Thursday, January 27 at 7:00 p.m. at the Conrad Hilton Hotel.
6 campaign sites for Washington

By Mark Brown

Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.) opened six campaign offices around the city Sunday and said they stood as proof he has put together "one of the most awesome independent organizations ever to set forth on this Earth."

Washington, whose late-blooming campaign has lagged those of Mayor Byrne and Cook County State's Attorney Richard M. Daley in opening neighborhood headquarters, said he will dedicate a total of 12 offices by the end of the week.

"Don't let anyone tell you that this campaign is not structurally well-directed," Washington told an audience at the Masjid, a South Side Islamic temple.

Complaining that many blacks have been brainwashed to believe he cannot win, Washington urged listeners to have faith and unite behind his candidacy. He said he has so much faith in his prospects of winning that he is "almost cocky."

As he toured his new offices, he repeated his theme that the people of Chicago "cannot afford Jane Byrne as mayor."

Under Byrne, Chicago has been "reduced to a joke," he told supporters at a new office at 4859 S. Wabash.

He said Byrne must be ousted for hav-
Washington details troubles, wins sympathy

By Basil Talbott Jr.

Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.) bared details of his income tax conviction and law license suspension Tuesday before an audience of Chicago Rotarians, and won some sympathy.

The mayoral contender also made his fiercest attack on Mayor Byrne, accusing her of "personal greed" and presiding over a city administration full of "avarice, dishonesty and intrigue."

He promised "within a few weeks" position papers on employment, law enforcement and public safety, education, economic development, city administration, fiscal integrity and transportation.

Using three charts, Washington outlined what he called the "skeletons in my closet" and the "blueprint of my life."

Conceding he erred, he said he long ago paid for his mistake and implored the public to weigh his achievements since. "Look at the progress I've made. Look at the fact I have the ability to get knocked down and get up and go forward," he said to a burst of applause.

Pressed by a reporter about why he had failed to file tax returns, Washington paraphrased the judge: "He said, 'You have paid so much attention to your public life that you have been negligent in taking care of your personal affairs....'"

"How can we really adequately describe to people why we stumble?" he said rhetorically. "I give no excuses. I said it was wrong. That's it."

One chart showed details of his indictment for failure to file federal tax returns for the years 1964-67 and 1969. Listeners chuckled when he noted he owed only $35.53 in taxes for the first year.

No money was owed for 1967, he said, and the total amount owed was $508. He was sentenced to 40 days in jail and three years' probation and was fined $1,036.68.

Noting "it has been suggested" he didn't file returns for 1962 to 1963, Washington issued a flat denial. He said he didn't have the old returns to back up his assertion, and the Internal Revenue Service no longer has them either.

"If I had failed to file for 12 more years, or if any money was owed by me, they could have and would have prosecuted me for the years before 1964," Washington told the group in the Continental Hotel.

Turning to the Illinois Supreme Court's suspension of his license, he showed a chart detailing complaints clients made to the Chicago Bar Association. The chart showed fees involved totaled only $365 and he said the money was returned.

The seven charges sustained in the 1968 bar inquiry involved failure to file divorce suits after receiving between $30 and $75 from clients per case, and failure to represent someone on a traffic matter after being paid $150.


Washington's third chart listed his income for 1964 through 1981—ranging from $8,899.92 to $61,578.43, and showed the tax he paid each year. He said later he would issue a detailed financial statement.

While reporters were pressing him with questions on his finances, an annoyed Rotarian shouted, "Let's get on with the next question." Another grumbled that reporters were focusing on "trivia."

Rotary president Byron Getzoff called him "a man of courage."

In his searing attack on Byrne, Washington said, "Jobs are controlled by political patronage. . . . Business is allocated to politically compliant firms."

"Chicago can no longer afford Jane Byrne," he said. "Personal greed is so unabated that campaign contributions extracted from our city's loyal employees are pledged to provide six-figure salaries for the candidate's family."
His campaign has been so disorganized at times that it is fair to ask whether Washington, an experienced and normally astute politician, really has the desire to win.

IT IS WELL known that Washington, who clearly relishes the job he now holds, was a reluctant warrior. Content as a congressman, he tried for months to fend off the advances of black and white liberal leaders who urged him into the campaign.

Finally, he yielded in the face of burgeoning black voter registration and an impressive turnout in black city wards in the Nov. 2 general election.

When he announced his candidacy eight days after that election, Washington conceded that he had been hesitant to run. But having made his decision, the congressman said, he was a candidate “filled with gusto” for the campaign ahead.

Judging from the way events have unfolded since then, however, one has to wonder whether there is not some lingering ambivalence.

IT TOOK Washington more than a month after entering the mayoral race to settle on a campaign manager, rent a headquarter and find a pollster and an expert to film his commercials.

The least well known of the major candidates, he is the one greatest in need of media exposure. But it is only Byrne and Daley who are filling the airwaves with commercials today because Washington’s campaign has not raised sufficient funds for early TV and radio. His first major fundraiser is scheduled for later this month.

Beyond the technical problems, which he attributes to the relatively late kickoff of his campaign, the congressman has made a series of inexplicable blunders that reflect the lack of a coherent strategy.

THE MOST notorious was his Christmas Day visit to Cook County Jail, where he solicited the support of all the prisoners eligible to vote.

There was nothing inherently wrong with such a visit, though a jail is an unusual place to campaign. But Washington, who has spent much of his life in politics, should have expected that the visit, well-covered by television, would inevitably prompt references to his own, brief, 1972 stay at the jail on a misdemeanor charge for failing to file federal income tax forms.

One television commentator took the opportunity to display Washington’s old mug shot on the screen, and another reporter described the session as “a homecoming” for the congressman.

Washington has lashed out at the press for its coverage of the jail visit and his campaign in general—another sure-fire sign of distress. Moreover, he insisted that his visit was a political plus with what he called “my constituency.”

IT IS HARD to believe that the jail episode will help Washington among black voters any more than it will with whites.

And Washington’s reaction was strange coming from a candidate who began the campaign by declaring that he wanted white as well as black votes and would aggressively seek them.

To date, Washington has done little to expand his base. He was quoted the other day as complaining to a black audience that he received few speaking invitations from white community groups and churches.

However, that is what campaign staffs are for. If Washington wants to reach white voters, he should have his aides schedule events and street campaigning in white communities.

Washington also began the campaign by promising to raise issues, but thus far he has raised few. One he has raised is off-the-cuff attacks on Daley, in which Washington strongly suggested that the state’s attorney is antiblack and antiwomen.

THOSE ATTACKS came in November and December, when he promised detailed documentation based on Daley’s State Senate voting record. Two months later, the public is still waiting after Washington, rather than providing the information, glily challenges reporters to research Daley’s record and find it themselves.

That attack, and Washington’s joint effort with Byrne last week to force Daley into more debates, has prompted Daley’s camp to charge that Washington is in cahoots with the mayor, and that his sole mission is to sink Daley.

But sometimes it appears that Harold Washington’s mission is to sink Harold Washington.
Washington bill: It's a gas

Harold Washington has owed more than $800 to the gas company for more than two years and the company wants its money, a lawyer for Peoples Gas said Wednesday.

Washington has failed to show up in court on the matter three times after receiving summonses to do so, the lawyer said, and has declined to fully pay the bill even though a court has entered a judgment against him.

Reached for comment, Washington, a Democratic candidate for mayor, said: "That matter has long been in dispute and is now in adjustment with the gas company with Leon Davis."

I ASKED Washington about refusing to show up in court after being summoned to do so.

"I don't recall ever being served or told to show up in court," Washington said.

The lawyer for the gas company, Norman Wexler, said, however, that his documents show that Washington was served as recently as four weeks ago.

"He was served at 8:25 a.m. on Dec. 28, 1982, at his home at 5300 S. South Shore Dr.," Wexler said. "He was told to appear in court on Jan. 12, 1983. He did not appear."

LEON DAVIS, an executive with the gas company, said: "Mr. Washington has talked to me about this matter. His statement that the matter is in dispute and is in adjustment is accurate. It has been in litigation a long time."

Davis is a black former School Board member who was dumped by Jane Byrne in favor of a white. At that time, Washington joined other black officeholders in a statement expressing "sorrow and dismay" over the dumping.

Davis would not say Wednesday how his discussions with Washington on the disputed bill were proceeding. But the lawyers for the gas company are going full steam ahead.

A new court date has been set for Feb. 1 in the courtroom of Judge Carl McCormack in the Cook County Circuit Court's 1st Municipal District.

effect, that the court was ordering Washington to pay the bill.

Following this, a citation to discover Washington's assets was served on somebody in the Washington home in July, 1981.

That month, $50 was paid on the account.


A RULE TO SHOW CAUSE was issued by the court. The purpose of this order was to inform Washington that if he did not show up in court, he would be found in contempt.

Such orders must be served on the person, himself, and this the law firm was unable to do.

"We could have served him in Congress," said Wexler. "But we didn't want to do that. We tried at his home."

But because Wexler was unable to serve Washington, the case was removed from the court calendar until December, 1982, when a new citation proceeding was instituted.

Washington had declared his candidacy for mayor on Nov. 10, 1982.

According to Wexler, this citation was served personally on Washington on Dec. 23 at his home.

Washington says he cannot recall that happening.

The citation was to inform Washington of a court date Jan. 12, 1983. Again, Washington did not appear.

Wexler then filed a motion for a new show-cause order, which is now set for hearing Feb. 1.

"We just keep going until we get our money," Wexler said.

Washington said: "I have to assume it's politically motivated."

WEXLER SAYS he has no political connections to anyone running for mayor and lives neither in the city nor in Cook County. Before entering private practice, he was an Illinois assistant attorney general under William Scott, he said.

"My client [Peoples Gas] could care less whether Washington is a congressman or not," Wexler said. "We just want to be paid."

"This case is receiving no special treatment either way. We are not trying to "get him," but neither are we going to give him special dispensation because he is a congressman. This is not the first congressman we have gone after."
Washington solidifies ‘base’
Second in series on the varying campaign styles of the three major Democratic mayoral candidates.

By Lillian Williams

“Yes sir, Harold, you’re going to be our next mayor,” an enthusiastic black grandmother yelled while rocking her frail granddaughter during a recent rally for Rep. Harold Washington.

Mayoral candidate Washington, who is putting in grueling days on the campaign trail, struck an emotional chord that night at the Ingleside-Whitfield United Methodist Church on the South Side.

As happens at many of his appearances, he criticized the city’s infant mortality rate, public schools, patronage system and “plantation-style politics” that he contends abuses blacks, women and others.

Three weeks before the Feb. 22 primary, Washington makes his standard stump speech often, courting what he calls “his base.” His opponents, Mayor Byrne and Cook County State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley, also are trying to shore up support among their hard-rock backers while wooing voters in Washington’s “base,” the 40 percent or so of Chicago’s population that is black.

If polls are any indication, the congressman might be on target in trying to solidify his black support.

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Washington focuses on solidifying ‘base’

The mayor’s race

The mayor’s race

Chicago Sun-Times, Wednesday, February 2, 1983

formor state Rep. Monica Faith Stewart, told the crowds: “Don’t believe the lies that a black man can’t win this race. If you can count, you know that blacks and Hispanics hold the majority, and we can win.”

Washington always followed with similar “pep” talks designed to remove inferiority complexes.

“Don’t let anybody tell you that business leaves when a black is elected mayor,” Washington told the crowds. “The Hancock building won’t move one inch,” he said that night at the church, and the crowd roared with laughter.

Then, as usual, Washington chided the media, attacking articles or broadcasts that claim his campaign is disorganized.

During the taping of a TV interview program that day, Washington told reporters, “The biggest problem we have is to stop the nitpicking that seems to be harassing us constantly from areas of the press, and trying to get the press to face up to what are the crucial issues of this campaign.”

Instead of discussing these matters, Washington prefers to bill his campaign as a “crusade” to reform city government through public access to government files, elimination of patronage, an effort to lure industry back to the city and a host of other goals.

There’s a shadow crusade, though, that Washington’s campaign wages almost unconsciously. It helps explain his supporters’ enthusiasm.

As Jimmy Baker, 22, a black unemployed West Side resident, puts it, “What’s the ham or the Christmas tree that they [public officials] give us? Nothing. We’ve found out that we deserve more. And we’re going to get it.”
Members of the newly-created Task Force for Black Political Empowerment Monday vowed to take all Black ministers to task if they allowed mayoral candidates Jane Byrne and Richard Daley to speak from their pulpits. Members shown are (from left) Dr. Robert Starks, Dr. Conrad Worrill, Rev. Al Sampson, Bobby Rush, and attorney Anna Langford. (Defender photo by John Gunn.)

**Chicago Metr**

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Pronouncing themselves in favor of more direct action activity, the Task Force for Black Political Empowerment, headed by Dr. Conrad Worrill and Professor Bob Starks, this week announced their "forty-day countdown to the election" with a series of "action plans."

Speaking for the group, which includes journalist Lu Palmer, Rev. Al Sampson, writer Haki Madhubuti and others, Starks emphasized that the task force will compliment, not compete with, the activities of Mayoral candidate Harold Washington's steering committee.

Starks did say however, that his group would organize picket squads and even encourage others to picket Black preachers who allow Mayor Byrne and Daley to enter their sanctuaries.

"Certainly black preachers have every right to invite whomever they wish to their churches," Starks said, adding, "but we have every right to protest their actions, too."

The Task Force was organization November 10, following the announcement by Congressman Washington that he was entering the mayoral race. It considers itself a parallel campaign structure, more in tune with the grassroots and more experienced at street level campaigning.

"With over 25 grassroots organizations involved in the structural process... the purpose and outreach of this confederation are to provide as much support as possible to the candidacy and the campaign of Harold Washington and to heighten, advance and protect the thrust for full political empowerment for blacks throughout the city," Starks said.

Starks said the activities of the group will include:

- Endorsing, screening and supporting independent aldermanic candidates, with criteria and selective input contributed by Chicago Black United Communities, Nancy Jefferson of the Midwest Community Council, Operation PUSH and other groups; organizing a 1,000-plus task force of black men who will be trained in methods of poll watching and other election-day activities; and who will be deployed in the predominantly barrio black wards; establishing an "Election Day Central" housed in CTU headquarters, where citizens will be taught how to vote, their voting rights and how they can protect as well as get out the vote; and the organization of a Black student and youth movement for work in the voter registration drives.

In addition, the task force plans to join PUSH and other groups to commemorate Dr. King's birthday. In this vein they urge all persons to attend one of the many services that will be held on Dr. King's birthday including PUSH at 9 a.m., the New Covenant Baptist Church, at 740 East 77th St., at 2 p.m. and a civic center rally at 12 p.m. sponsored by 3:30. Washington's steering committee.

"Through these activities and objectives, the goal of the task force is to bring about a victorious conclusion to all that has been done politically in Chicago," Starks noted.
Coalition tells
political targets
Rich Daley campaigns the old way

By Chinta Strausberg

Calling for an end to "plantation politics" in Chicago, a coalition of 25 organizations announced Monday the formation of a political target list for Black ministers and aldermen who support Mayor Byrne and Richard Daley in the mayoral race.

At a press conference Monday at the Ascot Motel, professor Robert Starks, chairman of the newly-created Task Force for Black Political Empowerment, said the group will be monitoring Black ministers who would allow Byrne or Daley to speak from their pulpits. In a 40-day countdown before the February 22nd election, Starks said 100 ministers, headed by Rev. Steven Thurston, pastor of the New Covenant Baptist Church, will monitor all ministers and publicize their actions. "We will call them to task...publicly," Starks added.

Additionally, the group said they would have 50 Black attorneys on hand for Election Day. The attorneys would be dispatched to any location in Chicago to handle voting irregularities.

When asked why the coalition was not allowing Daley's office to handle the complaints, Starks replied, "That would be a direct conflict of interest. We will not allow the 'gang of four' (Mayor Byrne, Ald. Edward Vrdolyak, Cook County Board president George Dunne and mayoral candidate Richard Daley) to protect our right to vote."

-Chicago Sun-Times, Tuesday, February 1, 1983

By Brian J. Kelly

It is 7 a.m. and 18 degrees in Chicago. Inside the CTA station at 63rd St. and Ashland, it feels like sides of beef should be hanging from the ceiling.

A line of bundled L riders makes its way through the turnstile. Mostly they look down and stamp the slush from their feet.

But if they look up they are greeted by a hand extending from a rumpled tan trench coat. Atop the coat is a round, red-eyed face with a crooked smile.

"Good morning, how are ya? I'm Rich Daley."

Richard M. Daley is campaigning for mayor the hard way. For the last month he has put himself through a punishing schedule of public appearances designed by his campaign strategists to trade on what they consider one of his greatest assets: the likeable impression he makes in person.

As with his opponents for the Democratic nomination, Mayor Byrne and Rep. Harold Washington, Daley's campaign has many facets. But prominent among them is a heavy dose of good, old-fashioned—and, some would say, inefficient—street campaigning.

For Daley, campaigning means showing up at brunches, coffees, churches and L platforms. As he did two years ago when he ran successfully for Cook County state's attorney, Daley is crisscrossing the city with the belief that people appreciate it when they see the candidate in person.

His style is best described as low-key. Daley seems to have less of an ego than most politicians and travels with no more of an entourage than a two-tone green Pontiac sedan, a driver and an aide. Sometimes people are not immediately aware the candidate has arrived.

THIS DAY HE is dressed in the loudest suit in his wardrobe—a muted gray herringbone. He normally sticks to well-tailored solid blues or grays with a pale blue shirt and red tie. Unlike his father, the late Mayor Richard J. Daley, who favored custom tailoring, the son buys his suits off the rack.

Even with recent improvements, Daley's speeches still aren't models of rhetoric. Only addressing the most partisan crowds—such as his volunteer workers—will he elicit cheers. Before neutral audiences he rarely even asks for a vote.
Byrne runs hot with cool

Last in a series on the varying campaign styles of the three Democratic mayoral candidates.

By Basil Talbott Jr.
Sun-Times Political Editor

After answering predictable questions from students at De Paul University, Mayor Byrne was confronted by a hostile young man who bolted up in the middle of the theater auditorium.

"Since you have been mayor of our city," he began in a nervous rush, "we've seen nothing more than your attempt to rape the public with higher taxes while cutting public services."

From behind a huge yellow rostrum, the tiny mayor looked impensively at her critic. Dressed in a blue pleated skirt and a white blouse with a big blue bow, she could have been a prim schoolteacher.

The angry man finished his string of insults, but the mayor wouldn't let the embarrassing moment go by. "And what's your question?" she asked.

The other students applauded and laughed. She had captivated them.

"Now you've got a speech," the mayor said. She recognized the natural cue for a stump speech—which could be entitled "How I saved Chicago from financial ruin"—and took it.

The short drama showed Byrne's 1983 campaign of cool consistency at its best. It contrasts with his erratic behavior leading up to her upset in 1979 of Mayor Michael A. Bilandic.

The mayor's race

To the press corps and her challengers, today's Byrne has been nearly unflappable. Her once-scattered delivery has become calm. Her speech is well paced, and she shows a good sense of timing.

Four years ago, candidate Jane Byrne—fresh from being fired by Bilandic as the city's commissioner of consumer sales—was always primed for a fight.

This year's Byrne is more calculating, more in control. Coached by a team of out-of-town political consultants, Byrne has integrated themes and key phrases in her campaign chatter and TV commercials.

A good example of the interweave between speeches and 30-second TV spots took place Sunday during her weekly round of black churches. Byrne has spoken at 70 to 80 black churches since last summer.

Her consultants have advised her that the black vote, key to her 1979 upset, also will be crucial in the Feb. 22 primary. In churches, the consultants say, Byrne can line up women, who comprise the largest part of black churchgoers.

The parishioners in the Corinthian Temple Church of God in Christ, 4520 W. Washington, provided good evidence. Women stood and applauded after Byrne, in a painned voice, told about her "struggle" after her first husband was killed and she had to depend on federal benefits to raise 15-month-old Kathy.

A parallel 30-second commercial starts with Byrne saying, "When you find yourself alone and you're the mother of a 15-month-old baby, the only one that can make it, both for yourself and your child, is yourself." The voice fades and a narrator starts, "She was 24. Her husband died and she had to put her life back together. Today she still draws on that same determination, that same toughness."

The women in the church applauded Byrne, the mother. In the church and in the commercial she identified with the black matriarchal family, often left to fend for itself without a male breadwinner.

Her talk and her television spots were integrated by New York-based consultant David H. Sawyer.

Once viewed as vindictive, Byrne's toughness has a new twist.

As the biographical spot puts it, "She's feisty with a mother's protective instinct."

While showing respect for Sawyer's work, Byrne recoiled at the suggestion by one opponent that he had "Sawyerized" her. "I'm not a new Jane," Byrne said as she chain-smoked during a recent interview in her City Hall office. "I have the same hair."

The mayor did concede she no longer calls the 1st Ward Democratic organization of John D'Arco the foul names she did during her first campaign, when she accused it of committing vote fraud.
Hartigan to buck party, back Daley for mayor

By Basil Talbott Jr. and Brian J. Kelly

Illinois Attorney General Neil F. Hartigan plans to buck the Cook County Democratic Party and endorse State's Attorney Richard M. Daley for mayor, the Sun-Times learned Thursday.

Risking party backing for his unannounced bid for governor in 1986, Hartigan is set to declare Friday for Daley over the party choice, Mayor Byrne.

Byrne and the other major Democratic contender, U.S. Rep. Harold Washington, also picked up new support—the mayor from Cook County elected officials and the congressman from a Democratic presidential contender.

Hartigan has had an off-and-on relationship with Byrne since he upset former Mayor Michael A. Bilandic in the 1979 primary. After the primary, Hartigan formed a citizens committee in her behalf.

Late last week, the two had a falling out over the 1980 presidential race—Byrne signing on with Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) while Hartigan led the state's forces for former President Jimmy Carter. But when Hartigan announced for attorney general, Byrne did not try to block his endorsement.

The mayor was endorsed by Sheriff Richard J. Elrod and County Treasurer Edward J. Rosewell, who disclosed in an interview that they would attend all Byrne precinct rally Saturday. By late Thursday, Daley forces were still hoping they could keep at least Rosewell from attending the kickoff for the party's push for Byrne.

Scheduled by Cook County Democratic Chairman Edward R. Vrdolyak, the 9 a.m. rally at the Conrad Hilton is expected to do more than 3,500 precinct workers.

Elrod said, "The mayor is endorsed by the Democratic Party. I have always been supported by the party."

Rosewell said, "I can't go before the Democratic Central Committee and ask for their endorsement and then when they ask for support, say, 'Go to hell.'"

The out-of-town assist for Washington came from Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), who this week declared his candidacy for the presidency. Kennedy has endorsed Byrne, and former Vice President Walter F. Mondale has agreed to campaign here Feb. 12 for Daley.

"This is part of Cranston's support for quality black leaders throughout the country," said John Russonello, Cranston's press secretary.

Cranston is expected to attend a massive rally for Washington Sunday at the University of Illinois Pavilion.

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Racine and Harrison. Announced guests include Rep. Julian Dixon (D-Calif.), chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, and four other caucus members, including Rep. Gus Savage (D-Ill.), who has not yet made a formal endorsement in the race.

Entertainers Roberta Flack, Curtis Mayfield and Johnnie Taylor also are expected at the rally, starting at 4 p.m., according to the Washington campaign.

New endorsements also were made on the labor front. Thirty union leaders announced support for Daley, including one who charged that Byrne has "the worst labor record in the city's recent memory."

THE ANNOUNCEMENT FOR DALEY, made at a news conference in the Hyatt Regency Chicago, came a few days after the Chicago Federation of Labor endorsed Byrne in a stormy meeting.

Thomas Fitzgibbon, international vice president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, who said Byrne's labor record was the worst in recent history, also said he has opposed unionized 'transit workers and teachers and forced firefighters to strike.

Fitzgibbon added that, under Byrne, a labor leader was also jailed here for the first time in years. This was a reference to the jailing of Frank J. Muscare, former president of the Chicago Fire Fighters Union, for contempt of court during the 23-day firefighters strike in 1980.

"The present administration promised a collective bargaining ordinance for city employees and has yet to do anything on that promise," Fitzgibbon said. "The present administration is the first ever to use pension funds to juggle its budget."

All three candidates appeared Thursday at a forum sponsored by Friends of the Parks at Loyola University, 820 N. Rush.

Washington told the gathering he favored abolishing the Park District as a separate governmental body and bringing it into the mayor's jurisdiction.

"Responsibility without accountability is a horrible situation," he said as he ticked off several park reforms he would institute, including increased use of community participation.

DALEY ALSO CALLED for an increase in community participation and proposed the establishment of an office of park curator. The curator would be a professionally trained landscape architect who would be responsible for maintaining the esthetics of the parks.

Earlier, answering questions from reporters, Daley seemed to reverse himself on a position he had taken in favor of rent control. He said he had never meant to say, as he did during Monday night's fourth mayoral debate, that he favored rent control. What he supports, Daley said, are proposals for a fair rent commission that would have the power to act on tenants' complaints of excessive rent charges.

"That has been my position all along," Daley said.

In a separate campaign appearance, Byrne told an overflow crowd at Loop College that Gov. Thompson doesn't have "any excuse" for not funding mass transit in Chicago.

Asked how she would improve CTA service, Byrne noted that Thompson said he would withhold state support until the city cut "waste and fraud" and added a suburban member to the RTA board.

"Both of those things have been done," the mayor said, claiming a consulting firm's recommendations had resulted in $110 million in cost cutting, and that the city would give up one RTA board seat this spring.
Say 'cheese,' and debate
Speak up, Rich

If I knew how to draw political cartoons, I'd draw one that looks something like this:

There would be a mouse hole in a wall. Peeping out of the hole would be a furry little creature that bears a facial resemblance to Richie Daley.

The Daley-mouse would have a nervous look on its face.

In front of the hole would be a hunk of cheese, on which there is written the word "debate."

And crouching on each side of the hole—ready to pounce—would be two large, menacing cats. One would look like Jane Byrne, and the other like Harold Washington.

That, I think, would sum up the way things stand, as far as debates are concerned, in the race for mayor.

Mayor Byrne has already said that she'd be delighted to debate Daley and Washington. And not just one or two confrontations. She has suggested that a series of as many as 16 debates be held in different neighborhoods.

Harold Washington says he's eager to debate, too.

BUT WHAT ABOUT Richie, the Prince of Bridgeport?

Every time he's asked, his eyes get glassy and he just says, "It is under consideration."

What is there to consider? Debates have become a standard part of the political process. Candidates for president debate. So do candidates for governor, the Senate and most other important offices. What's good enough for presidential candidates ought to be good enough for a guy from the 11th Ward.

Voters now expect the candidates to debate. They want to know what's behind the face in the commercial—whether the candidate has the mental capacity to talk and scratch his head at the same time.

And voters have a right to expect debates. Even with the fussy League of Women Voters complicating things by establishing goofy rules, it is still an opportunity for people to hear candidates talk about the issues without the benefit of the plastic wrapping their public relations men usually provide.

IT'S NOT REALLY HARD for a candidate to run for office—especially if he's not the incumbent—without ever saying anything that hasn't been carefully planned.

Their TV commercials are put together by professional advertising agencies. Their speeches are written by professional speech writers. All they have to do is follow the text and the public sees only what the public is intended to see.

Debates are the only opportunity the public has to see if a candidate has anything to say that hasn't been carefully programmed into him. And to look at all the candidates at the same time, compare them, and decide which one sounds least stupid.

True, debates can be risky. If it turns out that a candidate is incapable of expressing a coherent thought, the voters might say, "Hey, he sounds as dumb as my cousin Ernie."

If it turns out that the candidate is lost without a prepared speech, and doesn't really know anything that hasn't been stuffed into his head by his campaign advisers, that will probably become obvious, too. Especially if the rules of the debate let the candidates themselves throw zinger questions at each other.

And there is also the chance that a candidate might have to face questions on embarrassing subjects—the kind they might brush off at a regular press conference but can't duck in front of hundreds of thousands of TV viewers.

For example, Daley might want to embarrass Byrne by asking her about all those fat salaries she pays her department chiefs.

And she might want to retaliate by asking Daley about the fat city insurance contracts that some of the young Daley boys received when their daddy was mayor.

And they both might want to jump on Harold Washington for his past tax and law license problems.

BUT THESE ARE chances that all the candidates take. And so far, two of them have shown that they are perfectly willing to take them. Only Daley is holding back, with his "it is under consideration" routine.

Daley's thinkers are hoping that the question of debates will just fade away, lost in the shuffle of other news and the bustle of the holidays. Less than three months remain before the primary, and they think that if he keeps saying "it is under consideration," he can keep saying it until there's no time left to plan the debates.

Then they could stage his campaign as they've planned for the last four years—by repeatedly attacking Byrne's record without having any record of his own to defend. And smiling prettily for the cameras.

But is that the true City-of-the-Big Shoulders Chicago spirit—to hide? And to hide from a woman? How embarrassing.

ACTUALLY, I DON'T see why Daley should be afraid of debates. His supporters say he's far more articulate than we suspect.

He's been receiving talking lessons from a professor of talking at Northwestern University, and is said to have taken to talking quite well.

So Daley should stop considering it and jump into the debates with both feet, and tongue flapping.

I'm sure that rules can be established that the Daley people will consider fair.

Of course, his opponents might draw the line if Daley asks:

"Say, would it be all right if we each put up a big picture behind us—of our fathers?"
If he can’t talk . . .

Debatable boss

A supporter of Richard M. Daley called to
denounce me for saying that if Daley doesn’t
agree to debates, he will be accused of being
chicken.

"Why should Daley debate them?" the sup-
porter angrily said. "His father never debated
his opponents, and Richie doesn’t have to either.
"You press guys just want to see him debate
because you think he might say something that
will make him sound stupid, so you can write
about it. So why should he do that?

"Besides, debates don’t prove anything. You
can’t tell how smart anybody is by the way he
talks.

"The people who like Richie don’t care if he
debates or not. We’re voting for him anyway. So
he ought to say to hell with the debates and to
hell with anybody who doesn’t like it. He ought
to just sit it out and let those other two jerks
cow each other up. People won’t think he’s
chicken. They’ll think he’s got too much dignity
to get up there and have a brawl."

YES, IT IS TRUE that the late Mayor
Richard J. Daley never debated any of his
opponents, and nobody expected him to. You
don’t bother to debate an opponent when you
know you are going to get 65 percent of the vote
even if you don’t bother campaigning.

And a debate might not have been safe for
Daley’s opponents. If Daley ever started ranting
and shouting and sputtering at a debating oppo-
nent the way he often did at reporters and
independent aldermen, he might have scared the
guy to death.

But because of the unfairness of the inheri-
tance laws, Mayor Daley was not able to leave
the City of Chicago to Richie in his will. So
Richie is not in quite the same position as his
father was. Before he can assume the royal title
of Boss II, he will have to be elected.

It’s also probably true that many of Richie’s
supporters don’t care if he doesn’t debate and
vote for him anyway.

BUT A LOT of other people are undecided
and might not make up their minds until they
gain a chance to see the candidates go for each
other’s throats. If the election is close, as it
probably will be, those who are now undecided
could make the difference between winning and
losing.

It’s possible, as the Daley supporter said, that
Richie could get away with setting out the
debates.

But it could also hurt his chances. Mayor
Byrne and Harold Washington might decide to
do something cute—like putting an empty chair
on the stage with a sign on it showing a big
question mark.

Or they could get a toymaker to fashion a
windup doll that looks like Richie, and every so
often it would make a giggling sound. Some TV
viewers would be amused, while others—espe-
cially those who have heard Richie in an off-the-
achinery conversation—might think it really is him.

The Daley supporter was wrong when he said
that debates don’t prove anything. A debate
might not conclusively establish what candidate
is the most intelligent or knows the most about
a city’s problems and offers the most imagina-
tive solutions.

BUT A DEBATE does tell you whether a
candidate is capable of expressing a coherent
thought without having somebody type it up for
him in advance. And some people think this
talent is at least an indication of whether the
candidate is something more than a lump.

Naturally, there are risks involved. As the
Daley supporter said, the press will pounce on
anything foolish that Richie might say. But the
press will also pounce on anything foolish that
Byrne or Washington might say. The press
really doesn’t care what says something dumb. It
is fair and impartial in showing glee at some-
body else’s bumbling behavior.

So all Richie has to do is make sure that he
doesn’t say anything foolish. Or at least not any
more foolish than the things the other two say.

That, of course, is the problem. Even a univer-
sity speech coach can’t teach somebody what
to say—only how to say it. And that is going to be
Richie’s problem.

AT A RECENT appearance before a college
audience, Richie managed to confuse most of the
students by responding to questions with an-
swers that had nothing to do with the question.

That might sound a little strange in a debate.

But there is a way that it can be avoided.

We’re in the age of high-tech, with all kinds of
remarkable electronic devices no bigger than a
mouse’s tooth.

Daley’s campaign advisers might consider
having some electronics company design a radio
receiver that is tiny enough to be concealed in a
person’s ear.

Then all they’d have to do is put the tiny
radio in Richie’s ear before the debate, and
when a subject came up that he knew nothing
about, one of his people could beam the correct
response through a transmitter.

Daley alone would hear it in his ear and just
repeat it.

It’s either that, or hire a ventriloquist.
Daley agrees to mayoral debates, promises full airing of ‘real’ issues

By David Axelrod
Political writer

Seeking to stem growing negative publicity over his apparent hesitance to face his opponents, State's Atty. Richard Daley announced Wednesday that he will debate the other Democratic candidates for mayor.

"I welcome the opportunity to debate other Democratic candidates for mayor, and I look forward to a complete airing of the issues," Daley told several thousand supporters at a fundraising party in the Hyatt Regency Chicago Hotel that added more than $500,000 to his campaign war chest.

Daley later told reporters that he made the decision because he felt the question of debates was obscuring the real issues of the race.

Mayor Jane Byrne and U.S. Rep. Harold Washington (D., Ill.), Daley's major opponents in the Feb. 22 primary, already have agreed to debates and have chided Daley for his reluctance. He also has come under fire from editorial writers and columnists over the issue.

"THE DEBATES were becoming more important than the real issues," said Daley, citing higher city taxes, executive salaries in City Hall and various promises he says the mayor has broken as the proper focus of the campaign.

Washington on Wednesday named Al Raby, who gained attention as a civil rights activist in the 1960s, as his new campaign manager.

Raby, 49, an official in the administration of former Gov. Dan Walker, served as a Peace Corps official in Ghana in 1979-80 and most recently headed a voter registration drive in Nassau County (Long Island), New York.

He replaces Renault Robinson, the Afro-American Police League chief and maverick Chicago Housing Authority commissioner who has been interim campaign manager. Robinson remains as a member of Washington's steering committee.

BYRNE, APPARENTLY confident that she will do well in debates, already has agreed to the League of Women Voters' proposal for five televised encounters, with questions coming from citizens, rather than reporters.

Daley positioned himself for a more modest regimen, refusing to commit to more than one debate or any format.

"We will be appointing people to work out the details," he said.

But William Daley, who is running his brother's campaign, ruled out a lengthy series of debates, arguing that they would be too time-consuming.

Asked about the suggestion that he feared debates because he is not as articulate as his opponents, Daley pointed to his press conferences and campaign appearances as proof that he can hold his own.

HE ALSO TOOK a backhanded swipe at the other candidates, suggesting that the ability to perform in debates is not indicative of the ability to govern.

Issues and the debate

State's Atty. Richard M. Daley has quieted the clamor over a mayoral debate by at last deciding to participate. In announcing that he will take part, Mr. Daley told supporters at a fundraiser Wednesday night that the debates were becoming more important than the real issues in the campaign. He should know, having fueled the debate debate with his sheepish and unexplained refusal. But now, in all fairness, he deserves credit for his positive response.

He also has struck upon an uncomfortable truth when he says the real issues are being overshadowed. Everyone has been subjected to images—Mayor Byrne's primness and properness on television commercials, Harold Washington's preachy gibberish and Mr. Daley's inherited flair for boosterism—but not a one of them has yet offered substance. Issues, unfortunately, have not fared well in recent elections. A debate will give each a chance to justify their records and back promises with more than a campaign button and a handshake.

It should not lack for issues. For example, when and how did Mayor Byrne come to the self-revelation about the mistakes in judgment that she confesses to in her TV ads? How can she tout her upcoming property tax decreases after having increased so many taxes early in her administration? Why didn't Mr. Washington pay his income taxes for so many years? How will he translate his legislative and congressional expertise into the running of a city? Likewise, in Mr. Daley's case, what qualifies a public prosecutor to manage a city? How persuasive are his criticisms of Mayor Byrne's budget figures? Does anyone have a vision and program for the city beyond the campaign?

The format for the debates is still being discussed; let's hope this doesn't spark more debate. The three candidates will have an equal chance to be heard in debate. And everyone else will have an equal chance to determine whether any of them really has anything to say.

Mayor and gentlemen, take your places.
By Tom McNamee

Mayorial candidates Jane Byrne and Richard M. Daley agreed Tuesday to a Jan. 18 debate, to be sponsored by the Sun-Times, on city finances and services. The third major candidate in the Feb. 22 Democratic primary, Rep. Harold Washington, postponed a decision until at least Thursday so that his staff can meet with Byrne and Daley representatives to discuss details of the debate format. He already has agreed to debate Byrne and Daley.

The debate is scheduled for 7 p.m. in the First National Plaza Theatre. A panel of journalists is to question the participants.

Daley negotiators Tuesday also announced that a tentative agreement has been reached for a second debate on either Jan. 21 or Jan. 27. The subject of this debate is to be jobs and economic development, said Robert Benjamin, Daley’s press secretary.

But a Byrne adviser said late Tuesday that while the mayor has no objection to the second debate—to be sponsored by the City Club of Chicago and the Chicago Urban League—she hopes additional debates will be held in city neighborhoods.

"We’re now seeing a series of debates being set downtown," Bill Griffin, Byrne’s assistant, said. "Our position is that these debates are really intended for people who live in the neighborhoods."

The Washington campaign officers cannot agree to the debate dates or locations until they meet personally with Byrne and Daley representatives, said Washington spokesman Hal Baron.

Because of scheduling conflicts, Washington was unable to have a negotiator at meetings held Monday and Tuesday to work out details of the first two debates, Baron said.

"There is no way we are going back on our commitment to these debates," Baron said. "But they remain subject to negotiation on format and date. We have not been able to discuss these matters."

2 new debates mulled

By Tom Maier

A tentative plan for two mayoral candidates’ debates sponsored by the city’s League of Women Voters was proposed Wednesday by representatives for Mayor Byrne, Rep. Harold Washington and State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley.

All three major Democratic mayoral candidates for the two early February debates are expected to respond by noon Thursday, said the league president, Betty Willhoite.

If the candidates agree, the three will meet in four debates before the Feb. 22 primary.

The first debate among the candidates likely will be a Jan. 18 forum sponsored by the Sun-Times. Daley and Byrne have agreed to a debate that evening on city finances and services before a panel of journalists in the First Chicago Center. Washington has deferred a final decision, pending agreement on the final series.

Another tentative debate is being planned jointly by the Chicago Urban League and the City Club of Chicago for either Jan. 21 or Jan. 27, centering on jobs and economic development.

For its debates, the league plans to hold two televised one-hour events in "regional" locations outside the downtown area. "We plan to solicit questions from a large cross section of groups and then boil them down to a master list, which will be put to the candidates," said Willhoite.

She said the league proposed debates on Feb. 2 and 9. Chicago’s public television station, WTTW, is expected to televise the debates at 7 p.m. each night, she added.

3 rivals OK Sun-Times debate

The three major Democratic candidates for mayor have agreed to participate in a debate to be sponsored by the Sun-Times, their spokesmen said Friday.

Mayor Byrne, Cook County State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley and Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.) were responding to invitations sent a week ago. They will face one another in the Feb. 22 mayoral primary.

Each candidate specified that he or she would participate only if both of the others were included in the forum.

Representatives of the candidates said they will meet next week with Sun-Times officials to arrange the timing and format of the debate, which will be open to coverage by all media.

One television station already has expressed interest in broadcasting live coverage of the event, if an appropriate time can be established.

In addition to the event being organized with the Sun-Times, representatives of the candidates have been planning a series of debates to be sponsored by the Chicago League of Women Voters.
4 mayoral debates lined up, but Daley still uncertain

By Mitchell Locin

FOUR DEBATES among candidates in the Democratic mayoral primary have been scheduled before the Feb. 22 vote.

Neutral participants in talks on the debates said Thursday that Mayor Jane Byrne and U.S. Rep. Harold Washington have agreed to the debates. State's Atty. Richard M. Daley has yet to approve.

They said the debates will go ahead with or without Daley and that at least three will be televised on WTTW (Channel 11).

Daley, meanwhile, accused Byrne on Thursday of weakening city efforts on behalf of the elderly. He promised to implement an eight-point plan to help seniors in cities if elected mayor—including the creation of a city department on Aging.

The three Democratic mayoral candidates told three different tales about the debate over the debates.

A spokesman for the Byrne campaign said the mayor will appear at all four—Jan. 18, 27 and 31, and Feb. 7.

But a spokesman for Washington said that although the congressman has agreed in principle to the four debates whether or not Daley appears, the date for the second may have to be changed because the congressman may have to be in Washington, and the conditions for all the debates may have to be renegotiated if Daley does not agree to the third and fourth debates.

THE DALEY CAMP, meanwhile, said that only three debates are needed, and that they must be on specific subjects.

The first debate, to be sponsored by the Chicago Sun-Times in the First Chicago Center Theater, will cover city finances and services. The second debate, sponsored by the City of Chicago in the Hotel Continental by the Daley campaign for a luncheon and the unveiling of his senior citizens program.

HE SAID THE total funds spent for the Mayor's Office for Senior Citizens and Handicapped and for other nutrition and social programs dropped from $2.6 million in 1979, when Byrne took office, to $1.3 million this year.

Daley criticized the administration for using $80,000 in community development funds for a Valentine's Day ball for seniors last February. He also questioned plans for a similar event next February, a week before the race.

He said the growing elderly population in the city requires the elevation of the senior citizens office to the department level. Among other things, Daley promised to have a special assistant for the handicapped, complete a citywide system for delivery of services to the elderly—including a center in the Loop—and improve housing and transportation.

Steven Brown, spokesman for Byrne's campaign, said of Daley's charges, "They sound fairly desperate. If they follow past practice, they will be fraught with inaccuracy."

As for a new debate on aging, Byrne said, "It strikes me that we have that already (in the senior citizens office). I don't understand what the value would be (in changing the name)."

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Byrne, Washington pull out; debate off

By Brian J. Kelly

The withdrawal of Rep. Harold Washington and Mayor Byrne has forced cancellation of the first scheduled debate among Chicago's Democratic mayoral candidates.

The debate, sponsored by the Sun-Times, was set for Jan. 18.

Campaign staffs for Washington and Byrne contended that the third candidate, State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, had reneged on an oral agreement to participate in a series of four debates.

A Daley spokesman denied any such commitment was made.

In announcing that the Jan. 18 debate would be canceled, editor Ralph O'walt said, "On Dec. 30 the Sun-Times received firm acceptance from representatives of all three candidates... These were unconditional and unqualified acceptances, with recognition that discussions were continuing on other debates proposed by the Chicago League of Women Voters.

Turnout on debate; an editorial, Page 41.

"With assurances we received on that date, we have proceeded to plan the Jan. 18 debate and sincerely regret that two of the candidates have chosen to withdraw."

Representatives of Byrne and Washington also said that unless Daley meets their conditions, they also will pull out of a second debate scheduled for Jan. 27 and co-sponsored by the Urban League of Chicago and the City Club of Chicago. A third debate involving only Byrne and Washington and sponsored by the League of Women Voters is planned for Jan. 31.

Problems with the Sun-Times debate arose Monday morning when representatives of all three camps came to the newspaper to go over final details.

According to participants, Thomas P. Coffey, a negotiator for Washington, announced that he wanted Daley to make a written commitment to four debates, citing meetings in late December at which he said such an oral commitment had been made.

The session broke up with Washington's staff saying they would withdraw unless Daley agreed to the four-debate condition and the ground rules of the two already agreed to.

Monday afternoon, Byrne's campaign co-ordinator, William Griffin, informed O'walt in a telephone conversation that his candidate would go along with Washington's position.

The question of how to structure the mayoral debates has involved several long negotiating sessions going back to mid-December. Daley pushed for three debates on specific issues, while Washington and Byrne argued for at least five with a more wide-open format and in neighborhood areas.

The first two debates were to be held in downtown locations, focused on specific issues and with reporters posing questions to the candidates.

The current controversy centers on a meeting held in the offices of WTTW-TV on Dec. 23 at which participants discussed a possible compromise of four debates with varying formats. Those debates were originally to have been sponsored by the League of Women Voters.

Spokesmen for Washington and Byrne said Monday that it was at that meeting that the verbal agreement was reached.

Daley's press secretary, Robert Benjamin, said the discussions were only tentative and nothing was resolved.

Negotiations with the Sun-Times were going on at the same time and the following week all three candidates accepted the newspaper's invitation as well as a second invitation from the jointly sponsored Urban League-City Club debate.

On Dec. 30, all three camps announced acceptance of the Sun-Times offer. It was also announced that Byrne and Washington would participate in the League debate without Daley.

Reprinted from yesterday's late editions
By Brian J. Kelly
and Lillian Williams

Washington debate aide quits

Washington's woes win sympathy

"Turnabout on debate: an editorial"

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Washington debate aide quits

The decision by Mayor Byrne and Rep. Harold Washington to withdraw from a debate on city finances and services reverses a commitment made by both of them.

As the sponsoring organization, we regret their abrupt, inexplicable change of mind. The way city government manages and distributes its tax resources is a pivotal issue of this campaign, fully worth the hourlong exchange promised by the candidates. We're disappointed it cannot be explored with the depth needed for public understanding through a series of general debates, superficially touching on a variety of topics.

There is no question that the three candidates—Byrne, Washington and State's Attorney Richard M. Daley—had agreed to debate this issue on Jan. 18. An ancillary commitment to a series of general "neighborhood" debates was not part of that agreement. This is confirmed by other participants, including the League of Women Voters, WTTW-TV and members of Washington's staff.

The Sun-Times is ready to fulfill that agreement. So is Daley. We hope both Byrne and Washington will reconsider their reversal and, for the sake of voter understanding, honor their commitment.

LETTERS

Let's have a mix of debates

Two points, just for the record:

The mayoral debate format proposed by the League of Women Voters of Chicago was entirely our idea and was not, in any sense, an unstructured free-for-all. It began with a memo to more than 300 community groups, soliciting questions of major concern. This list will be collated into two or three major categories that will be made known to the candidates.

The locations will be public high schools. Questions will be put to the candidates by the people submitting them, if possible, or by representatives of nearby communities. Followup questions by the moderator and rebuttal by the candidates will be permitted, with strict time limits.

We had no objection to either of the other two planned debates. In fact, we thought the combination would provide well-rounded coverage of issues.

We claim no prior rights to managing debates. We even agree with some of the objections to them. Our format seeks to deal with many of those criticisms. We do believe a televised event can serve as a town meeting focusing on candidates for mayor of this city.
Mayor debates OKd

3 Dem candidates to meet 4 times;
1st date Tuesday

By Lillian Williams and Basil Talbott Jr.

The three major Democratic mayoral candidates have agreed to participate in four debates, starting with one Tuesday sponsored by the Sun-Times.

The debates have been in limbo since Monday when two of the contenders, Mayor Byrne and Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.), demanded there be a package of four debates.

The third major candidate, State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, who originally had balked at opponent's demands, broke the stalemate Thursday when he agreed to the four debates.

Washington followed with an announcement that he would go along and then Byrne signed on.

The four one-hour debates and their subjects are:
- Tuesday, on city finances and services, sponsored by the Sun-Times at 7 p.m. at the First Chicago Center.
- Jan. 23, police and law enforcement, sponsored by radio station WBBM at 11 a.m. at the Conrad Hilton.
- Jan. 27, jobs and economic development, underwritten by the City Club of Chicago and the Chicago Urban League, at 7 p.m. at the Conrad Hilton.
- Jan. 31, two or three categories to be determined, sponsored by the Chicago League of Women Voters at 8 p.m. at Clemente High School, 1147 N. Western.

After notification from all three candidates, Sun-Times editor Ralph Oppen said, "All the original plans have been revived, and we are proceeding with final arrangements. We will ask the candidates' representatives to meet with us Friday to review those arrangements."

The first break in the stalemate came when Daley's brother, Bill, notified the League of Women Voters that he would go along with the debate outside the downtown area.

Candidate Daley said, "I'd rather go ahead with all the debates—the four debates. Let's go ahead and talk next Tuesday on city finances, dealing with the tax increases of $480 million, consultant contracts and bond ratings."

"Let's talk about it next Tuesday this lack of city services."

Washington said, "I've been willing to participate now and I always have."

Contending that Daley has Turn to Page 16

Continued from Page 1. "misstated the truth,"
Washington said Daley is "pathologically fearful of these debates and he has been obstructive throughout.

"All I have ever asked Mr. Daley to do was to publicly state that he wanted to go for four debates," Washington said.

Caught on the run, Byrne said, "We said from the beginning that the debates were on as far as we're concerned if they go to the neighborhoods."

Byrne's press secretary, Steve Brown, later confirmed that the mayor would participate in the four debates.

Three of the debates will feature panels, including reporters.

The Sun-Times debate panel will consist of Elinor Elam, vice president of the Chicago League of Women Voters; Robert H. Jordan, of WGN-TV (Channel 9); Carol Marin, of WMAQ-TV (Channel 5), and Basil Talbott Jr., Sun-Times political editor. James Hoge, publisher of the Sun-Times, will be moderator.

The Sun-Times debate will be carried live by WBBM-TV (Channel 2), WMAQ and WTTW-TV (Channel 11). WGN-TV plans to broadcast a videotape of the debate starting at 10 p.m. Tuesday.

The second debate panel will be Chicago Tribune political writer David Axelrod, Chicago Defender reporter Chinta Strausburg and WIND-radio reporter Fran Spelman, according to City Club spokesman Larry Horist.

WBMX will have a two-reporter panel, consisting of Monroe Anderson of the Chicago Tribune and an unnamed second questioner. WBMX news and public affairs director Derek Hill said his panel will question the candidates for 30 minutes and then the audience will be permitted to question the candidates.

There will be no reporter panel for the league debate. Citizens who have submitted questions to the league will quiz the candidates, said Betty Willhoite, league president. John Calloway, news director of WTTW, will be the moderator.
3 Dem mayoral aspirants agree to debate 4 times

By Lillian Williams and Basil Talbott Jr.

The three major Democratic mayoral candidates have agreed to participate in four debates, starting on Monday, Jan. 23, sponsored by the Sun-Times.

The debates are scheduled for:
- Jan. 23, police and law enforcement debate sponsored by radio station WBXW at 11 a.m. at the Conrad Hilton Hotel.
- Jan. 27, jobs and economic development debate sponsored by the Chicago Urban League at 7 p.m. at the Conrad Hilton Hotel.
- Jan. 31, two or three categories to be determined, sponsored by the Chicago League of Women Voters at 1147 W. Western Avenue.

After notification from all three candidates, Sun-Times Editor Ralph Otwell said, "All the original plans have been revised, and we are proceeding
with the remaining arrangements. We will announce the location of the remaining arrangements as the candidates finalize their plans." For a date to be announced.

Incumbent Mayor Daley, who first balked at the opponents' demands, agreed to the four debates on Thursday.

Washington followed with an announcement that he would go along and then Byrne signed on.

The four one-hour debates are:
- Jan. 23, police and law enforcement
- Jan. 27, jobs and economic development
- Jan. 31, two or three categories to be determined

Candidate Daley said, "I'd rather go ahead with all the debates—the four debates. Let's go ahead and talk next Tuesday on city finances, dealing with the tax increases of $480 million, consultant contracts and bond ratings.

"Let's talk about it next Tuesday, this lack of city services.

Washington said, "I've been willing to participate now and I always have.

Contending that Daley has "misstated the truth," Washington said Daley is "pathologically fearful of these debates and he has been obstructive throughout.

"ALL I HAVE ever asked Mr. Daley to do was to publicly state that he wanted to go for four debates," he said.

Caught on the run, Byrne said, "We said from the beginning that the debates were on as far as we're concerned if they go to the neighborhoods.

Chicago's gladiatorial debates

Ancient Romans entertained themselves at the Colosseum. We now watch politicians, with a bit of a twist. The events are entertainment for audiences reveling in - and sometimes reacting to - the spectacle.

The spectacle is closely studied by the candidates, the press and the public. It's a game of one-upmanship, a battle of wits, a display of power and a test of the wills.

The candidates are the gladiators, the press is the referee, and the public is the audience.

The candidates are like the gladiators, fighting for the attention of the public.

The press is like the referee, trying to keep the candidates on track.

The public is like the audience, watching the spectacle and reacting to it.

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The public is like the audience, watching the spectacle and reacting to it.
Grass-roots revival in precincts

By Brian J. Kelly

In the slick, cynical world of big-time politics, it is almost laughable to think that people like Ted Stein, Grace Ibrig or Heron O'Neal could be the deciding factor in who becomes the next mayor of Chicago.

They are dinosaurs, otherwise known as political volunteers.

Stein rings doorbells for Harold Washington in his Logan Square precinct; Ibrig coordinates several areas of the North Side lakefront 44th Ward for Mayor Byrne and O'Neal runs Richard Daley's 9th Ward office on the Far South Side.

The question is why? Television, the common wisdom goes, is the new precinct captain. Over the last two decades, the power of TV has been proved in countless elections across the country.

If there was ever any doubt here, it was put to rest in 1979 when an unknown city official named Jane Byrne was elected mayor with little more of an organization than her ex-newspaperman husband Jay McMullen.

But not this time. The story of this election may be that doorbells replace channel selectors as the crucial vote-getting tool.

All three candidates have placed major emphasis on building volunteer organizations, opening dozens of storefront offices to handle the thousands of people who turned out early and were eager to work. "This campaign will be won in the streets," said Al Raby, Washington's campaign manager.

And Bill Daley, campaign manager for his brother, observed, "This is not some bit of fluff. For us, it's the real thing. If you assume that it will be close, a few votes per precinct will make the difference."

Al Ronan, Byrne's chief organizer, said, "People will be making up their minds from a lot of messages in this campaign, but what it comes down to is that on election day you want to know who your voters are and get them to the polls."

The local organizations are an important commitment of staff people as well as resources. Salaries, rent, posters, buttons and phones (the political campaign rate is $2,000 in advance for four lines) all add up to several hundred thousand dollars per campaign.

Each campaign is claiming more than 5,000 volunteers and hopes to have 10,000 by election day. If campaign officials are to be believed, most of the city's 2,910 precincts will see some workers from every organization.

While it would be impossible to check the numbers, or to assess the intensity of the workers, a random tour of neighborhood offices makes clear that a lot is happening.

One afternoon last week, for example, a steady stream of people came into Washington's narrow Mid-South office, 463 E. 83rd, to pick up posters for store windows plus literature and buttons to hand out. "The only thing we can never keep enough of is the buttons," said Ron Davis, the
area coordinator who has worked on many Washington campaigns. "We hear the kids are selling them for a buck a piece and it's good business."

At Byrne's office, 928 W. Diversey, John McCarty, a professional organizer brought in by Ronan, was finishing an evening training session of people who wanted to go door-to-door to register voters. "We have no problem getting the people," he said. "What we have to do is get some discipline and make sure that people cover the areas they're supposed to."

The same evening, Daley's 49th and 50th ward operation, 6526 N. Clark, was briefing its area coordinators, going around the bare wood table and asking them why they would vote for Daley. "We can't tell them how to sell Rich; we just help them put it in their own words," said Mike Vaske, a construction worker with long experience organizing "independent politics and Little League."

There are, officials at all three campaigns agree, four things a volunteer organization can do. It starts with a petition drive to collect the signatures a candidate needs to file for office. Daley used the occasion to show off the muscle of his volunteers, collecting more than 250,000 names. Washington said he had 75,000 and Byrne came in with 50,000—all in excess of the 3,505 required.

The campaigns are now registering voters across the city. "It's a fact of politics that someone your people have helped register tends to vote for your candidate," said Ronan. Everyone is pointing to a big finish on Precinct Registration Day, Jan. 25.

The next step is to canvass the city, hitting as many homes as possible, trying to find out who's for you and who's against, doing a sales job if needed. Most everyone is advocating a soft-sell approach. "We tell them a 15- or 20-second pitch at most, unless people have questions," said McCarty.

The grand finale is Election Day, "a 13-hour campaign," which involves coaxing people to the polls—or driving them—and placing observers in each polling place. After the experience of the Nov. 2 election, vote fraud is a major concern.

Although much has been done already, the target date for the operations to go into high gear is Feb. 1. "If you're not ready to go by then, you're out of it," said McCarty.

Chicago has no citywide tradition of grass-roots politics, but interviews with campaign officials suggest a number of factors that make the city ripe for such organizing this time. Included in the equation are such things as the city's still-significant ethnic and neighborhood ties, emerging voter interest among blacks and Latinos, the anticipated closeness of the election and the big blocks of undecided voters.

Much of the initiative comes from the Daley campaign which, in the 1980 state's attorney primary, decided to build its own ward organizations to match the strength of the Regular Democrats it opposed. They were criticized for their old-style politics, but they won.

That carried into the 1980 general election and many feel it accounted for Daley's 16,000-vote margin of victory (out of two million votes cast) against incumbent Bernard Carey.

Fresh from those campaigns, everyone agrees that at this point the Daley troops are the most organized. Tom Carey, who masterminded the earlier effort, has expressed interest in getting involved again.

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Grass-roots revival in precincts

Continued from Page 8

pended his efforts with 28 offices covering all but one ward.

"We haven't gone into the 25th yet [Ald. Vito Marzullo's ward] but we're not shying away from any others—and I'm sure we'll be in 25 before this is over," Carey said.

Washington's campaign grew out of a volunteer organization rather than the other way around. A true draft movement, it began with the massive voter registration drives of the summer, surpassing Washington's stated condition that he would run if 50,000 new black voters were put on the rolls.

"People in the poor areas have been as despondent as they can get," said Monica Faith Stewart, volunteer coordinator for Washington. "The pendulum has swung the other way and they are beginning to think that electoral politics is an answer."

Many of those from the registration drive moved to the mayoral campaign. Ten offices are open around the city, with the bulk of the volunteers coming from Washington's congressional district on the Near South Side, a stronghold of black independents.

There have been problems getting a foothold on the Far North and Northwest sides, though an active office has been running at 2507 W. Fullerton. That office shows the best mix of the coalition Washington needs to win: white liberals, blacks, Latinos, poor whites.

Byrne's organization has been planned for many months, orchestrated largely by Ronan, a veteran political organizer who brought in political professionals from several campaigns including Dan Walker's 1975 gubernatorial run.

Byrne's volunteers are strictly her own, not working for any aldermanic candidates.

Ronan said he pushed for a substantive volunteer organization when he realized the success it was having in several suburban legislative races he worked on in the fall.

Said Ronan: "I've seen the difference it can make."
Candidates girding for first debate

Preparations for Tuesday’s first head-to-head mayoral debate are being sandwiched between campaign appearances by all three major Democratic candidates this weekend.

Spokesmen for Mayor Byrne, Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.) and State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley said each planned to spend some time reviewing briefing papers either on Saturday or Sunday.

Tuesday’s one-hour debate, sponsored by the Sun-Times, will focus on city financing and services—how revenues should be raised and spent.

It will be held at the First Chicago Center, Madison and Dearborn, and will be carried live at 7 p.m. by WBBM-TV (Channel 2), WMAQ-TV (Channel 5) and WTTW-TV (Channel 11). WGN-TV (Channel 9) plans to broadcast a videotape of the debate starting at 10:30 p.m. Tuesday.

James Hoge, publisher of the Sun-Times, will serve as moderator.

Posing questions for the candidates will be a panel consisting of Elinor Elam, vice president of the Chicago League of Women Voters; Robert H. Jordan of WGN-TV; Carol Marin of WMAQ-TV, and Basil Talbott Jr., Sun-Times political editor.

The on-again-off-again debate issue was resolved Thursday when the three candidates agreed to a package of four debates. The final three one-hour debates and their subjects:

- Next Saturday, police and law enforcement, sponsored by radio station WBMX at 11 a.m. in the Conrad Hilton Hotel.
- Jan. 27, jobs and economic development, hosted by the Chicago Urban League, at 7 p.m. in the Conrad Hilton Hotel.
- Jan. 31, two or three categories to be determined, sponsored by the Chicago League of Women Voters at 8 p.m. at Clemente High School, 1147 N. Western.

The format for Tuesday’s debate calls for each candidate to make an introductory statement of three minutes.

Then questions will be put to the candidates, with the sequence of candidates and questions determined by lot. Other ground rules are:

- Each question must be limited to 30 seconds, with no multipart questions allowed.
- The candidate must limit his or her answer to two minutes.
- Each question will be entitled to a follow-up question, with the answer limited to one minute.
- The two opponents will be entitled to one-minute responses to each candidate’s answer.
- There will be no closing statements.

As for the audience, 100 seats will be reserved for the media, 100 seats will be reserved for each of the candidates and 100 seats will be available to representatives of civic organizations and guests of the Sun-Times.

Tuesday’s debate, as well as the subsequent ones, will be produced for television by WTTW.

The Sun-Times presents
the first Democratic mayoral debate

Tuesday, January 18, 7 p.m.

WTTW is producing the debate for television which will be aired live by WBBM-TV (Channel 2), WMAQ-TV (Channel 5) and WTTW-TV (Channel 11).

Videotape broadcast by WGN-TV (Channel 9) at 10:30 p.m.

The Sun-Times debate panel will consist of Elinor Elam, vice president of the Chicago League of Women Voters; Robert H. Jordan, of WGN-TV (Channel 9); Carol Marin, of WMAQ-TV (Channel 5), and Basil Talbott Jr., Sun-Times political editor. James Hoge, publisher of the Sun-Times, will be moderator.

Keep reading the Sun-Times for all the news on the race for mayor!
3 warm up for mayoral debate

By Brian J. Kelly

Chicago’s three major Democratic mayoral candidates Monday prepared to confront each other—and a potential television audience of 2.5 million people—in the first of a series of debates set for Tuesday night.

From 7 to 8 p.m., four television channels and two radio stations will give live coverage to the debate among Mayor Byrne, State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley and Rep. Harold Washington.

Sponsored by the Sun-Times, the debate will focus on city finances and services. It will be held in the 500-seat auditorium of the First National Bank of Chicago at Dearborn and Madison. All tickets were distributed in advance to the candidates, media and civic groups.

THE THREE major Chicago television stations (Channels 2, 5 and 7) plus the public TV outlet (Channel 11) will be broadcasting live. WGN-TV (Channel 9) will show a tape delay at 10:30 p.m. Radio stations WFMT-FM (89.7) and WBBM-AM (780) will broadcast live.

The combined audience of the five television stations on an average weekday is almost 2.5 million viewers, though many live in the suburbs. Chicago has approximately 1.5 million registered voters.

WLS-TV (Channel 7) plans to conduct a telephone poll after the debate, asking viewers to call in with their opinions of who won.

The moderator of the debate is James Hoge, Sun-Times publisher. Panelists are Elinor Elam, vice president of the Chicago League of Women Voters; Robert H. Jordan, of WGN-TV (Channel 9); Carol Marin, of WMAQ-TV (Channel 5), and Basil Talbott Jr., the newspaper’s political editor. James Hoge, Sun-Times publisher, will moderate the first debate involving all three major Democratic candidates—Mayor Byrne, Richard M. Daley and Rep. Harold Washington.

In addition to announcing the names of those who will question the candidates, WBBM-TV (Channel 2), WMAQ-TV and WTTW (Channel 11) have agreed to carry the debate live from First Chicago Center, 7 to 8 p.m. on Jan. 18, and that WGN-TV plans to broadcast a videotape of the debate that night at 10:30 p.m.

WTTW is providing pool coverage for other television and radio stations that will broadcast the debate.

FOLLOWING ARE profiles of the moderator and panelists:

Hoge, publisher of the Sun-Times since June, 1960, brings to the debate his experience as moderator of the 1976 vice presidential debates between Walter F. Mondale and Robert J. Dole and of many public affairs and press seminars. His association with the newspaper goes back to 1958 when he started as a reporter. He has served as Washington correspondent, city editor, managing editor and editor. Before his appointment as publisher, Hoge served as Sun-Times editor-in-chief.

Elam is vice president of the Chicago League of Women Voters and her efforts for that organization are directed toward housing, community development and local government. She serves on the city’s Community Development Advisory Committee and is chairman of its housing committee. A former president of the league, she’s also active in “keeping tabs” on the City Council for the league.

JORDAN has covered breaking political stories since he started with WGN-TV almost 10 years ago. He is a field reporter and weekend news anchor for the “9 O’Clock News.” From 1978 to 1980, he worked for the CBS network. For WGN, he has completed documentaries on the “Price of Dying,” the child murders case in Atlanta and the second Chicago national conventions; the presidential debates in 1980, and the inauguration of President Reagan.

Talbott covers local, state and national politics in a twice-weekly column and in day-to-day reports. He joined the Sun-Times in 1962 as a police reporter, later serving on the rewrite desk and as a local reporter. He started his career with the City News Bureau of Chicago. Talbott appears weekly with Chicago Tribune columnist Vernon Jarrett on “Eye to Eye,” a commentary segment on the “4:30” news magazine on WLS-TV, and is a regular guest on “Chicago Week in Review” on WTTW.

3 prepare for mayor debate

Continued from Page 4

because we don’t have anywhere near the funds that the other candidates have,” said campaign manager Al Raby. “What Washington is doing is familiarizing himself with the nuts-and-bolts details of city government.”

Byrne, who remained in City Hall, had her campaign staff test her with a series of questions that might be raised by the panelists. She also met with media adviser David Sawyer.
3 mayoral candidates clash sharply on taxes

By Hugh Hough

State's Attorney Richard M. Daley joined Mayor Byrne in opposition to a state income tax increase, while Rep. Harold Washington repeated his support for such a tax boost in their first debate Tuesday night.

Daley's first declaration against a tax increase came as the three principal

Democratic mayoral candidates discussed city finances and services in a televised confrontation.

The question of taxes—a higher state income tax or possible alternative taxes—dominated much of the discussion in the Sun-Times sponsored debate.

Byrne and Daley were quick to voice their opposition to any new taxes while Washington held to the need for the higher state income tax he first espoused on Monday. Washington also defended another new tax he has proposed—a $340 million statewide tax levy on utilities.

Byrne, meanwhile, vigorously disputed her opponents' estimates of tax increases that ranged from $500 million to $1 billion during her tenure as mayor. She put the actual figure at $298.7 million and said that much was needed because of the fiscal mess in which she found the city and such agencies as the Board of Education when she took office. Byrne, in rejecting her opponents' attacks, sounded a familiar campaign theme by characterizing Chicago

Turn to Page 4

MAYOR BYRNE makes a point as Rep. Harold Washington (left) and State's Attorney Richard M. Daley listen at Tuesday night's mayoral debate. (Sun-Times Photo by Pete Souza)
Candidates clash sharply on taxes

Continued from Page 1 as a "city that's beginning to work again."

Washington was pressed by a panel member about his suggestion for a 1 percent increase in the income tax and such other measures as the utility levy that would bring Chicago an estimated $111 million annually in additional revenue.

VOICING SKEPTICISM that the Legislature would pass such a package to aid Chicago, the panelist asked whether Washington would find the money if his plan failed to pass.

The congressman said he was confident his proposals would pass but, if not, he'd go over the city budget line by line and cut out enormous amounts of fat. Washington said he'd start "with the mayor's office, where the budget is up over 100 percent. Other city agencies deserving "hard looks," he said, included streets and sanitation and other city services.

Daley, in a responding statement, said he saw no need for an increase in the state income tax. Daley also said new revenues for the city should come from the paring of current city expenditures.

In response to a later question on taxes and city income, Daley charged that the Byrne administration had been remiss in seeking additional funding from the Legislature for city agencies such as the CTA and the schools.

He charged that Byrne's only aim in the last session was to "save Charles Swibel and ChicagoFest," contending that the principal bills pushed by Chicago legislators were aimed at saving the chairmanship position Swibel formerly held at the Chicago Housing Authority and obtaining state money for ChicagoFest.

The hourlong debate was the first of four scheduled before the Feb. 22 Democratic primary.

THERE WERE repeated questions from panelists on where new money from Chicago could be found.

As both Byrne and Daley continued to resist the idea of any new taxes, Washington drew laughter from the audience when he said his opponents could "run from [the panelist's] question, but they can't hide."

He again said a higher state income tax was needed, with breaks for low- and middle-income taxpayers, to raise any new revenue.

Asked if his proposed utility tax wasn't a regressive one that would be passed on to already hard-pressed utility users, Washington said that he could cite no precedent for avoiding the pass-on but that his city corporation counsel would fight against it.

Daley rejected such a utility tax as potentially "devastating" to consumers.

Washington, in his opening three-minute statement, charged that "Jane Byrne is destroying our city."

Under Byrne's tenure, Washington charged, unemployment has increased over 100 percent. He repeated charges that Byrne had "blundered" in her roles with the CTA and the Board of Education.

As for her 1983 budget, Washington termed it "a fiscal time bomb that is set to explode after the mayoral election."

As mayor, Washington said, he would restore the city's financial "viability and provide jobs."

Daley's opening statement also took the form of an attack on the current Byrne budget and earlier ones.

HOLDING UP a copy of the city budget, he said, "These documents reveal taxes are $460 million higher than when the mayor took office ... city debt is more than $140 million higher than 1979."

In short, Daley charged, Byrne has "mortgaged the future."

As for himself, Daley said that as mayor he would "focus on human needs, not festivals. . . ."

In rebuttal, Byrne said, "Everybody knows the story: Four years ago the city, the School Board and the CTA faced almost a billion dollars in debt. The only 'choice,' sad and hard as it was, was to raise taxes."

She said she now has turned that situation around, reducing taxes in the 1983 budget. She cited a real estate tax drop of $22 million and in the employee head tax of $8 million.

She said the "real issues" in the campaign are "jobs and the economic future of this city" and that her 10-year plan covering $5 billion worth of city improvements held the answers to those problems.

"We are headed in the right direction," she said. Then, in a remark obviously aimed at the TV audience, she added, "I really have enjoyed working for you."

BYRNE WAS asked about the proposed 1992 Chicago World's Fair—and the shortage of information on its likely cost and its sources of revenue.

She reminded the questioner that funding of the fair isn't an official city responsibility but said the fair would bring the city $36,000 new construction jobs and 75 million visitors.

Washington said he remained uncertain whether the city could afford a fair, saying many questions about it remained to be answered, such as who would get the fair contracts, or "gravy" as he termed it.

He asked: "How far will the [Lake Michigan] land fill go, to Michigan City?"

Daley also injected a light note when he said it wasn't as easy to object to the fair as it was to object to the first ChicagoFest. Byrne had campaigned vigorously against ChicagoFest four years ago and then befoe the festival after her election.

The face-to-face confrontation gave the candidates an opportunity to offer their views to a potential television audience of 2.5 million people, many of whom live in the suburbs. Chicago has about 1.5 million registered voters. Several radio stations also broadcast the hourlong event.

Tuesday's debate was held in the First Chicago Center at the First National Bank Building, Dearborn and Madison. All tickets were distributed in advance to the candidates, media and civic groups.

Serving as moderator was James Hoge, Sun-Times publisher. Panelists were Elion Elam, vice president of the Chicago League of Women Voters; Robert H. Jordan, a reporter from WGN-TV; Carol Marin, a reporter from WMAQ-TV, and Basil Talbott Jr., Sun-Times political editor.

Following the debate, Byrne declined to reveal the candidates' performances. "I don't think you can ever tell," she said. "You have to make your points, and we tried to make our points."

Washington told reporters, "I felt that we got to some of the issues of the campaign, but I was disturbed about the answers as to how would a shortfall of city revenues be met. I would have hoped [for] some candid answers.

Daley called the debate "helpful, but I think the people will have to judge who won. I don't think anybody won."

The next debate, sponsored by WBIX-FM, will be at 11 a.m. Sunday at the Conrad Hilton, 720 S. Michigan. The topic will be public safety and crime.

Also contributing to this story were Brian J. Kelly, Lynn Sweet and Lillian Williams.
Dems clash over taxes in debate

By David Axelrod
Political writer

THE THREE MAJOR Democratic candidates for mayor met Tuesday night in their first debate, clash-
ning over the size of city tax increases in the last four years and on whether
new increases will be required for
the city, its schools and public trans-
sit.

Mayor Jane Byrne defended her
performance in office in the
television forum on city finances, ex-
plaining tax increases earlier in her
term as a painful remedy to a myri-
ad of financial problems she inherit-
ed from previous administrations.

and State’s Atty. Richard Daley said
the city’s problems have been ex-
cerated by erratic management
and wasteful practices under Byrne
that have left Chicago in a continu-
ing fiscal bind.

Washington said the city’s
problems, coupled with those of the
public schools and Chicago Transit

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Authority, require a 1 percent in-
crease in the state’s income tax and
an increase in a state tax on utilities.

BYRNE AND DALEY, who agreed
on little else, were unequivocal in
their opposition to any new or in-
creased state or local taxes.

After months of haggling over de-
bate details, the three major conten-
ders in the Feb. 22 primary finally
met on the same stage in a small
auditorium of the First National
Bank building, in the first of four
planned encounters.

Little of the rancor that has char-
acterized the campaign surfaced
Tuesday night, as the candidates, in
the main, avoided personal attacks.

The lone exception came at the
outset, when Washington lashed
the harshest attack of the evening.

“I’m running for mayor in order
Jane Byrne is destroying the city of
Chicago,” he declared, accusing the
mayor of “fighting for control of city
patronage . . . and fat-cat city con-
tracts for her cronies” at the taxpay-
ers’ expense.

ALLUDING TO the fact that Illi-
nois residents learned of the state’s
financial crisis just days after re-
ecting Gov. James R. Thompson,
Daley hoisted the mayor’s budget in
the air and said, “We don’t have to
wait until the next election is over to
find out the city urgently needs sound
financial management.”

Byrne, who stood on a platform
to boost her to the height of her op-
ponents, arched her eyebrows in sur-
prise at the stridency of Washington’s remark. But he
sometimes combative mayor main-
tained a cool demeanor throughout
the debate sponsored by the Chicago
Sun-Times, showing no visible irrita-
tion as her opponents savaged her
administration.

Instead, she argued that she has
saved the city from financial ruin
and has steered it on a positive course.

“What we see today is a city that
has turned the corner when com-
pared to other cities,” the mayor
boasted, pointing to her 1983 budget
as evidence of the city’s fiscal
health.

“AS WE INCREASE services and
improve the infrastructure of the
city, we’re reducing property taxes
by $22 million and the head (em-
ployee) tax by $8 million.”

One point all three candidates
quibbled about was the size of tax
increases under Byrne’s administra-

Washington began by accusing the
mayor of increasing taxes by $550
million in four years. Daley laid $480
million increases at Byrne’s door-
step and suggested that she actually
must bear some responsibility for $1
billion in total increases when other
local taxing bodies, such as the Chi-
cago Board of Education, are added in.

The mayor said the figure is much
lower.

“The actual increase—though we
were not happy about it; it was the
only way to keep the city going—was
$296.7 million,” the mayor said.

BYRNE POINTED to the sale of
city notes this week at a desirable
5.77 percent interest rate as a sign
that the financial community has
confidence in her administration.

Both of Byrne’s opponents insisted
that the mayor’s budget, which she
calls balanced, will have a substan-
tial gap in 1984. They parted com-
pany on what to do about it, however.

Ruling out new taxes, Daley said
he would rely upon greater efficien-
cies, a rollback in executive salaries
and a curbing of consultant con-
tracts.

Washington scoffed at the no-tax
posture of his opponents, lecturing
Daley and Byrne that they “can run
but they can’t hide” on the need for
new taxes.

“You can run... but I will chal-
TV debate

When you are in every neighborhood of this city to tell us what you will do to sustain the educational system of this city and what you will do to balance the budget of the city in 1984," said Washington, drawing applause from his partisans in the audience.

HE SAID A STATE income tax increase should include a higher exemption that would reduce income taxes for Chicagoans who earn $16,000 or less. But he offered no revenue-raising alternatives, other than increased federal aid, if the state legislature rejects his plan, just as the lawmakers have balked at other tax increases in recent years.

While Byrne and Daley hedged on whether they would be willing to cut the city payroll, Washington promised to take a line-item veto to several departments he contended are bloated or unnecessary, such as the Department of Neighborhoods, the Department of Consumer Services and the Office of Municipal Investigations.

On the question of aid to schools and transit, Daley said he would work more closely with the legislature than has Byrne to solve the problems, but didn't specify what shape that solution might take.

AFTER THE DEBATE, Daley told reporters that he would seek a greater share of existing state revenues to aid schools and mass transit.

The mayor touted the city's 10-year program for improving public works and said preparations for the 1984 World's Fair, which the city attracted under her administration, would be a major boon.

"When you talk about plans for the World's Fair and getting it moving, you have about 36,000 construction jobs for the city of Chicago, and the beginning of a new lakefront," she said, assuming one of the panel of questioners that Chicagoans would not wind up financing the fair through higher taxes.

Washington and Daley said they reserve judgment on the desirability of a fair.

EACH OF THE candidates later professed satisfaction with the first head-to-head debate, although Byrne accused her opponents of using inaccurate figures, and Daley confessed to some initial jitters.

"If we were all kind of queasy at first, but you expect that and you do the best you can," he said.

The mayor's camp was heartened by several post-debate surveys-two taken by television stations and one by her own pollster-which showed her to be the "winner." Two of the polls showed Washington in second place, and a third showed Washington and Daley tied.

Viewers rehash debate: 3 foes all score points

By Jerry Crimmins and Andy Fegelman

"HAROLD WASHINGTON won [the debate], but I'm gonna vote for Mayor Byrne," Louise Robinson said.

She was among 12 people, all 65 or older, who watched the mayoral debate on television at a Chicago Housing Authority senior citizens' apartment building at 116 W. Elm St.

"Mayor Byrne walked into a lot of problems [when she was elected]. I think if we give her another chance, she'll do a terrific job," Robinson said.

A man sitting beside Robinson interrupted to say that he didn't think Byrne was very smart.

"If she ain't smart, why did Mayor Daley pick her [as head of consumer services]?" Robinson shot back.

THEY WERE rehashing their opinions of the debate and of the candidates.

"I think we've been fooled enough by Mayor Byrne," an unidentified black man said, "and I don't think [Richard] Daley's got enough knowledge to do (the job). I think he's too young.

He said he liked Harold Washington "because he brought more points to his argument." William O'Neal said he liked Washington as the best debater "because he spoke more clearly," but he hastened to add that this does not mean he will vote for Washington.

SIDNEY DEKOVEN picked Washington as the best debater and Byrne as the worst. "The mayor was mostly on the defensive," he said, while Washington "made the best points."

"Daley is okay, but Byrne has more experience. Daley is too young," said Lazar Redekovich, 85, who said he thought Byrne was the best debater.

Washington "made the best speech, but I don't think he could do more than the rest of them [if elected]," said Albert Bradley, a black man. He said he thought Daley was the worst of the lot.

A South Side woman, Jean Ryan, called The Tribune immediately following the debate to offer this opinion: "I thought Daley was by far the best. He answered the questions direct and the other two made speeche.

AT LOYOLA UNIVERSITY downtown campus on Rush Street, another dozen persons, most of them students, watched the debate studiously while a number of others drifted in and out of a lounge off the cafeteria on the first floor.

"What I saw is, [Washington] is willing to speak to the issues, to talk about raising taxes and where the money would go," said John Sotos, 19, a business student from the Northwest Side.

"He took me a little more his way, and I'll investigate more what he has to say." "Jane won," said Brenda Donovan, 24, a first-year law student from the Near North Side. "She's the best of the speakers." But he added that debates alone won't win his vote.

"This is just your typical debate," he said. "The incumbent [is] defending himself against an attack by people who don't have anything to show themselves.

They all avoided the difficult answers, such as whether to increase taxes, except for Harold [Washington], who wants to raise them but his reasons are suspect."

Donovan said he thought the debates would be a big factor in the election.

ANDY GADSON, 27, a computer operator who moved to Chicago from Washington a week ago, said he thought Washington showed up better. "I think that Washington is a much clearer speaker than the other two. He speaks very graphically," Gadson said, adding that he would consider working for Washington.

"Harold Washington is a booby," said Gary Ross, of Wilmette, whose wife is a Loyola student. "Of the three, Daley had a little better grasp of the facts and figures, and Byrne messed up on the defense as expected. Washington talked in circles."
Experts give Byrne the edge; Washington a close 2nd . . .

By Tom McNamee

Mayor Byrne was a stateswoman. Harold Washington was "amiably aggressive." And Richard M. Daley "came off poorly."

Three debate and television experts who watched the first debate Tuesday among the three leading Democratic candidates for mayor awarded Byrne the edge, praising her for having a great speech writer, a classy wardrobe and a newfound penchant for composure.

Rep. Washington (D-Ill.) fared almost as well among the experts and was lauded for projecting personal integrity and a strong sense of humor. State's Attorney Daley, however, seldom scored points.

"Daley didn't even fill out his speaking time," Linda Cesario, a debate coach at Buffalo Grove High School, said. "He didn't seem to have the details. Extemporaneous speaking is the lifeline of the politician and he should practice that to fill out every golden TV moment."

Cesario evaluated the debate performance along with Joseph Williams, professor of English and linguistics at the University of Chicago, and Sterling "Red" Quinlan, vice president of IDC Services and a self-employed media consultant.

The trio of experts gave the edge to Byrne early in the debate, pointing out her skill at deflecting possibly damaging attacks by being the first to acknowledge mistakes made by her administration.

"It's her strongest point," Cesario said. "She builds in answers to criticisms that she anticipates will come."

Byrne also wore clothes that complemented the backdrop drapes and maintained the "laconic and calm" manner appropriate for an incumbent, Cesario said. The experts noted that Byrne's once-famous "shoot-from-the-lip" style of argument never surfaced.

In contrast, Washington initially appeared nervous, but "hit his stride" and was "amiably aggressive" later in the debate, while Daley projected the image of a "mean welterweight," Williams said.

"Washington projected a great mature intensity," Williams said. "He accomplished what he hoped to do tonight. I could see Washington beginning to move people."

As perhaps the least known of the three candidates, the experts said, Washington's first task was to convey an image of trustworthiness. Issues were of secondary importance.

"There is a Washington now that we know," Quinlan said. "He's shown himself to be articulate, a man of integrity. His job in the next debates will be to grow and show an ability to learn the details."

The experts, however, described Daley as his father's son—minus the charisma. They focused on Daley's speaking ability, his style before the television cameras and a perceived evasiveness.

Watching Daley, Williams shook his head and said, "Well, his syntax is just a complete mess. He simply cannot put together a complete sentence."

"His father [Mayor Richard J. Daley] talked the same way, but was so likeable nobody cared," Williams said. "Rich came off poorly."

Quinlan observed that Daley repeatedly addressed his remarks to the four-person panel of questioners, rather than speaking to the camera.

Sun-Times, WBBM-TV poll of mayoral debate

Who do you think came out ahead in the debate—

Jane Byrne? 32%
Richard M. Daley? 17%
Harold Washington? 21%
or, no one candidate? 30%

Did the debate change your mind about which candidate to support?

Yes 11%
No 89%

No 'winner' in debate-viewer poll

By Donald M. Schwartz

Mayor Byrne appeared to have a slight edge over the two other Democratic mayoral candidates in the first debate Tuesday, but there was no clear winner because of a large undecided vote, a telephone survey showed.

Although 32 percent of those interviewed preferred Byrne's performance, an almost equal number—30 percent—preferred "no one candidate." In addition, the poll has a margin of error plus or minus 6 percent.

In a one-hour poll after the first televised debate among Byrne, State's Attorney Richard M. Daley and Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.), the Sun-Times-Channel 2 NewsPoll reached 252 registered Chicago voters who had seen or heard the debate and asked them:

"Who do you think came out ahead in the debate?"

AFTER THE 32 percent who voted for Byrne, 21 percent preferred Washington, 17 percent said Daley and "no one candidate" was a strong challenger at 30 percent, showed the poll, conducted by Market Shares Corp.

The percentage of viewers in the Sun-Times-Channel 2 NewsPoll who thought no candidate came out ahead not only rivaled Byrne; that percentage topped both Washington and Daley by a sizable margin.

But although a lot of the viewers seemed lukewarm about the whole thing, some voters questioned at random by Sun-Times reporters had decided opinions.

Frances V. Duffy, an 82-year-old retired telephone company supervisor living on the North Side, said of the mayor's debate performance:

"I think she is a very capable and brilliant girl. She has more expertise than Daley."

Duffy also thought Daley and Washington were "in cahoots to knock her out of the box . . . because men begrudge a woman having a job like that."
'Man in Street' calls Washington winner in first mayoral debate

by Chinta Strausberg

Reaction to the first mayoral debate held Tuesday was strongly in favor of Congressman Harold Washington as the winner.

Most people polled by the Chicago Defender said Washington clearly was the winner, and a far Southside couple, Doctors Hubert E. Dudley, and his wife, Claretta Hodges, agreed that Washington was more "realistic and honest" than the other two candidates.

Dudley told the Chicago Defender Wednesday, "I like the way he handled himself," and his wife, Dr. Hodges said, "He presented himself in a very professional manner and was well prepared. His presentation was beautiful; in fact, it was better than I expected.

"Byrne, on the other hand, did a poor job of defending herself, and Daley was good but a little too young and inexperienced. He's just not ready yet. He isn't Mayor Daley yet... maybe in a few more years."

But Millitha Whitsell, 28, of Calumet Park, said she was disappointed in the debates because "everybody was putting each other down." Whitsell believes that Daley will win because "his father did a good job...and why not another Daley in?" she said.

Asked if Byrne could win this election, Whitsell said, "No. I don't think so because all of these good things she's doing for people just before election...why didn't she do them before now? Byrne reneged on her promises too much for me. She changes her mind too much for me, and Washington...I don't know that much about him."

Bertha Neals, who lives on the Southside, said she too favored Washington in the debates because he was "very astute." Neals said Byrne was very evasive, and she added, "Daley has a lot to learn."

Cornelius Foster, 19, a student at DeVry Institute, said the debates were very informative and that all of the candidates responded well. "I believe that Washington stood out," he said "because he brought out facts how Byrne mismanaged the city."

"When Washington spoke it was like he spoke for the people. Daley spoke on issues and like Byrne did not offer any proof."

Charlotte Clemens said the debates weren't very good and said "Washington is holding his own. He out did the other two candidates."

Asked why, Clemens said, "Washington seems to be more direct, honest, and I liked the way he answered questions. He wasn't evasive."

Hardy Rufin, a retired Army-Captain, told the Defender Washington was the winner because he was "stronger and more aggressive." He added, "I liked the way he challenged the other two candidates to face up to the issues of unemployment, taxes, and of cutting the fat out of city government."

Bonnie Hardwick, a housewife and freee-
(continued on page 12)

Mayoral candidate Harold Washington was grilled by reporters Tuesday night after the first of four scheduled mayoral debates. Washington said he'd much preferred to have a looser format where the candidates could question each other. (Defender photo by John Gunn.)

'Small man' likes Washington

(continued from page 5)

 lance journalist, said all three performed well better than she anticipated, but that Washington "came off better."

The second mayoral debate will be held Sunday, January 23rd at 11:00 a.m. at the Conrad Hilton Hotel in the Boulevard Room. It is being sponsored by WBMM and will be hosted by Derrick Hill.

On January 27th, the mayoral debate, sponsored by the Chicago Urban League and the City Club of Chicago, will be held at 7:00 p.m. at the Conrad Hilton Hotel. The topics will be jobs and economic development, and this reporter will be one of the panelist.

On January 31st, the Chicago League of Women Voters will sponsor a mayoral debate at 8:00 p.m. at the Clemente High School, 1147 N. Western on two or three unspecified subjects.
Round 2 for mayor: Pow! Biff! Slam!

Debate sparring goes far afield

By David Axelrod
Political writer

THE THREE MAJOR Democratic mayoral candidates met in a rousing debate Sunday morning, trading verbal jabs on public safety, jobs and taxes, organized crime and police brutality before 2,300 enthusiastic partisans who lent a prizefight air to the event.

For the second time in as many debates, U.S. Rep. Harold Washington [D., Ill.] was the aggressor, describing Chicago as "the organized crime capital of the world," promising an independent civilian panel to review brutality complaints and vowing to dismiss Police Supt. Richard Brzezneck as one of his first acts if elected.

But Mayor Jane Byrne and State's Atty. Richard M. Daley, who will face Washington in the Feb. 22 primary, each scored points as well in the hour-long, televised debate, which was to have focused on crime and public safety but strayed far afield.

BORROWING AN approach from Daley's father, the late Mayor Richard J. Daley, Byrne took an it's-easy-to-criticize posture. She defied her opponents to attack her 1983 tax

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An enthusiastic member of the audience jumps from her seat to cheer for her favorite mayoral candidate Sunday during a debate at the Conrad Hilton Hotel.

Partisans cheer, jeer 3 candidates

By R. Bruce Dold and Joyce Brown

LIKE THREE carnival barkers calling "Step right up!" the Democratic candidates for mayor played up to a feisty and rollicking crowd Sunday at the first in a series of debates open to the public.

"I couldn't believe the excitement; the place was cracking," said Georganne Bartosik, 38, one of 2,300 people who crammed into the International Ballroom of the Conrad Hilton Hotel for a debate sponsored by radio station WBEN-FM that turned into an old-fashioned, street-corner political rally.

"I thought it was a circus, the way people were raving and raving and clapping and screaming," said Nancy Rotroff, 29. Campaign supporters began

Continued on page 8, col. 4
Candidates

Continued from page one

reductions, her recent increase in the size of the police force, her temporary jobs program and the fact that street-gang homicides have dropped in the last year.

"I've learned that if you aren't criticized, you really haven't done anything," she said, touting her accomplishments and shrugging off the barbs of her opponents.

Daley stressed his two-year record as county prosecutor in fighting crime and in improving minority hiring in the state's attorney's office, and he criticized the mayor for a net reduction of 350 in the number of Chicago police officers since Byrne took office in 1979.

BOTH DALEY and Washington accused the mayor of judging on statistics to make it appear as if crime is down in Chicago under her administration.

"The mayor has ignored two simple facts," Daley said. "Crime in Chicago is much more serious than ever before and the number of officers on the streets is down."

"The mayor's office," Washington said, "is ravaged by crime. My opponents' solutions are phony statistics and Madison Avenue hype."

"The debate," he continued, "was a disgraceful display of cheap rhetoric, a smear attack on my record.

"There are no simple solutions to crime," Washington said. "We need a comprehensive approach that addresses the root causes of crime."
2nd mayoral debate targets crime, safety

By Larry Weintraub

The second of four scheduled public debates among the three major Democratic mayoral candidates will be held Sunday — on crime and public safety.

The confrontation among Mayor Byrne, State's Attorney Richard M. Daley and Rep. Harold Washington (D-III), sponsored by radio station WBMX-FM (102.7), will be aired by that station.

The candidates' presentations also will be televised live from 11 a.m. until noon, and rebroadcast from 8 until 9 p.m., by WTTW (Channel 11).

WFMT-FM (98.7) radio plans to broadcast the program on a tape-delayed basis from noon to 1 p.m. Other radio stations had planned to cover the debate live, but dropped those plans at the last moment in wrangling with WBMX management over broadcast rights, spokesmen said.

The event will take place in the International Ballroom of the Conrad Hilton Hotel, 720 S. Michigan. Some 2,200 seats will be available free to the public on a first-come, first-served basis.

Candidates will be questioned by Sun-Times City Hall reporter Harry Golden Jr. and Tribune reporter Monroe Anderson. Written questions submitted by the audience also will be asked of the debaters by Derek Hill of WBMX, the moderator.

Hill said that, because a radio station is the debate sponsor, the federal equal time rule applies. Therefore, WBMX will air a 90-minute debate from 10:30 a.m. until noon next Sunday among the other mayoral candidates—Republican Bernard Epton, Socialist Ed Warren and Democrats Sheila Jones, Frank Ranallo and William Markowski.

The first debate, sponsored by The SunTimes, was held Wednesday night on city services and financing.

The third is set for 7 p.m. Thursday in the Hilton. The final debate will be at 8 p.m., Jan. 31 at Clemente High School.

Second-guessing debate

The worst place to judge who comes out ahead in a candidate debate may be from the chair of a questioning panelist. I can testify to that as one of the reporters who grilled the three major 1983 mayoral prospects Tuesday night.

As a panelist, I was more concerned about whether another reporter would appropriate my best question and leave me speechless than what the candidates were saying. Also, the decorum required in a debate was uncomfortable for a reporter used to wringing his prey mercilessly to get a direct answer. I felt like a police reporter at a debutante's ball.

My discomfort was not at all hidden by the makeup applied by WTTW's freelance artist to all of us on the panel. It has taken me a long time to get used to using a tape recorder in my newspaper work. A pencil and paper were good enough for years. Must I now stuff Max Factor's Tan 2 in the pockets of my trench coat?

My confessions as a debate panelist could go on much further. During the week before the debate, newfound political pals called me with advice on questions. An aide to one candidate pulled me aside a few days ago and generously offered a scoop that could have framed the context of the debate. The suggested questions were lousy and the scoop didn't pan out.

I finally worked out some decent questions working with reporters on the paper. Rep. Harold Washington anticipated one I planned to ask, but a substitute popped into my mind. State's Attorney Rich Daley was able to score big with my question to him because I didn't have time to ask a followup to push him down. I didn't get to question Mayor Byrne.

It took me a few moments to scrub off my makeup and get out my pencil after the wires were up. I started circulating in the audience of about 500 people to get some idea of how the candidates came off. It didn't take me long to conclude that the high-stakes debate didn't seem to have swayed many.

There were so many partisans in the crowd that I didn't get a very frank appraisal of who won. So I asked who was second, and most said it was Washington.

Cook County Democratic Chairman Eddie Vrdolyak, newspaperman-turned-consultant Bill Griffin and Ald. Roman Pucinski—all Byrne backers—picked Washington as No. 2. So did Phil Krone, Bill Daley, Sen. Jerry Joyce and Committee man Tom Lyons—all Daley friends.

The strong Washington showing was seconded by Channel 5's Jim Riddle, Channel 9's Joel Weisman and political strategist Don Rose on Channel 7, who all declared him the winner. Channel 2's Walter Jacobson boomed he was bored.

Phone polls and debate coaches gave Byrne the highest marks—her reward for following the script of media mesmerist David Sawyer. Neither challenger has yet put a scratch on the New Jane that Sawyer created with nearly $1 million in 30-second TV spots. Jay McMullen and Chuck Swibel would have been proud, if only Sawyer had let them be there.

It's hard to argue with the judgment that Washington gained most. Still, Byrne didn't lose the lead she has had. Sawyer kept the lid on the Jay-in-the-Box.
Candidates face off on crime and police

By Brian J. Kelly and Barry Cronin

If Rep. Harold Washington is elected mayor, he would demand the immediate resignation of Police Supt. Richard J. Brzeczek, Washington said Sunday as the Democratic mayoral candidates clashed in the second of their debates. Mayor Byrne defended Brzeczek, saying she intended to keep him. State's Attorney Richard M. Daley criticized the administration of the Police Department, but said he did "not want to get into personalities."

Before a cheering, hooting crowd of more than 2,000, the three candidates focused on the issue of public safety, which mostly meant crime and the conduct of the city's police, though the city's economy and race relations

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CONTENDERS: Mayor Byrne, Richard M. Daley and Harold Washington stand in place during the debate Sunday. (Sun-Times Photo by Phil Velasquez)
Candidates face off on crime and police

Continued from Page 1

The Fire Department, the other half of the city's public safety responsibility, was not mentioned by any candidate.

The debate, at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, was sponsored by WBDMX-FM. Unlike the quiet, tense atmosphere of the first debate, supporters of all three candidates packed the giant ballroom, with Washington seeming to draw the most backers followed by Byrne, then Daley.

TO SOME EXTENT, the crowd and the candidates' reactions to it overshadowed the issues. Faction chanted, heckled and groaned.

Washington set the tone in his opening statement, playing to the crowd with a series of rhetorical questions that drew loud responses.

"Is there anyone out there who feels safe to walk the streets of this city at night?"

"No!"

"Is there anyone out there who does not know someone, or who has not himself been robbed or raped or burglarized?"

"No!"

Later, both Daley and Washington made pleas for quiet, and the moderator, Derek Hill of WBDMX, threatened to have security guards remove anyone causing a disturbance.

At one point Daley reacted angrily to a question that suggested "racism abounds" in his home neighborhood.

"I'm sick and tired of these vicious and unworthy attacks," he said to a mixed chorus of cheers and boos. "There are many good people in my neighborhood and I will defend them. There are a few bad people in my neighborhood and I will prosecute them."

First poll results slated

First results in the Sun-Times/Channel 5 Poll on the Democratic mayoral primary race will appear in Tuesday morning editions of this newspaper. Channel 5 will air the findings on its 10 p.m. Monday newscast.

THE QUESTION prompted the other two candidates to ask for unity. Without mentioning Bridgeport, Washington said Chicago was perceived "throughout the country as the most segregated city in the world." He said that "if nothing else comes out of this campaign," he hoped it would make people realize that "this city cannot function until we get [the problem of racism] behind us."

Byrne pulled a phrase from one of her main campaign speeches, claiming that Chicago was "the most American city" because people of "all backgrounds had come here for one reason: the great American dream, and that is that if we really do our best, our kids will be better off."

As he has in recent days, Brzezek drew fire from Byrne's opponents as a symbol of an "unprofessional" department, particularly for making a Byrne campaign commercial. Both also hit at controversial crime statistics that a WBBM-TV (Channel 2) investigation last year said may have been deliberately modified to give an optimistic picture of the city's crime rate.

THE CONGRESSMAN earned a sustained roar when he said, "When I am elected, the day I walk into that office, Mr. Brzezek will go."

Blisttering the superintendent for the commercial, Washington called Brzezek a "minion, a subaltern of the mayor" who had "destroyed his credibility."

"Is there anyone who does not know that under this administration, Chicago's professional police are now Jane Byrne's political police?" Washington said. "Our chief cop is a political prop. Supt. Brzezek must go and Jane Byrne must go."

Daley was less strident in his criticism of Brzezek, though he claimed the department had 350 fewer officers than when Byrne took over. "The mayor ignores two simple facts: crime in Chicago is more serious than before and the number of officers on the streets is down," Daley said.

LOYAL OPPOSITION: Audience members hold up signs proclaiming their favorite candidate during the second debate held among the three Democratic mayoral contenders Sunday at the Conrad Hilton. (Sun-Times Photos by Dom Najolia)
WASHINGTON dominates 2nd meet

By Basil Talbott Jr.
Sun-Times Political Editor

The second 1983 Chicago debate Sunday was geared mostly to black voters, and mayoral contender Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.) dominated the event.

Washington made the only hard news (a pledge to change police superintendents). He also received the most favorable response of the three contenders from the ballroom audience, which chanted, "We want Harold."

The debate was sponsored by radio station WBMX, which aims for a black audience. Moderator Derek Hill and one of the two reporter panelists, Monroe Anderson of the Chicago Tribune, are black, as were many of the 2,200 people in the audience.


The phenomenon of blacks resonating to artful debater Washington should be more worrisome to Mayor Byrne than her chief challengers, Washington and Daley.

The incumbent may have realized that. After the sound was turned off, Byrne turned to her opponents on the platform and said, "This wasn't a debate. It was a rally."

Obviously, Washington is the biggest benefactor of his good showing among blacks. His strategy calls for capturing an overwhelming majority of Chicago black voters.

In the other two camps, the thinking about the black electorate has changed since last year. Strategists in the Daley and Byrne campaigns now say Byrne could have the most to lose if Washington sweeps the black vote. Some Byrne and Daley strategists revised early conventional political wisdom to the contrary. Last year, some commentators and key figures in the Democratic Party said Daley had a greater potential than Byrne to get black voters if no strong black challenger were to enter the Feb. 22 mayoral primary.

Byrne and Daley strategists said Byrne has done better than anticipated in lining up black voters—possibly through her costly television advertising campaign.

At least one recent voter survey has reinforced that new thinking.

One question that lingers is whether Washington's direct pitch to blacks will put her over the top. William Zimmerman, Washington’s media consultant, said his contender must get white votes to convince some blacks that Washington is a candidate with a chance to win. Very little of Washington’s Sunday pitch was aimed specifically at white voters.

Judging the WBXM debate over all, there seemed to be a big loser. There were no obvious goofs by candidates. There was nothing to jolt Byrne from her place as the front-runner four weeks before the primary.

The total number of viewers that saw Sunday’s debate was smaller than the viewers that saw Tuesday’s debate. The WBXM debate was carried over only one TV outlet, WTTW (Channel 11). Although about 2,200 people saw the candidates live at the Conrad Hilton Sunday as compared to the 500 who saw the debate live in the First Chicago Center Tuesday, far fewer viewers saw Sunday’s debate on TV as compared to Tuesday’s.

Two candidates changed their style slightly since the first debate.

Daley appeared more relaxed, referring less to notes than he had in the first debate but still reading opening and closing statements. He also was the first candidate to step out of the role of a question answerer and plead for more calm from the boisterous, partisan audience.

Washington followed Daley later with a similar pitch to the audience. Byrne did not. She stuck to the style of calm delivery she showed in Tuesday’s debate.

Near the end, Byrne departed from her measured approach. She contested Washington’s criticisms and defended Brzeczek—recapturing some of the feistiness that her TV commercials mention but her public appearances lack.
Crime is the subject  CHI/DEF  1-24-83

At the second mayoral debate held Sunday at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, Congressman Washington accused Mayor Byrne of packing the audience with her supporters. A shouting match erupted between Byrne and Washington supporters. (From left) State's Attorney Richard Daley, Washington, Tribune reporter Monroe Anderson, and Sun-Times reporter Harry Golden, Jr. (Defender photo by Merlin Summers)

Debate turns into shouting match between Byrne, Washington backers

by Chinta Strausberg

Mayoral candidate Harold Washington Sunday accused Mayor Byrne of "stacking the deck" with her supporters at the second mayoral debate sponsored by WBMM Sunday at the Conrad Hilton Hotel.

Viewers told the Chicago Defender that the debates turned into a "battle" between Byrne and Washington supporters who jeered and booed their respective candidate.

Dorothy Tillman, civil rights activists and Third Ward aldermanic candidate

(continued from page 1)

the candidates under real stress, just like in city government.

All three candidates gave strong opening statements with the first being Washington who accused Byrne of destroying the city, controlling her political power and buying votes.

Daley held up a copy of the 1983 city budget saying that since Byrne came into office taxes have risen $480 million, $90 million in one-time investments and that the people are paying one-half billion dollars more this year than 4 years ago.

Daley accused Byrne of creating $100 million increase in property taxes, $25 million in new sales taxes, $142 million in taxes on electricity, gas, and telephone in addition to $54 million in new sewer charges and $52 million in increased water charges.

In defense, Mayor Byrne said she is glad to see the city is working again and said that 4 years ago the school board and the CTA had a billion dollar deficit.

"I had to raise the taxes," she said. "I had no other choice. Chicago is stronger financially and our bond ratings are higher than Philadelphia, Boston, and Cleveland."

Byrne said she has increased services while reducing real estate taxes by $22 million including reducing the head tax by 33%, or $8 million.

Washington repeatedly said, that the financial plight of Chicago should be unveiled and that each agency should be scrutinized and the fat excised out. "We should go into an austerity budget," he said.

Daley and Washington accused Byrne of breaking her promises to Chicagians in providing city services and reducing CTA fares while at the same time providing more fests and bridge light fanfares.

Bouquets, brickbats and other pertinent scraps from the cluttered notebook of your friendly neighborhood TV critic:

* THAT LATEST MAYORAL debate among Jane Byrne, Richard M. Daley and Harold Washington was an absolute fiasco—and the fact that it stunk out the joint has to be laid at the doorstep of WBMM-FM (102.7), the radio station that sponsored the Sunday morning give-and-take.

Kernie Anderson, general manager of WBMM, and Derek Hill, the station’s news director, did virtually everything to ensure that Debate No. 2 would be a loser for all concerned. It’s clear that although WBMM is a very profitable station with a lot of listeners, bossman Anderson has yet to learn how to operate the place with any degree of class and dignity. It’s equally obvious that organizing a complex event just isn’t Kernie’s strong suit.

Under the management of Anderson, Hill and WBMM, Sunday’s debate featured a large crowd of spectators who behaved as if they were at a football game. They cheered, booed, catcalled and laughed derisively whenever they felt like it. Indeed, they seemed to be encouraged to do so by the stupid WBMM debate format and by “moderator” Hill, who refused to attempt the slightest semblance of crowd control.

In contrast to the first debate sponsored by the Sun-Times, Sunday’s gathering at times seemed on the verge of collapsing into a near riot.

In fact, candidates Daley and Washington had to admonish the audience members about their boorish behavior. That’s because Hill and his WBMM superiors weren’t smart enough to realize that the Christians-and-lions routine was getting out of hand.

The unruly crowd cut so severely into the candidates’ speaking time—and Byrne and Washington were penalized for it— that questions Harry Golden Jr. of the Sun-Times and Monroe Anderson of the Chicago Tribune fired off a combined total of only three questions.

WBMM and Anderson further botched the debate by barring live coverage by any other radio station. As a result, Chicago’s commercial TV stations canceled their live coverage, because the closed event would have forced them to provide “equal time” to lesser mayoral candidates.

And so the only live TV of the debate belonged to WTTW-Channel 11, where producer Bruce DuMont is spearheading the telecasts of all four mayoral debates. DuMont argued strenuously all last week against the disastrous format that WBMM had strung together. He lost the argument, but was proved thoroughly correct by the absurdity of Sunday’s event.

As for WBMM’s Newman Hill, he had been considered a front-runner for the weekly host’s vacancy on “Common Ground” on WBBM-Channel 2. He certainly didn’t do his cause any good with his inept performance Sunday morning.

By Bruce DJumont
Defender’s reporter to quiz mayoral candidates

by Henry Locke

Chinta Strausberg, a reporter for the Chicago Defender, will be one of three journalists who will question the three major Democratic mayoral candidates in a debate being sponsored Thursday by the Chicago Urban League and the City Club of Chicago. The event will be held at 7 p.m. at the Conrad Hilton Hotel.

Strausberg, a Defender reporter for two years, is a former newscaster, public affairs director and talk-show host for the former WSSD South Shore community radio station.

Other panelists are David Axelrod of the Chicago Tribune and Fran Spellman of WIND radio. John Callaway of WTTW-Channel 11 will serve as moderator. This is the third debate of the candidates.

Mayor Jane Byrne, Rep. Harold Washington and State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley will be questioned on the topics of the high unemployment rate and economic development in Chicago.

Several other issues related to the survival of Chicago will also be discussed during the third of four scheduled televised debates leading up to the Feb. 22 primary election.

The debate calls for each candidate to receive four minutes for opening remarks and three minutes for a concluding statement. Each candidate also will have 90 seconds to respond to each of six questions posed by the panelists.

The debate will be aired—live by WTTW-TV Station (Ch. 11), and radio stations WBBM, WIND, WGN, WJPC and WBEZ-FM. In addition, WBBM—TV Station (Ch. 2), will rebroadcast the debate, beginning at 10:30 p.m.

Channel 11 is producing all of the debates for the media, said Bruce Dumont, program coordinator.

The debate is open to the public. Tickets are $25 each, including dinner at 5:45 p.m., preceded by a reception at 5 p.m.
Daley and Washington assail Byrne jobs record

By Mitchell Loe and Douglas Frantz

STATE’S ATTY. Richard Daley and U.S. Rep. Harold Washington, both trailing in a recent poll, aggressively attacked Mayor Jane Byrne’s record on maintaining and attracting jobs in Chicago Thursday night in the third debate between major Democratic candidates.

The two challengers also accused the mayor of favoring downtown development at the expense of the city’s neighborhoods and assailed her media campaign.

Despite the barrage of sometimes personal attacks, Byrne continued to display the calm demeanor that has marked her performance in recent months as she defended her record, claiming credit for rescuing the city from financial trouble four years ago.

"The city is solvent and it’s moving forward," she said. "Just as I refused to let the city go bankrupt, I refused to allow the economic development of the city to stand still."

DALEY’S SPEAKING style, an irksome issue for him earlier in the race, was more forceful and more personal than in the first two debates as he directed his attacks at Byrne.

"The people lost tonight," Daley said in his final remarks. "The truth was stretched and distorted by her New York advisers with carefully written scripts. Our debates have just turned into long television productions to present the new Jane Byrne package instead of dealing with the truth."

Washington, who seemed more subdued than in the previous exchanges, said he was disappointed in the evening’s outcome. "It was less substantive than the others, I think, because a lot of the material already has been covered," Washington said.

It was Washington who offered the only new economic goals, promising to create 5,000 new jobs in waste recycling at no cost to the taxpayers; 11,000 energy conservation jobs for public and private buildings that will cut energy bills by $675 million a year; 5,000 jobs devoted to public works; and 10,000 jobs created by a proposed Chicago Industrial Development Corporation.

WITH THE EXCEPTION of Washington’s ambitious jobs package, for which he offered no financing proposal, the third debate was mainly a rerun of the candidates’ earlier positions. None offered any startling new disclosures and none seemed to make the kind of mistake that could lose an election.

With its set topic of jobs and economic development and questions from a panel of three reporters, the debate in the Conrad Hilton Hotel was more staid than last Sunday’s exchange in the same hotel before a rowdy and partisan crowd. Tickets for Thursday night’s affair, hosted by the City Club of Chicago and the Chicago Urban League, were $25 and included dinner for about 600 spectators.

Thirty minutes into the exchange, however, three people stood up in the audience and shouted at the candidates. Moderator John Callaway of WTTW-TV (Channel 11) interrupted the debate until the three—fringe mayoral candidate Sheila Jones and two supporters—were elected.

THE TONE for Thursday’s debates was set in the four-minute opening remarks by each candidate. Daley and Washington aggressively attacked the mayor’s record on economic development and offered their own solutions. Byrne presented a low-key and optimistic appraisal of the city’s fiscal future.

Blaming the exodus of 100,000 jobs and the closing of 800 factories on Byrne’s taxing policies, Washington said: "The media image of Jane Byrne as competent administrator and effective leader is a fraud. The real Jane Byrne has created an atmosphere in Chicago that is totally inhospitable to business. Her fiscal policy of taxing Chicago has had devastating consequences."

He touted the $8 billion nationwide jobs bill that he plans to introduce in Congress as one solution to the unemployment that plagues Chicago.

DALEY, WHOSE opening and closing statements were more forceful than earlier debate performances, again accused the mayor of playing a "political game" with her $10 million temporary jobs program. He also tried to personalize the consequences of unemployment.

"Look at the despair which I see every day as I walk through the neighborhoods," he said. "Look at the pain in the eyes. Look at the hopelessness."

Daley’s answer, he said, lies in the economic redevelopment plans he proposed earlier in the week to attract industry and to establish an economic development commission independent of City Hall.

Sounding a familiar theme, Byrne recalled the financial chaos that she inherited when she took office in 1979 and heralded what she said has been an effective effort at turning it around.

"Reaganomics is ravishing the country," she said. "It has ravished Chicago. But I am proud of some of the things that the municipal government could do, even with Reaganomics."

BYRNE THEN recited a litany of federal accomplishments, ranging from spending $100 million to improve sewers and streets to cutting property taxes $22 million and the city’s head tax by $8 million this year.

Washington and Daley both criticized the mayor’s priorities for using federal economic development dollars.

"They don’t go to the neighborhoods," Washington said.

Daley said, "We should be looking to the communities and not be worrying about the world’s fair and Navy Pier."

But Byrne responded, "Of the $500 million in community block grant development funds that have been spent in this administration, all but $6.8 million was spent in the neighborhoods."
Mayoral foes get tough in final debate

By David Axelrod and Douglas Frantz

THE THREE MAJOR Democratic mayoral candidates met in their fourth and final debate Monday night, differing on issues such as rent control and utility taxes while firing fresh gibes in their most acrimonious encounter.


Washington, who is seeking to become the first black mayor of Chicago, accused Byrne of fomenting racial divisions.

"I am running to end Jane Byrne's four-year effort to further institutionalize racial discrimination in this great city," he declared, charging that the mayor had furred the Chicago Board of Education and Chicago Housing Authority board into "racial battlegrounds."

DALEY REPEATEDLY focused on Byrne's prodigious fundraising, claiming that much of the $9 million the mayor has raised came from contractors who do business with the city.

Renewing a charge that served him well in their last debate, Daley said that Byrne's "imagemakers" were marketing her "as new and improved, as if she were a bar of soap."

To emphasize the point, some Byrne foes in the audience wore buttons that resembled the mayor's official campaign logo, but read "Mayor Sawyer," in a reference to David Sawyer, her New York media consultant.

Apparent sensitivity to the suggestion that Sawyer is orchestrating Byrne's public image, the consultant watched the debate from the rear of the hall, rather than from the front row seat he occupied at the last debate.

Daley, who previously played down his front row lineage, invoked the name of his late father, Mayor Richard J. Daley, in excoriating Byrne.

"HE DIDN'T RAISE $9 million from people doing business with the city, not in all his 22 years as mayor," Daley said of his father. "But he did honor all of his obligations to the people of Chicago." Throughout most of the debate, Byrne continued to pursue the low-key defense of her policies that has characterized her campaign, generally refusing to take the bait of her opponents.

At the close of this encounter, however, the mayor turned to face Daley and challenged his...
4th debate sounds a rowdy note

By Brian J. Kelly
and Basil Talbott Jr.

In the rowdiest of the four Chicago mayoral debates, Rep. Harold Washington Monday accused Mayor Byrne of a "four-year effort to further institutionalize racism in this city."

At what may be the final debate, Byrne, State's Attorney Richard M. Daley and Washington fought over old campaign issues such as jobs and fund-raising and several new neighborhood issues such as rent control.

The issue of racism was also brought full into

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Daley again raised the question of Byrne's campaign finances, saying at the outset, "The issue is money, where it comes from and where it goes."

He said that in response to his attacks on her campaign fund last week, "she answered that she bought hams for the poor."

Daley said only 3 percent of her contributions was spent on hams with "more than a million dollars of the ham money going into television commercials."

He also added a new name to the litany of her contributors that of slain millionaire insurance man Allen M. Dorfman. Later, Byrne campaign manager William Griffin acknowledged that Dorfman's insurance company gave Byrne $1,000 several years ago.

Finances were the only issue Byrne made a direct response to, accusing Daley of "not doing so bad yourself" by raising a total of $5 million in the last two years. Campaign manager William Daley said his brother raised about $2.5 million for two state's attorney's races in 1980 and has raised about $1.5 million this year.

Byrne made no response to Washington's racism charges and throughout the debate appeared even less ruffled by criticism than before. Her closing statement was particularly low-key, striking themes of the city's greatness and how happy she had been to serve its residents.

This fourth debate, held at Roberto Clemente High School, 1147 N. Western, was to have focused on neighborhood issues with questions posed by the audience—after they were screened by the sponsoring League of Women Voters.

Prime among those was the issue of rent control with Washington and, for the first time, Daley, coming out in favor of it. Byrne repeated her opposition to rent control.
Final debate hits new ground

touches on rent, racism issues

by JOHN WILLIAMS, JR.

IN WHAT RESEMBLED a slow-action replay, Chicago's three major Democratic mayoral candidates hashed over old ground Monday during the fourth mayoral debate, while the relatively fresh topics of rent control and racism provided intervals of relief.

Looking weary from three previous encounters over the past three weeks, State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, Mayor Jane M. Byrne, and U.S. Rep. Harold Washington, haggled over the much discussed issues of campaign finances, utility taxes and Chicago's economic stability before a vocal crowd of 750 at Robert Clemente High School, 1147 N. Western.

Criticizing the mayor's huge financial war chest, which won him accolades during the prior forum, Daley reiterated that the main issue of the mayoral debates is money.

"THE ISSUE is money, where it comes from and where it goes," the state's attorney noted. He added a major portion of Byrne's campaign chest does not provide relief for the city's needy, as the mayor has claimed, but is used for the production of television commercials.

Byrne, responding to Daley's charges, said the state's attorney has not lagged far behind her in the political fundraising arena. The mayor charged Daley with raising $5 million over the past two years coupled with plans for another fundraiser in the near future.

Washington, opening the debate with stirring remarks, said racism is a familiar entity in the nation's second largest city.

"I AM RUNNING to end Jane Byrne's four-year effort to further institutionalize racial discrimination in this great city," Washington said. He continued by saying Byrne has transformed the Chicago Board of Education and Chicago Housing Authority into "racial battlegrounds."

Second was the racial issue, the South Side congressman said racism is a everyday reality in Chicago which must be addressed.

The debate, which was sponsored by the League of Women Voters of Chicago, allowed community leaders to question the candidates on neighborhood concerns.

ON NUMEROUS occasions, the forum was interrupted by rowdy spectators. For the second time in as many debates, Shelia Jones, a minor candidate on the Democratic mayoral ballot, and her supporters were removed from the proceedings after denouncing the debate's format.

Disgusted by the interruptions, Washington was moved to say, "This is not a drunken bar. It's a debate."

Daley and Washington said they support a system of rent control, noting Chicago's needy are having a tough time paying their bills during hard economic times. Daley went a step further.

"People cannot pay their rent because the mayor of the city of Chicago is increasing utility taxes," he asserted.

Byrne said she opposes rent control because it would "tie the hands" of the housing industry.

THE DEBATE was the last scheduled confrontation among the three Democratic frontrunners before the Feb. 22 primary. Washington invited his opponents to participate in a fifth debate at Chicago Vocational High School, 2100 E. 87th St., tentatively planned for Feb. 7.

The state's attorney hinted he would not participate. Byrne did not respond to the challenge positively nor brush it aside.

Remaining true to form, the mayor insisted that the city has come from the brink of economic ruin to economic stability under her administration.

"Today, Chicago is stronger financially and economically than most U.S. cities... We've gone from a city on the brink to a city selected to host the 1992 World's Fair, and no other city in the country can say that," she stated.
Mayor debates bad for Byrne

By Eugene Kennedy

Chicago’s projected mayoral debates are currently receiving more attention than that usually accorded to a moderate-sized Latin American coup d’etat. Mounted against the grey days of winter they promise explosive distraction in a deadly tournament featuring the restless, fierce-eyed Queen, a raven-locked usurper Prince and a grizzled Iago darting between them. The advance publicity resembles that for the Hollywood epic “Heaven’s Gates” which proved in places so murky, noisy and dull that even the English version required subtitles.

Mayor Jane Byrne, flouting the precedent that an incumbent never asks for debates, chose to do so because she thought she could win them easily and because she was certain that one of her opponents, State’s Atty. Richard M. Daley, would back off from them. In her recent “conversation” with her other major opponent, U.S. Rep. Harold Washington, she displayed her technique of slyly-sharp intelligence blended with killer instincts, which has inspired her self-confidence. She interrupted, changed the subject, made allegations and then slipped away as it suited her. Washington, a man of considerable presence and silken intonations, was not able to lay a glove on her. WLS-TV’s (Channel 7) producers allowed the cameras to roll for an extra half-hour on what they instantly recognized as entertainment rather than serious political dialogue. And the absent Daley suddenly appeared shrewd for not accepting an invitation to an unwinnable exchange.

Bryan has not come to be known as a “68-pound bully” for nothing and, despite the well-modulated persona that she displayed in her first wave of television commercials, she is relying on her quick-wittedness to defeat her opponents in open, free-wheeling combat.

Her problem, which no adviser can lessen, arises precisely in the arena of the public debate. Her uncanny and unmoving talent to mislead and terrorize dissenters will be under formal controls during a debate, controls that she cannot ignore without alienating the audience.

Mayor Byrne, of all public officials within memory, has least bashfully used the privileged position of her office to overwhelm those with questions she does not care to answer. In a debate, however, the existentially dangerous atmosphere in which anything can happen will be denied to her. With a firm moderator enforcing the regulations that style debates with civility, Byrne will be prevented from using her extraordinary gift for improvisation.

Harold Washington, his campaign a necessarily quickly erected but ominously creaking structure, stands to profit greatly from the televised debates, if only because of the exposure they offer him. He also faces serious obstacles. First of all, Washington must say, in effect, to the audience something like “I am not a crook,” a line that has not been a great political hit. Convincing the voters that two suspension from the practice of law and not having filed income tax returns for 19 years do not reflect on his character is a formidable challenge. If he treats these matters casually, he underestimates the sense of values of those who might vote for him. If he fails to treat them, he will draw attention to them in yet another way.

Washington’s most serious problem may be to carry the fight actively enough against Mayor Byrne to dispel the continuing theory that he was brought into the campaign by Democratic Party Organization leaders in order to attack Daley and thereby to draw black votes away from Daley. Washington has already accused the state’s attorney of being a racist, promising specifics about his charges later on. To avoid being identified as a man coaxed into running interfering for Jane Byrne—and to avoid looking like a man manipulating black votes—the congress-man may wobble considerably on the high wire on which he is now so carefully perched.

Daley, like Washington, needs the debates to increase his visibility and to provide him with a platform from which to describe his view of the election issues. The state’s attorney has been portrayed as a fledgling public speaker with intellectual limitations that will be magnified in the harsh light of public debate. There are low expectations about Daley’s performance, a fact that curiously works to his advantage. Just showing up proves that he is not, as charged, afraid of the challenge. If he does even a little better than expected, he will profit from the experience. If he does much better than expected, Daley will gain handsomely.

Indeed, if Daley speaks moderately well, articulates his position with reasonable force and clarity, and remains clear of the shrappel of close-range exchanges of invective, the debates may turn out to be his considerable boon. And if the contest turns out to be boring, another Hollywood turkey despite the use of subtitles, Daley—the son of the mayor who raised the projection of an impasse image to a fine art, the man whose secret weapon was his capacity to outlast all rivals in surviving the dull details of governing—may turn out to look better than anybody expected.

Eugene Kennedy is a Chicago author and political observer. His latest novel is entitled “Queen Bee.”
Debates in review

An estimated 750 partisans, friends of the three major Democratic mayoral candidates, Monday night cheered on their candidate. But it was difficult to assess which mayoral hopeful came out on top because of the many cheers and catcalls from the audience.

During the fourth debate, held at the Roberto Clemente High School on Northwestern Avenue, Rep. Harold Washington and State's Attorney Richard Daley again attacked Mayor Jane Byrne's administration, charging that she is trying to make all Chicagoans believe that she has always had the city's welfare at heart when in fact she supports a select group of businessmen. As in the previous debates, jobs for minority group members, housing rehabilitation programs, economic development, better public schools and the delivery of adequate health care were among the issues raised by twelve community people who were chosen by the Chicago League of Women Voters, the debate sponsors, to ask selective questions of each candidate.

But as in the third debate, Sheila Jones, an independent mayoral candidate, was escorted from the school by police when she interrupted the forum and called the program sponsors "racists" for not including her as a participant in Monday night's program.

In Washington's closing remarks, he challenged his opponents to participate in a fifth debate at a location in the Black community.

But Daley countered in his closing remarks and let it be known that Monday's debate was the last of the series. Byrne, who did not indicate whether she was willing to participate in a fifth debate, did not respond to Washington's suggestion for another face-to-face political forum between the three mayoral hopefuls.

In 1976, President Gerald R. Ford confronted Democratic rival Jimmy Carter in a series of debates because he was trailing the Georgian upstart in national polls. Ford had no other choice.

In 1980, the tables turned and Carter was forced to debate Ronald Reagan because he was doing woefully in many polls.

In 1972, George McGovern challenged President Richard Nixon to debate. He was immediately turned down. The reason was simple: Nixon was leading the United States senator comfortably in the polls. He didn't need McGovern and was able to enjoy the powers of being an incumbent president.

IF JANE BYRNE was a popular mayor, she would have the mayoral election in the bag. But the truth is very clear. Byrne is a controversial and unpredictable mayor who cannot be trusted.

In 1979, she promised change to the minorities of this city. Instead of change, we got chains which were left behind by the Bilandic and Daley administrations.

Make no mistake, Jane Byrne is running scared. Before she goes to bed at night, she must wonder about the many, many mistakes she made during her first four years. Byrne was elected as a mayor of the people, but she turned her back on those very same people to call Charles Swibel a friend.

The debates were a great waste of time. But, they were necessary because Jane Byrne failed Chicago.

Chicago's minorities wanted equality. She gave us hams. When such a discrepancy occurs, the incumbent must explain how and why the lines of communication got crossed.

During the debates, Byrne didn't explain the hams, but she did get across that the minorities of this town made a big mistake in 1979. A mistake we cannot afford to make again.
3 winners emerge from mayor debates

By David Axelrod
Political writer

ON FEB. 22, there will be only one winner in the Democratic mayoral primary. But in the series of debates that ended Monday night, all the candidates could rightfully claim victory.

Jane Byrne, Richard Daley and Harold Washington each entered the forums with different objectives and managed to satisfy them.

For Mayor Jane Byrne, the object was to appear low-key, professional and in command of the facts, while touting herself as the savior of a city she claims was in a fiscal morass four years ago.

She did that, even in the face of relentless hammering from her two opponents, who zeroed in on her record and ignored each other throughout the four, hour-long televised debates.

THE DEBATES HELPED Byrne reinforce the themes she has stressed for the last six months, as well as a subdued style calculated to erase the memory of her volatile history in office.

"She knew the facts and figures and stuck to her guns and, we felt, left people with the impression that she's in charge—that she knows what the hell is going on at City Hall," said William Griffin, Byrne's campaign manager.

"And she was careful not to show any disrespect to the opponents."

For State's Atty. Richard Daley, the debates provided a chance to prove he could hold his own on a speaker's platform, contrary to the barbs of his opponents, who regularly suggest he lacks the intellectual equipment to run the nation's second largest city.

While Daley began the series slowly, he gained confidence as the debates wore on and scored some telling points in the final debates in which he made the mayor's slick media campaign an issue. His closing attack on Byrne's media adviser, David Sawyer, dominated the third debate.

"EVERYONE IN THE other camps was predicting that Rich would be knocked out, that he couldn't keep up," one Daley aide said Tuesday. "Well he stayed on his feet and threw some heavy punches himself."

But perhaps the candidate who gained the most was ...

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Byrne's public housing stay hit

By Douglas Frantz

U.S. REP. HAROLD Washington ([D., Ill.]) took his campaign Tuesday night to the scene of one of Mayor Byrne's most recent acts, winning a tumultuous reception from residents of the Cabrini-Green housing complex.

Washington recast the mayor's publicized stay in the Near North Side high-rise complex in March, 1981. He accused her of "disappearing into the night, never to be seen again" at the end of her three-week stay.

Washington's stop at Cabrini-Green and an earlier appearance near the Robert Taylor Homes marked his first forays into public housing in his bid for the Democratic mayoral nomination.

Coupled with his allegations of racial discrimination in Monday's debate, the appearances indicate Washington has turned his attention to igniting black voters, who are essential to his chance for an election upset Feb. 22.

BYRNE, WHO USES her stay in Cabrini-Green in a campaign commercial, has been counting on residual goodwill from the visit to give her a share of the black vote.

Calling Byrne's celebrated stay "hocus-pocus," Washington accused the mayor of "taking the protection and leaving the problems" when she departed.

"Some of the press had the audacity to say that you were grateful because Jane Byrne slept here," Washington told the crowd. "Is that right?"

Number of black voters soars here

By Tim Franklin

THE NUMBER OF black registered voters in the city has surged in the last four years, with the largest increase of new voters coming in predominantly black wards, according to preliminary election figures released Tuesday.

The preliminary figures, released by the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners, also shows North Side lakefront wards picked up the most voters during last month's precinct registration drive.

According to the election board, Chicago will have nearly 11,600 more registered voters than in last fall's general election.

On Jan. 25, the last day of precinct registration, 110,080 new persons registered to vote, board figures show.

However, in a subsequent two-day canvass of all 1.6 million registered voters, representatives from each party checked the registrations of all registrants. In that canvass, a total of 76,579 voters had their registrations challenged.

MOST OF THOSE 76,579 registrants will be disqualified and knocked off registration rolls by Feb. 15, when final election board figures will be released, said Thomas Leach, board spokesman.
The response was a chorus of no's that rang through the meeting room at 100 N. Sedgwick St.

EXHORTING THE audience to vote, Washington said:

"Every black person who is registered cannot afford the luxury of staying home. Remind your neighbors. If your grandpa can't vote, tell them he can't sell you groceries.

Washington's message was much the same at an earlier meeting in Cosmopolitan Community Church, 5249 S. Wabash Ave., across from the Robert Taylor Homes.

"It's our turn," he chanted to the crowd, which picked up the phrase and returned it.

Washington was buoyed Tuesday by preliminary voter registration figures that showed increases in predominately black wards. Two black wards showed voter increases of more than 12,000 each.

"THEY REGISTERED for a reason," Washington said.

He said he is counting on a black voter turnout of 85 percent and expects to get 60 percent of their votes.

Meanwhile Tuesday, Peoples Gas withdrew a motion that had sought to have Washington appear on court charges he failed to pay the utility $800.

"That matter was settled in a normal way," said Ed Joyce, spokesman for Peoples Gas. "Joyce and Washington aides declined to say if that meant Washington paid the money.

Byrne, appearing despite a head cold, was greeted warmly by about 1,000 persons Tuesday night in the Marquis Banquet Hall, 4706 N. Milwaukee Ave., at a party organized by Women for Jane Byrne, part of her campaign organization.

Byrne held a campaign meeting with about 60 physicians, their spouses and later appeared before Jewish community leaders in a residence in the 50th Ward, where he promised increased police protection.

Mayor debates

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the third major contender, U.S. Rep. Harold Washington (D., III.), who was a mystery to many voters before the debates.

Plagued by lack of money, Washington has yet to air a campaign commercial. For him, the debates provided a badly needed chance to demonstrate what many in the political community already knew, that he is one of the most gifted orators on the local scene.

Washington made his case forcefully, displaying an impressive grasp of facts and a sometimes biting wit that allowed him to dominate much of the action. He also distinguished himself from the others by speaking of the need for new revenues for the city, its schools and mass transit, a reality that many Chicagoans accept but Byrne and Daley have ignored.

IT WAS A PERFORMANCE that allowed Washington to reassure some white voters who might be leening his way that he is a thoroughly respectable contender, not merely a black stranger.

Candidate, even though much of his rhetoric dealt with longstanding discrimination against Chicago's minorities.

More important, the sight of Washington standing toe-to-toe with Byrne and Daley helped shore up his base among black voters by confronting an air of legitimacy to his candidacy that had jaken because of his inability to compete in television advertising.

Strategists for Byrne and Daley acknowledged that Washington got a boost from the debates, but they said they doubted many minds had been changed by the encounters. If that is true, it isn't for lack of public interest.

More than 5 million viewers tuned in to the debates.

AND WHAT THEY SAW, to the surprise of many, were generally informal discussions that helped distinguish the candidates on issues and gave voters a chance to hear the cases spelled out in some detail.

Daley and Washington launched some harsh attacks on the mayor's record, but the debates never deteriorated into the kind of pettiness that characterized the head-to-head meetings between Gov. James Thompson and Adlai Stevenson last fall.

That, too, allowed the three mayoral candidates—and the public—to emerge as winners.
In the final debate, the candidates took questions from alleged leaders of inner-city neighborhoods.

While sitting in the beautiful auditorium of Clemente High School listening to exchanges, I began wondering how the candidates might respond if somebody asked this question:

"I would like to ask the candidates about the corn I have on the little toe of my left foot. It really hurts and it makes me limp and feel miserable. If elected mayor, what will they do about this problem?"

HAROLD WASHINGTON would probably say: "That question gets right to the heart, or toe, of an important matter. This burgeoning problem of corns is something that has long concerned me. I am running because I want to assure every citizen of this city, regardless of race, that he will have a pair of shoes that don't pinch his feet . . ." blah, blah, blah.

Richard M. Daley might have said: "The toes of the feet of the people of the city of Chicago shouldn't have corns. The people who have contracts with the city don't have corns because they can afford corn plasters. She's raised $9 million in campaign money, but how much of it has Mayor Byrne spent on corn plasters for the suffering people of the City of Chicago? They ask for corn plasters and she gives them TV commercials . . ." blah, blah, blah.

And Mayor Byrne would have blinked her eyes, looked concerned, and said: "One of the things I'm proud of is that when I took office, 47 percent of the people of this city had corns. Now, only 12 percent have corns. That's still too much. I admit that. I've made mistakes about corns. But today we have fewer corns than New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Moscow, Hong Kong and Bangladesh. We have established a new department of Corn Removal. We have a Corn Removal commissioner—who is black, I might point out—and very competent—and the assistant Corn Removal commissioner is a Hispanic, and . . ." blah, blah, blah.

You can be sure that not one of them would have given an honest answer by saying: "Hey, pal, why don't you go home and take care of your own damn corn? Do something for yourself, you stiff, and stop asking the city to solve your problem."

ALL, FOR AN HONEST candidate who would give an occasional honest answer.

For example, there was the alleged community leader who got up and complained about the fact that 68 percent of the students in Clemente High School drop out.

All three candidates cluck-clucked and blah-blahed about what a serious problem that was, and what they'd do about it.

Not one of them said what should have been said, which is: "That dropout rate is indeed terrible, but what in the hell do you expect a mayor to do about it?"

"Look, the taxpayers have already paid for this building, which is one of the most modern, beautiful schools ever built in this city. It's adequately staffed and many of the teachers are outstanding.

"The taxpayers also spend a ton of money maintaining the building and undoing the constant vandalism that your kids inflict on it.

"If your kids are dropping out of this school at a 68 percent rate, I suggest you start looking at the source of the problem—you yourselves.

"Any time there is a high dropout rate, there are screwed-up family situations. You have parents who aren't doing a damned thing to encourage their kids to continue their educations.

"You are their parents. You spend a lot more time with them than any teacher does. You have them entirely to yourselves from the day they are born until they are 18 or 20 or 25 years old. And after that, the teacher has them only six hours a day, while you have them the other 18 hours. Plus weekends. Plus vacations. Plus holidays.

"How do you expect teachers—or a mayor—to undo your neglect and indifference in a few short hours a day?

"So my answer to you is this: There is little I can do about your dropout rate. Do something for yourself."

OR WHEN ANOTHER alleged neighborhood leader complained that it is difficult for someone with little money to buy a house in Chicago today. Apparently he isn't aware that it is difficult to buy a house anywhere in America today.

But the three candidates showered him with concern and affection and gave a blah-blah here and a blah-blah there. Not one of them said:

"Yes, there's a serious shortage of good housing in this neighborhood and many other old city neighborhoods. And I'll tell you some of the reasons why.

"For one thing, you can't burn down half a neighborhood and then expect somebody to come along and put the houses back up. Those are houses, bumpy, not flowers. They don't just grow in the spring, you know.

"See all those empty lots out there? Those used to be pretty nice homes. Generation after generation of working-class Chicagoans lived in them.

"NOW, IN ONLY a decade or so, they're gone. Burned to the ground by your neighborhood arson gangs or torn down because the people who lived in them thought it was good housekeeping to drop pots and pans down toilets, or tear out radiators to sell as scrap metal in the summer.

"As a candidate for mayor, I'll be blunt: There's not going to be much new housing built anywhere until the national economy rebounds. And even then, builders aren't going to trip over themselves to come into neighborhoods where housing is viewed as a disposable item.

"So, I'll tell you what I can do for you as mayor. I can advise you to try not to make a worse mess of your neighborhood than you already have, and to do what you can to improve it, because there just isn't enough money around for anybody to pick up after you.

"Thank you, and don't throw those tomatoes—eat them."
Debates were remarkable

I might be risking my franchise to comment on politics for being Pollyannish, but I must confess my feelings about Chicago’s 1983 mayoral debates. I think they were remarkable. The three major candidates, the TV stations that carried them in full and the sponsors all deserve laurels.

If you think I am being too mushy, just recall last year’s mud wrestling matches between two men who then each earned rejection from half the voters. Gov. Thompson and Adlai Stevenson were not able to rise above an obvious dislike for each other. The 1982 gubernatorial debates deserve a dart.

In contrast, the mayoral exchanges dwelled on public concerns: taxes, rent control, racial discrimination and economic planning, to name a few. Even when the talk turned personal, it touched on public policy questions such as campaign financing. Each of the debates broke new ground, made hard news.

Unfortunately, the mayoral debates were a sign of Chicago’s troubled times. It’s unlikely that all major contenders would have ended up on the same platform if the city were shipshape. Despite Mayor Byrne’s fascinating 30-second TV mini-dramas crafted by New York consultant David H. Sawyer to persuade us Chicago’s debt is under control, we are in a pinch.

Not only were the mayoral debaters superior to their gubernatorial counterparts, so was the form of the recent debates. It is evident the League of Women Voters should no longer monopolize the debates. A variety of sponsors is preferable. The final debate, backed by the league, was the least newsworthy, least decisive of the four.

Fine-tuning of the format is possible. With three candidates, cross-questioning was complicated and time-consuming. Still, a few conclusions can be drawn. Reporters elicited more information than citizen panels. Follow-up questions are essential. Emphasis should be put on finding knowledgeable questioners.

Judging the results of debates is difficult. As I have said, the question “Who won?” has many layers. Which of the candidates gave the most specific answers without lying? Who looked best to the audience in the room? Who glowed the brightest on TV? Who got the most praise from instant pundits? What did the polls show?

Also, debates age. Byrne scored highest of the three in polls taken a few minutes after the first debate. But in a poll finished six days later, Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.)—who had won the pundits’ plaudits—pulled out in front.

I think Washington got more out of the debates than the other contenders. Byrne and State’s Attorney Richard Daley were well known going into the debates and had the bucks Washington lacked to put over their stories on TV.

It’s more difficult to determine who did second best. The format favored Byrne. It showed two men picking on a tiny woman. The two men tried to get a rise out of her but failed—making Sawyer’s expensive TV point that Byrne has matured. On the other hand, Daley got through the debates without sounding or looking like a dunce.

He even dominated the third debate.

The two bullying males, however, failed one crucial task. They were unable to change the perception, built up in the public mind in six weeks of ads last year, that Byrne has turned Chicago around. Sawyer’s message that Byrne inherited a city crippled with nearly a $1 billion debt and got control is false, but widely believed. Unchecked, that message is enough to re-elect her.

Is there political life after the debates? With little cash for 30-second ads, Washington could start to fade. Desperation could tempt him to become more shrill to attract attention. There is a risk he could transform from a citywide candidate into a one-dimensional black symbol. Neither Byrne nor Daley really wanted debates. They can afford their own TV. The biggest contribution to Chicago has been the democracy of televised debates.
Editorial Richard Daley for mayor

A great, diverse, aging, changing city like Chicago needs a mayor who is a good manager and careful administrator.

It needs a mayor who will bring quality people into government and let them work to the best of their ability.

It needs a mayor who is mindful of promises made, and strives to fulfill them.

It needs a mayor who will build bridges of trust and mutual concern to Springfield, to city neighborhoods, to the suburbs, to businesses and workers, to all racial and ethnic groups.

It needs a mayor who has a record of integrity.

And it needs a mayor who is motivated to be a good mayor. That may sound simplistic, but never underestimate the power of motivation to mold fine leaders.

Richard M. Daley fits these requirements. We urge the people of Chicago to vote for him in the Democratic primary on Feb. 22.

In 1980, when Daley was running for Cook County state's attorney, we endorsed his opponent but praised both his well-reasoned campaign proposals and his record of accomplishment in the state Senate.

Since then, he has built a similarly fine record as state's attorney. Daley has kept his campaign promises—a rare and wonderful thing in a politician—and they're producing good results in the county's fight against crime.

Daley has hired qualified people without regard to politics and has given them the freedom and support to do a good job. This is a quality essential in an expert manager—but sorely missing in Chicago's City Hall.

Daley carried through his commitment to create and use citizen advisory committees. His community groups on gangs, juveniles, drugs and women's issues meet regularly with him and his professional staff and have enriched his office. They are prototypes for the sort of public-private partnerships developing in other cities—but missing in Chicago's City Hall.

Daley has demonstrated the skills to build supportive coalitions in Springfield needed by the city's schools and transportation system; for that matter, they're needed by schools and transportation systems throughout this area. His legislative successes were the result of quiet, careful help of her $480 million in new city taxes and fees.

3. Byrne claims she helped the CTA, but in fact the RTA and CTA are in worse shape than when she took office because they've lost their state subsidy. That's a direct result of her amateurish dealings with the Legislature in 1979 and her impulsive withdrawal from the transit package Gov. Thompson was fashioning in 1981.

it needs to support residential and business growth.

But those accomplishments are puny when weighed against her pile of broken promises, just as her preoccupation with political power has overshadowed her fleeting interest in good, stable government.

Harold Washington has run a strong, responsible cam-
diplomacy—a talent missing in Chicago's City Hall.
Daley has worked an agenda for change that is realistic, tailored to today's urban problems. There are several dozen ideas for saving money, improving services and fostering economic growth—most of them working in other cities. It was assembled through the effective teamwork that characterizes Daley's approach to government—but is missing in Chicago's City Hall.
Finally, Daley has established reputation for reliability and integrity. He has emerged from the formidable shadow of his name and, through his own hard work, has won the confidence and respect of some of the best people in his party, and in civic and business organizations.

"Daley has kept his campaign promises—a rare and wonderful thing in a politician . . . He has a reputation for reliability and integrity."

Jane Byrne sailed into the mayor's office on a sea of good will and bright promises. Her administration was only a few weeks old when it became apparent that government by clot and cronyism was not dead after all, but resurrected in a new and more virulent form.

Her record is littered with broken promises, unaffordable labor contracts and impulsive, destructive decisions. Time after time, the reforms she proposed were scrapped to appease some political ally. This is by no means a complete list, but it does give a more accurate picture of the mayor than you'll get from her TV commercials:

1. Byrne claims she solved the city's money problems, but in fact she created a financial mess at least as bad as the one she inherited. When she took office, city revolving funds had a $78 million deficit; by feeding non-recurring revenue into her 1983 budget, she has opened a gap of at least $95 million for next year.

2. Byrne claims she salvaged the school system. But the schools' operating deficit when she took office was $120 million; this fall they face a deficit of $100 million—and that's without any raises. The system's bonded indebtedness of about $250 million is slowly being repaid through the school property tax, not—as Byrne implies—with the

"The inference is unavoidable: Byrne sold the city to buy re-election."

4. Byrne promised an advisory committee to assist her new Housing Department. She appointed an excellent one. Its initial advice was ignored and disillusioned members stopped meeting. It no longer exists.

5. Byrne promised a committee to revise the city's obsolete zoning code. She named some members, then failed to provide necessary resources. It still has not met.

6. Byrne promised an expert advisory committee to help shape North Loop plans. That was two years ago. It still has not been named.

7. Byrne promised a building board of appeals to help with rehab and conversion projects. She appointed one last spring. It has never met.

8. Byrne promised an internal audit department, routine in major cities. It never appeared.

9. Byrne promised a more responsive Park Board. She replaced several incompetent commissioners with good appointees, but Parks Supt. Edmund L. Kelly complained. Eight months ago, she dumped the reformers.

10. Byrne promised to bring superior people into government. Instead, with a few exceptions, she settled on political sycophants and clot-heavy hacks. In a series of provocative appointments to two citizen boards, she pitted race against race for reasons we cannot fathom.

11. Byrne promised that no one doing business with the city would be allowed to give more than $1,000 in campaign donations. Instead, city contractors have been among her biggest contributors, checking in with $20,000, $30,000, even $60,000. She has raised a scandalous amount of money without precedent in a local election and has repeatedly given city business to her heaviest donors without benefit of open bids. The inference is unavoidable: Byrne sold the city to buy her re-election.

There have been some positive changes under Byrne. She gives more detailed information about city finances than her predecessors (although the numbers add up to a heap of problems), she is receptive to creative ideas to revitalize the city and she has produced a fine public-works plan for giving Chicago the sound physical underpinnings

"Washington's proposals for running Chicago are not as realistic and carefully conceived as Daley's."

that figured prominently in our decision to support him. These are some of Daley's other proposals:

- An urban management institute that will spot and train good middle-level city administrators, get more productivity from city employees and marshal public and private resources for jobs now farmed out to consultants.
- A Job Development Corp., using new federal legislation, vocational schools and small city businesses.
- A Loan pools and seed capital for small businesses formed by a combination of public-private financing.
- Open bidding for city contracts and concessions.
- Access to public records without delays and hassle.
- A campaign contribution limit of $1,000 for individuals and $5,000 for corporations.

Several of these may sound familiar. Byrne promised them four years ago but did not deliver. Daley has a solid record of delivering, and he has our solid support.
Byrne urges business to create jobs

By Harry Golden Jr.

Mayor Byrne appealed to business Monday to find more jobs for those turned away from her temporary jobs program and loosened her sharpest attack yet on President Reagan.

At a City Hall press conference, Byrne outlined an effort to help some of the 30,000 who will miss out on 2,800 adult jobs the city offered last week.

In a written statement that she read, Byrne asserted, "President Reagan's planned unemployment has ravaged the country. It has had tragic effects on our people—an impact one must now try to reverse."

Byrne, facing two major challengers in the Feb. 22 Democratic primary for mayor, broke for the first time with Reagan Oct. 8. Virtually alone among Democratic mayors of major cities, she had said several times that the public should give Reagan's policies "a chance to work."

WHEN ILLINOIS unemployment reached 12.5 percent last fall, Byrne told reporters that Reagan's policies were "wanting" and should be re-examined.

Byrne has been chided in recent weeks by Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.), a mayoral contender, for "giving comfort" to Reagan. Similarly, State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, another opponent, has attacked what he views as Byrne's association with Republicans at the highest level.

Byrne said she will begin meeting with groups of business leaders in her office on Tuesday to urge creation of new jobs.

On Wednesday, people who stood in long lines last week to apply for the temporary city jobs will be able to check for new openings by dialing a City Hall number, 744-JOBS. The city Economic Development Department will staff the "hotline," Byrne said.

Byrne last week shifted $10 million in federal community development funds earmarked for street improvements to the creation of 2,800 adult jobs and 1,000 part-time jobs for high school students, with the jobs to last 10 weeks starting next Monday. She intends to use other federal funds from the new gasoline tax increase to help pay for street improvements later this year.

BYRNE SAID she believes the public is rejecting her opponents' suggestion that the program is political. Most people who observed the anguished waiting lines salute her for "trying," she said.

Robert Benjamin, Daley's press aide, said Byrne's latest remarks reflect "an attempt to get out from under the tremendous embarrassment of her $10 million firecracker approach to unemployment. . . . It was a political ploy that blew up in the administration's face."

"Even Byrne noted how sad the lines were, saying, "What was said was the crushed hopes."

But she said the program exploded "the myth that many do not want work or prefer the benefits paid by public assistance or unemployment."
INTRODUCTION

For the past three months, I have traveled the length and breadth of this great City of Chicago. I have spoken with an enormous number and variety of citizens in their homes, churches, businesses, workplaces and community organizations. Without a doubt, their utmost concern is jobs.

Chicago has traditionally prided itself on being a working city. Its strengths have been skilled, hard working people and economic innovation. Yet, today 200,000 Chicagoans desperately need work and want jobs. More than one out of every eight workers is without work -- one of the highest unemployment rates in the U.S. Since 1970, the city has lost 11,500 permanent jobs each year.

Every job lost is both an individual human tragedy and part of a wider web of economic deterioration. When our citizens cannot find work, our neighborhoods die; rents go unpaid; mortgages default; businesses fail; and government revenues decline. But most of all, workers with skills and hopes lose the capacity to build their families, their communities and their city.

These dire circumstances demand a new direction that I, as Mayor, will bring to City Hall. My administration will use Chicago's enormous resources, including a $2 billion annual budget, Community Development Block Grants of almost $500 million over the next four years, and more to put Chicagoans back to work.

My administration will also marshall Chicago's human resources to bring together a new partnership for full employment. This partnership will be a broad one, including large
and small businesses, working people, unions, government and community organizations. These groups will work together under my leadership to set Chicago's program for jobs.

Jobs through economic and community development will be the central goal. Jobs will be the standard against which every public decision will be determined and evaluated.

THE WASHINGTON FULL EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

My administration's Partnership for Full Employment will chart a new direction for the economic recovery of our city. Our planning efforts will channel the city's resources to activities that will be most productive in providing an environment conducive for business, government and not-for-profit community organizations to generate employment. To build upon Chicago's strengths, my priorities are:

* Neighborhood Development: 80% of Chicago's jobs are in the neighborhoods, only 20% are in the Loop.

* Preserving and Expanding the Existing Job Base: Most job development comes from the expansion of existing businesses. The bulk of public and private resources should support existing businesses that are attempting to expand and diversify.

* A Diverse Economy for Balanced Employment: In Massachusetts, a center of high tech industry, only one new job out of eight is in high tech. High tech industry will not provide an adequate number of jobs for Chicagoans. Rather, the City should focus its resources toward enabling existing businesses to utilize new technology in ways that will maintain a diverse job base for Chicagoans.

* Maintenance and Rehabilitation: Chicago's roads, bridges and housing continue to deteriorate. Thousands of small scale repair and maintenance projects are needed to support economic development and provide jobs.

* Human Resources: Excellence in education and training is a key to employment that has been seriously lacking for Chicago's citizens. The Washington program will provide Chicagoans with necessary skills and link them with the contemporary job market.
Our program has two major sections:

(a) **Strategies** for economic and job development;

(b) **Organizational structures** which can implement these strategies effectively.

This program is innovative and complex; it cannot be summarized in a quick slogan because the problem we face is also complex. Yet, it has the singleness of purpose and an emphasis on results which can put Chicago back to work.

A. **Strategies for Economic and Job Development**

1. **Support to Existing Business**

   Our economic future must largely be built upon the hundreds of businesses, small, medium and large, which have already made a commitment to our city and already employ our citizens. My strategy to preserve and expand this existing job base will:

   (a) **Maintain and Improve City Services and Infrastructure:**

   Resources will be allocated on an equitable, fair and open basis. A citywide capital development plan will determine priorities for infrastructure reinvestment with the goal of encouraging the profitability of local business.

   (b) **Support Smaller Businesses:**

   Technical assistance will be given on "How to Do Business With the City." A well monitored program of set-aside contracts for small businesses will be established. Local purchasing will be stimulated by creating a network of "trading partners" among suppliers and contractors.

   (c) **Institute One-Stop Shopping for Businesses:** We will institute a single office with authority to facilitate permits, cut red tape, simplify zoning changes, and clarify and ease access to city programs; we will simplify access to city programs and make "clout" unnecessary.

   (d) **Establish Task Forces for Distressed Industries:**

   Businesses such as the steel industry cannot be abandoned. Where declines are inevitable, we have to redepoly the highly skilled labor force in ways that build upon their strengths. In addition, the City must play a leadership role in finding ways to maintain the viability of Chicago's traditional manufacturing industries. Therefore, I will create a cabinet level Task Force on the
Steel Industry, bringing together the best talent from the private and public sectors, labor and community, to chart a course for preserving the fabric of this industry and its surrounding community.

2. **Target Resources by Buying Chicago**

Our citizens have a legitimate claim on the jobs which their tax dollars create. The City budget should be used to strengthen our economy by purchasing goods and services locally to stimulate local employment. This Targeting Program has two components:

(a) **Purchasing:** City contracts for all goods and services will have bid incentives for local firms to increase the number of Chicago tax dollars which are recycled into the Chicago economy.

(b) **Employment:** City contracts will also have bid incentives for firms who hire Chicago residents. It doesn't make sense to use tax dollars to hire people from other places when our own people are unemployed.

3. **Capital Financing**

The Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry estimates that it takes a capital investment of $40,000 to create one job. Thus, the expansion of employment will require a massive infusion of capital, both from the public and private sectors. My Capital Financing Program has three components:

(a) **Reinvestment by Banks:** Chicago's banking community is the primary source of the loan funds which businesses need to grow. The Community Reinvestment Act has made the requirement that banks recycle their deposits to the communities from which they come as a matter of federal law. City government should do no less. Under my administration, the City's banking business will go to those financial institutions which demonstrate their commitment to the city's economy by reinvesting here.

(b) **Venture Capital:** Studies have shown that most job development takes place in small businesses, yet they have the least access to venture capital. My administration will provide needed capital to Chicago small businesses through direct capital infusions to Small Business Investment Corporations and 501 (d) Small Business Investment Corporations (MEBICs), financing mechanisms which are chartered by the Small Business Administration.

(c) **Development Subsidies:** Subsidies for community development are now provided through a variety of
funding vehicles: capital works, Urban Development Action Grants, Industrial Revenue Bonds and Community Development Block Grants. These funds will be treated as scarce public capital which must be allocated so as to support the goal of full employment.

4. Fiscal Policies

My Full Employment Program does not stand apart from my fiscal program. I have already pledged to eliminate the head tax, most often identified by business as a fiscal burden and governmental harassment. I am also concerned by the sales tax differential between the city and suburbs. I will ensure that no Chicago business experiences a competitive disadvantage because of this tax. My fiscal policy will seek to encourage a healthy local economy.

5. Affirmative Hiring

Under the Byrne Administration, discrimination against minorities has continued to be the hallmark of city government. Women make up 44.3% of the civilian labor force, yet hold only 18.6% of the city's 38,000 jobs. With a population that is 40% black, only 27% of the city's workers are black. The Hispanic community, which comprises almost one fifth of the city's population, represents only 4% of City jobs. In the first two years of the Byrne administration, Hispanic city employment rose by only 53 jobs while Blacks gained only 80 jobs.

In the face of this shameful record, the Equal Employment Opportunity Council established by the Mayor has yet to produce specific goals and hiring timetables for city departments. Through the elimination of patronage at all levels of city government below top policy posts and through a strict adherence to affirmative action, all Chicagoans will have equal access to regular city career service employment. Affirmative Action will be closely monitored with public access to the results. In addition:

(a) **Unemployed Youth:** All city departments will be responsible for taking the initiative in hiring unemployed youth, particularly in the area of trade apprenticeships.

(b) **Collective Bargaining:** Genuine collective bargaining agreements will be negotiated with all city workers.

(c) **Minority Set-Asides:** Special set-asides for minority contractors and jobs for long-term unemployed will be negotiated on major development projects.
6. Education, Training and Placement

The Chicago job market is highly competitive. Chicagoans must be well qualified to secure and retain jobs. Job training programs are essential to strengthen the qualifications of Chicago's work force. Such efforts, however, must reflect the fact that job loss in Chicago's manufacturing sector has been severe, particularly in the city's traditional manufacturing strongholds of food processing, printing, electroplating and heavy metals. As a result there is a severe gap between cityworkers' skills and those required for current job openings. While 13.6% of the city's labor force has white collar skills, 65.7% of the openings can be classified as white collar. This transition from a goods-centered economy to a service economy has hit minorities and all semi-skilled workers hardest. My administration's Education and Training Strategy has four components:

(a) Growth Sectors: In cooperation with the newly empowered Private Industry Council, training funds for displaced workers from the 1982 Job Training Partnership Act will be targeted to growth industries which show the greatest potential for job generation, including energy conservation and health care delivery.

(b) Federal Employment Subsidies: In concert with other cities, I will engage in a massive lobbying effort in Washington aimed at continuing the Summer Youth Employment Program, restoring public service employment, restoring public works programs for infrastructure repair and increasing federal funding for displaced workers.

(c) Public/Private/Community Organizations Partnerships:

My administration will seek to forge a strong partnership between public education, labor, the private sector and community organizations aimed at expanding training opportunities and placement for the unemployed.

(d) Job Training: A scholarship loan program will be established with tax exempt bonds to prepare the unemployed in skills for available jobs.
7. **Plant Closings**

My Full Employment Program will engage the city early and directly in situations where plants might close. In some situations, early intervention by the city through the Business Support and Capital Financing Programs described above may solve problems which otherwise would result in a closed plant. Where such efforts are unsuccessful, my administration will support efforts toward employee ownership where viable, and seek to retrain displaced workers.

8. **Innovative Job Development Programs**

Several major cities, including Baltimore, Philadelphia, Toronto and Seattle are several years ahead of Chicago in terms of instituting innovative, cost effective programs to generate jobs and new economic activity. My administration will make Chicago a leader in creative urban programs. We have already begun to develop program models in waste recycling and energy conservation that are both bold and financially viable.

**B. An Action Organization for Development**

These eight strategies for economic and job development require a significant reorganization of existing city agencies and programs. I will establish new institutions which have the resources and authority commensurate with their important responsibilities.

1. **Council on Employment and Economic Development**

I will establish a new Council on Employment and Economic Development which will have citywide policy-making responsibility for economic development, employment and training, capital improvements, the new Industrial Development Corporation (see below) and the Private Industry Council. The Council will supersede existing advisory planning, economic development and training commissions which have so far failed to preserve more than a handful of jobs for the people of this city. The Council will be chaired by a full-time public official appointed by me with the approval of the City Council who will report directly to me.

The membership of the Council will be selected to represent small businesses, labor, community development organizations, unemployed workers, and the industrial and manufacturing sector.

2. **Department of Employment and Economic Development**

The current Department of Economic Development and the Mayor's Office of Employment and Training will be consolidated into a single Department of Employment and Economic Development to ensure that job development programs enhance the effectiveness of economic development efforts and vice-versa. This
Department will implement the policies established by the new Council and manage programs for employment and training, business services and community economic development.

3. Neighborhood Development Boards

Today, Community Development Block Grant allocations are made in a top down manner by a committee of City agency heads after input from the neighborhoods that usually goes unheeded by the city and review by a powerless Advisory Committee. This procedure has permitted the Byrne Administration to divert CDBG funds away from community development to snow removal, schools and other uses for which they were not intended. Moreover, the scale of the decision-making results in a small number of large grants with substantial City administrative charges for personnel and overhead. This procedure does not promote community revitalization and must be completely reorganized.

I will establish Neighborhood Development Boards which have authority to determine the use of CDBG funds in their area. They will carry out a planning process and prioritize neighborhood needs for funding. Because of the small scale of these Neighborhood Development Boards, they will be able to make many small grants which can catalyze reinvestment in communities by their own residents.

4. Chicago Industrial Development Corporation

Finally, I will mobilize the talents of the private sector to assist in implementation of my economic recovery program. In addition to a recharged Private Industry Council with new federally mandated powers, I will establish the Chicago Industrial Development Corporation, a quasi-public body responsible to the new Department of Economic and Employment Development.

This groundbreaking entity will be a repository of development capital, and will be staffed by development agents enabling it to:

(a) Take Equity Positions in new developments, thus making equity capital available and insuring a greater public return.

(b) Participate in Development Projects as developer or co-developer.

(c) Invest Directly in New Product or Technology Development and in projects unattractive to the private sector.
(d) **Establish a Venture Capital Fund through a Small Business Investment Corporation (SBIC) for businesses owned by "disadvantaged" groups so as to take full advantage of the substantial capital leveraging permitted by the Small Business Administration.**

**Conclusion**

The City of Chicago has a skilled, energetic citizenry which wants to work. The primary goal of my administration will be to ensure a job for every Chicagoan. I will invest the substantial resources under the direct and indirect control of the Mayor in innovative and economically viable enterprises. Every program of my administration - housing, energy, public works, business development, commercial revitalization and basic city services - will be evaluated in terms of the number of jobs created for Chicagoans.

The conclusions are inescapable and imperative. People need work. We must have a City policy which puts jobs and neighborhoods first. We can act locally to counteract the effects of inflation and recession. It is the responsibility of the Mayor of Chicago to provide the leadership to make the "City that Works" a city of working Chicagoans. The people of Chicago should expect no less from their Mayor. Chicago will receive nothing less than that from me.
A Chicago consensus: Unemployment is on everybody's mind

By Charles Madigan

YOU'LL THINK there would be some vast differences in perception across Chicago about what is and isn't important.

Property owners high above the city's problems in their lakeshore condos could be expected to worry about taxes and whether someone is stealing the Mercedes. People in Cabrini-Green could be expected to shout about city services and whether there is a police officer at hand.

There should be some measurable, significant difference separating the Irish on the Southwest Side from the blacks on the West Side. Haves and have-nots should be focusing on different sets of problems connected to their status in life.

But they aren't. Of course, there are differences. Some people worry about maid service and domestic help, and some people worry about getting help, period.

BUT THERE IS a strong and undeniable common denominator at work across the City of Chicago that was identified in The Tribune's recent poll.

Everywhere you go, from the north lakeshore to the Hispanic neighborhoods on the Northwest and South Sides to Bridgeport and to West Madison Street, the people seem united in their reaction to one issue.

That issue is unemployment.

It is one of the more significant results of the poll, one that probably has little to do with what mayoral candidates represent, but it says wonders about what people have on their minds. In unemployment, we have a national problem that has become a local issue.

This is the last in a series of articles based on a citywide poll on how neighborhoods regard the Feb. 22 mayoral primary.

HERE IS HOW the question was asked:

"In a city as big as Chicago, there are a great many issues and problems that a mayor should or does deal with. What would you say is the most important issue or problem a mayor of Chicago should deal with today?"

Across the city, 49 percent of the 1,500 persons questioned by Market Facts Inc. for The Tribune said unemployment was the most important issue the mayor should address. How a mayor should solve this problem is anyone's guess, but the emphasis is on City Hall nonetheless.

That could create problems for Jane Byrne. If the voters of Chicago carry their worries about unemployment into the voting booth, Jane Byrne could find herself facing defeat, or a smaller victory margin than she anticipates, because of an issue she cannot effectively address. Incumbency in times of national economic crisis can be a serious deficit.

Breaking the city down into various sections, the results ran from a 57 to 40 percent response along the north lakeshore area to a 62 percent response on the South Side.

ASK THE QUESTION in a different way:

"There are a number of different issues and problems people feel a mayor should deal with... Tell me if each is very important, somewhat important or not important to you."

The issues listed were quality of public schools, public transportation, public services, unemployment, inflation, crime and the special problems of blacks, women and Latinos.

Across the city, 87 percent said unemployment was very important. Breaking the city into sections again, the sentiment ran from 76 percent in the north lakeshore area to 94 percent in black neighborhoods on the South and West Sides.

It didn't matter how the question was asked. The numbers changed somewhat, but the emphasis was the same. Unemployment is on almost everyone's mind.

Why?

ONE EXPLANATION is that a lot of people are unemployed. But the results go beyond a simple explanation. Unemployment is what people have been hearing the most about in the last several months. The image has been burned, through the media, deep into the city's psyche.

Plop the mechanics behind this poll into a time warp and shift them back to 1980, and the response probably would have focused on inflation instead of unemployment. But we have traded problems, some economists would say, "fixing" the inflation headline by replacing it with unemployment headlines.

It is a national problem so heavily emphasized that it overwhelms a spectrum of other concerns. A close look at the Tribune poll shows what has happened.

No other response comes within 40 points of unemployment in the section of the poll that asks about issues the mayor should address.

ONLY 9 PERCENT of the respondents thought taxes should be addressed by the mayor. About the same number said police protection. Six percent tapped education and schools.

In these areas, too, though the response was not as strong as on unemployment questions, there was a unanimity that spread across the city. The differences were not strong enough to draw clear conclusions.

All other issues seem to suffer in comparison to the unemployment issue, perhaps again a reflection of the attention unemployment gets in the media.

Were we in a period of 4 percent unemployment, would the people of

Democratic mayoral candidates Jane Byrne, Harold Washington and Richard Daley all face the issue of unemployment, whose significance appears to loom above all other political and social concerns.
Chicago be focusing more on what are viewed as traditional city concerns, that is, garbage collection and the like?

It's difficult to say. But it is not difficult to say they don't seem overly concerned about them in this campaign.

ONLY 3 PERCENT of the respondents citywide thought keeping the city clean [picking up garbage] was the most important issue the mayor should address.

Street and sidewalk repair? Only 1 percent across the city, reflecting a high of 3 percent in black neighborhoods on the West Side to a low of no-response in three other areas.

Even "social welfare"—a phrase that probably would have made a significant bump in the New Society era—elicited a lukewarm response. Only 2 percent thought it should be among the important issues a mayor should address.

THERE IS DANGER in trying to read too much into the results of a poll. Polls are frozen moments in time—moments that occurred in January in this case—that accurately can measure only the sentiments of a cross-section at a given point. But they have their value. They may not be able to tell you where to place your money in an election (remember what happened in November, when pollsters predicted Gov. James Thompson would surf into office on a 20-point wave), but they can signal a feel of which way the tide is moving.

And it is clear from the results of the Tribune poll that regardless of the outcome of the Feb. 22 mayoral primary, the waves created by the nation's economic problems are so strong that they are sweeping aside an entire collection of local concerns.

Perhaps garbage collection as an issue is a luxury item that comes to the fore only when there's nothing pressing to worry about at the national level.

This creates a political climate that is packed full of dangerous possibilities.

**Views on trade wages told**

In an effort to let Chicago's voters know where the three major Democratic candidates for mayor stand on important issues facing the city, the Sun-Times has invited them to answer 10 questions. Their answers will be published during the next two weeks.

**The question**

Should the city continue to pay the so-called prevailing wage to tradesmen, a wage substantially higher than that in private industry?

**Background**

The city long has paid members of trade unions the same wage rates given to their counterparts for "outside" construction work in private enterprise. Critics say those rates are inflated to compensate for the seasonal and cyclical nature of private construction.

The city workers, however, are assured year-round employment and certain fringe benefits, including some paid holidays. This can make them much more highly paid than employees of private contractors, especially when construction work goes into a slump.

**The answers**

Richard M. Daley

For years, the city has followed the practice of the federal government in paying its unionized trade workers the hourly rates which are arrived at through collective bargaining between the unions and private industry. It is only fair that unionized trade workers who work for the city are paid a wage equal to that paid by private industry. Consequently, I support the continuation of the prevailing wage.

Jane M. Byrne

The wages paid skilled tradesmen are consistent with wages paid to

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**Candidates tell views on trade wages**

Continued from Page 6

similar workers in this area by other local government units and the State of Illinois. This governmentwide policy ensures stability in the work force and allows local government to retain experienced workers, thus reducing the need for costly retraining and orientation programs regarding specific policies and practices. Since a change in this policy would put the city at a disadvantage and cause possible disruption, I do not favor any change.

**Harold Washington**

State law requires that laborers, workers and mechanics employed by or on behalf of the city on public works be paid the general prevailing hourly rate that is paid for work of a similar character in the locality. This law has been upheld by the appellate court as constitutional and must be followed.

The city also has a duty to investigate and ascertain the prevailing wage, to ensure that its wages for public works are neither too high or too low. As mayor, I will insist that the city take this duty seriously; the prevailing wage paid must be consistent with that in private industry.

As a second point, pay for unionized trade workers is a matter for collective bargaining. As mayor I will not attempt to short-circuit the collective bargaining process by advocating a unilateral change in the pay scale for any unionized group.

Furthermore, I support collective bargaining for all city employees, including those unionized workers who currently work under a "handshake" agreement. If the unionization of the currently unrepresented city workers creates financial problems, I shall establish a commission, with ample union representation, to review and recommend reforms.

NEXT: Private housing's problems.
Blacks find jobs refuge in public sector

By Alan P. Henry and Dennis Byrne

Chicago's blacks are hired in far greater proportions than whites for federal and state jobs, indicating that government has become their employer of last resort.

But government is failing Hispanics. While the city's black middle-class neighborhoods have the highest percentage of public sector employees, mostly Hispanic communities are almost shut out of government jobs.

These are among the findings from a statistical analysis of public sector hiring in the 1980 census figures.

The Sun-Times examined employment figures for each of the city's 77 communities. Those figures were broken down between private wage and salary workers and federal, state and local government workers—not only city employees but also workers of the CTA, Board of Education, Cook County and others.

The findings, confirmed by a statistical device called regression analysis, were as follows:

- Blacks appear to have benefited greatly from federal and state equal opportunity hiring laws and government jobs programs. The 23 communities in Chicago that are at least 90 percent black showed a higher-than-average percentage (the average is 4.5 percent) of the 18- to 64-year-old population working for the federal or state government. Conversely, only two predominantly white communities—Hyde Park and Brighton Park—contained above-average numbers of federal and state workers.

- Almost a fifth of those between 18 and 64 who live in black middle-class communities work in the public sector, compared with 11.2 percent citywide. In only four communities do the number of government workers represent more than 20 percent of the working-age population: Calumet Heights, Chatham, Avalon Park and Washington Heights, which are mostly black middle class.

Of the 15 communities with the highest percentages of government workers, 12 are predominantly black, some with more than double the citywide average for government workers. The three white communities—Beverly, Mount Greenwood and Ashburn—had below-average numbers of federal and state workers, but were among the top four refuges for local government workers.

Of the 32 communities in which government employees represented more than 20 percent of the work force, 22 were almost all black.
news

Chicago announces jobs plan

by Chinta Strausberg

Mayor Byrne announced a $10 million temporary ten-week jobs program Monday for 2,800 unemployed Chicagoans, and 1,000 part-time jobs for high school students, but her opponents called the program a “political ploy,” and a “band-aid” effect.

At a press conference Monday Byrne said priority will be given to applicants who are head of the households and said that 1,000 of the full-time jobs and 500 of the part-time jobs will be reserved for CHA residents. The program is funded from federal Community Development Block Grant funds.

Speaking from Washington, D.C., mayoral candidate Congressman Harold Washington called Byrne’s jobs announcement “crass, and cruel,” and said it smacks of “giving cheese away to people.”

He added, “This is clearly an example of a politically motivated public relations maneuver in which the Mayor applies a bandaid to the critical unemployment situation in Chicago.”

Washington said there was allegedly no evidence of any planing or notice of what was being done and said it was strange that it is opening just before election and phasing out just after the close of election. “It is crystal clear,” he said, “that this is just a political move.” At the press conference, Mayor Byrne denied the announcement had political overtones.

But the press secretary to State’s Attorney Richard Daley, Robert Benjamin, said, “Ten weeks of work, seven weeks before an election is not the kind of dynamic leadership that will solve unemployment in Chicago. This jobs program is a political program which will not help the unemployed in any permanent way, and it will threaten to leave stranded those whom it appeared to benefit.”

Mayor Byrne’s jobs program comes at a time when total unemployment stands at 12.3 percent, with 12.4 percent being males, 11.2 percent females, 30.7 percent Black, 9.5 percent white, and 23.3 percent teenagers, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor. In November, the national figure stands at 10.8 percent. New figures will be published Friday.

According to Mayor Byrne, the workers will begin on January 16th with the full-time workers making $8.52 an hour, and the part-timers making $3.50.

Applicants, 18 years or older, may apply Thursday, January 6th and January 7th from 9:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. at any CHA local management office in addition to ten Chicago Park District fieldhouses.

For those who are 18 and over and are unemployed, applications will be accepted on January 6th and 7th at the following places: Scottsdale Park, 4637 W. 83rd St., Welles Park, 2333 W. Sunnyside Ave., Gage Park, 2415 W. 55th St., Brooks Park, 7100 N. Octavia Ave., Washington Park, 5531 S. King Dr., Columbus Park, 500 S. Central Ave., Eckhart Park, 1330 W. Chicago Ave., Reis Park, 6100 W. Fullerton Ave., Harrison Park, 1824 S. Wood St., and Tuley Park, 501 E. 90th Pl.
Women from across the city are joining the unity campaign of Congressman Harold Washington for Mayor of Chicago.

They recognize that the Congressman’s consistent record of leadership for human rights, equality, and justice has always included women. Issues of special concern to women have always concerned Harold Washington.

The National Women’s Political Caucus gave Harold Washington one of its highest legislative ratings in recognition of his concern for the rights of women.

Coretta Scott King recognized Harold Washington’s record for equality by awarding him a Citation for Excellence.

Examine the candidate, the issues, the record. Harold Washington alone stands for the full inclusion of women in the future of Chicago.

The Issues for Women

HAROLD WASHINGTON KNOWS THAT IN CHICAGO TODAY:

- 80 percent of male city employees make more than $20,000 annually, while 50 percent of female city employees make less than $20,000.
- Women are drastically underrepresented in city government leadership.
- Women earn, on the average, only 53 cents for each dollar a man earns.
- Women are among the poorest people in Chicago, and that survival aid for the elderly and day care for young mothers are necessities.
- Too many children die as infants, lack care as youngsters, and are poorly educated as students.
- Sponsored legislation strengthening the Child Nutrition Act.
- Has served on the House Education and Labor Committee and the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education.
- Has opposed Reagan’s brutal cuts in education and child nutrition programs in the U.S. Congress.

WHAT HAROLD WASHINGTON HAS SAID ABOUT:

Equal Opportunity: “I honestly believe that I am the only candidate who can rally Chicagoans to create a city in which every individual will receive his or her full measure of dignity.”

---Statement of candidacy for mayor.

ERA: “To me, the ERA is a non-debatable issue...The ERA would establish a fundamental legal principle that the law must deal with the particular attributes of individuals, not with classifications attributed to one sex or another.”


Education: “As Mayor, I would make improvement in the educational system one of my highest priorities. Failure to educate our children and young adults jeopardizes the future of the city.”


For more information, contact
Zenobia Black, 853-1983

On behalf of the Women's Network for Harold Washington for Mayor, Addie L. Wyatt, recently wrote: “We have examined the candidates for Mayor quite carefully, and we are unanimous in our belief that Congressman Washington stands head and shoulders above all other mayoral aspirants by both ability and conviction.”
THE DALEY RECORD ON WOMEN

Richard Daley, where support of women's issues is concerned, has been conspicuous by negative votes or by absence. This is symbolized by his attitude to the Equal Rights Amendment. As State Senator, he announced his support for the ERA, but was seldom to be found at critical points in its legislative life. His record in the Senate, as chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and as State's Attorney, gives women little reason to give him the support he has withheld from them.

The Facts:

Abortion Rights

As State Senator, Daley consistently voted to restrict the right to abortion. In addition, he supported legislation to remove Medicaid coverage for the procedure in Illinois, an act of discrimination against the rights of poor women.

- 1975-voted for HB 1851, to restrict abortion rights.
- 1977-voted for HB 333, to ban Medicaid funding (also voted to override Gov. Thompson's veto of the bill).
- 1979-voted for a mandatory 72-hour waiting period between request and procedure.

Parental consent has become an important issue in the area of abortion and contraceptive rights. While missing the vote on a 1977 bill which would require parental or court consent to abortion for a minor, Daley voted to override Thompson's veto.

Rape Protection

As State Senator, Daley voted against a Bill, rendering past sexual conduct inadmissible as evidence in rape trials unless pertinent (HB 760, 1977).

- As chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1975, Daley attempted to kill a package of six anti-rape bills--including one similar to HB 760 and another requiring mandatory police training in rape investigation. He bottled the bills up in a sub-committee to which he failed to appoint members. He was condemned in the press at the time by Chicago Legal Action for Women.

Violence Against Women

- As State Senator, Daley failed to vote on a Bill which would have reduced the mandatory period for a violent spouse to stay away from a battered women's house.

Divorce

- Daley voted against no-fault divorce (SB 697, 1977).

Discrimination

- As State Senator, Daley was absent for 31 votes on measures that would prevent discrimination between 1977 and 1979.
- In 1975 and 1976, Daley was present but did not vote for 2 bills prohibiting discrimination against women in insurance or credit.
- As State's Attorney, in his campaign Daley promised to appoint significant numbers of women and minorities to key posts. However, from his election to July, 1982, the number of female Assistant State's Attorneys (ASAs) only risen from 17.3% to 19.9% of the total. Only 25% of all ASAs hired between Jan. 1st, 1980 and Sept. 20th, 1982 were women.
THE BYRNE RECORD ON WOMEN

At the beginning of her Mayoral campaign, Jane Byrne announced that she "didn't care" whether or not she had the support of women. Her years in office have borne out this indifference to women's needs in a "Business as Usual" Administration which has ignored the plight of the increasing number of families in poverty which are headed by women. The shameful infant mortality rate and the tragedy of domestic violence have brought forth only a few flashy band-aid programs. Affirmative action and training for non-traditional workplace roles have been honored in the breach.

The Facts:

- Chicago is 3rd in infant mortality out of 56 major cities. It ranks among the 10 worst cities for the high proportion of women delivering preterm babies. The Administration has not responded with positive programs. Well-baby clinics have been closed and public health nurses laid off.

- Mayor Byrne has taken no position on abortion. This leaves the women of Chicago vulnerable to restrictive City Council Ordinances similar to that passed in Akron, Ohio.

- Resources for rape victims in the City are seriously lacking, particularly in Black communities and for women who do not speak English. The Mayor's Hot-Line is inadequate; it provides information and referral but no counseling.

- Half of all rape cases reported to the Chicago police are thrown out as undounded: this is the highest rate for any major city.

- 40% of battered women and their children needing shelter are turned away each month. The Byrne Administration has ignored the attempts of women's organizations to get funding for shelters, with proper staffing and referrals. Instead, the City has set up an extremely expensive, small and inadequate shelter in the Robert Taylor Homes.

- 80% of families in public housing are headed by women, yet few services meet their special needs and they have no functioning input into CHA policies.

- Mayor Byrne has appointed no women as heads of the line departments which control City jobs and funds, except Human Services, a traditional women's area which has borne heavy cuts.

- The City has hired only 18% women at a time when the private labor force has 44% women.

- The Mayor's Office of Employment and Training has only one program which prepares women for occupations outside the traditional role of women.

- The Fair Housing Ordinances do not prohibit discrimination against families with children.

COMMITTEE TO ELECT HAROLD WASHINGTON MAYOR OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO, Walter Bacon, Chairman

Notes or copies will be available for purchase from County Clerk's Office.
Health care urged as key primary topic

THE MAJOR MAYORAL candidates were urged Monday by the Chicago Health Care Crisis Coalition to make health care a key topic of their campaigns.

The ad hoc coalition of 14 consumer, health care and civic groups said it has mailed a questionnaire to Mayor Jane Byrne, U.S. Rep. Harold Washington and State’s Atty. Richard Daley, who all are Democrats, and to Republican State Rep. Bernard Epton to determine their positions on health-related issues.

The questions touch on helping the unemployed who have lost on-the-job health benefits, how to deal with reduced federal and state resources, whether city and county health programs can be better coordinated, and how the city’s infant mortality rate can be reduced.

DR. QUENTIN YOUNG, former chairman of the Department of Medicine of Cook County Hospital and spokesman for the coalition, said none of the candidates has issued a comprehensive health program for the city. They should “state concretely” how they will use health care resources, Young said.

He charged that under Byrne, the city Department of Health has suffered a serious personnel cutback and that many of the jobholders are employed for political reasons.

Spokesmen for all the candidates said health care will be addressed during the course of the campaign.

Dr. Quentin Young, spokesman for the Chicago Health Care Crisis Coalition: None of the mayoral candidates has issued a comprehensive health program for the city.
The aggressive federal assault on food programs, health care for the poor, environmental protection, health and safety on the job, Medicare funding and many, many others has posed a clear and present danger to the public's health. The deterioration of the national economy, swelling the ranks of the poor and depleting state and national resources, has created a genuine crisis for Chicago, as elsewhere: hunger and illness are a growing part of the American reality.

The Mayor of Chicago can engage this problem, but only by using present resources in an entirely new way - a way which channels the skill, energy and care which are to be found in every community. Today these resources are ignored or spurned by a health system bungled by patronage and mismanagement in the Public Sector and dominated by profit motivation and the over-utilization of high technology in the Private Sector.

Chicago must make creative use of existing resources (emphasizing prevention with judicious use of high technology); the coordination of federal, state, county, and city services; the maximum utilization of the unique contributions of community groups, churches, schools and health organizations. Only with the unifying leadership of the mayor can this crisis be abated. Nothing less will assure decent health services for thousands of Chicagoans.

Chicago has an illustrious tradition of public health initiative. The city must rekindle that spirit, particularly in these times, by instituting reforms that will not only rescue those in dangerous straits, but will also achieve an enhanced health status for all of our people.

I. Emphasis on Prevention

The decline in recent years of deaths due to heart disease, stroke, some cancers and in infant mortality rates is testimony to the value of preventive efforts. A great majority of illness and accidents can be prevented.

Hypertension, malnutrition, alcohol and drug addiction, infectious and contagious diseases, correctible disorders of infancy and childhood, and most infant deaths can be prevented or contained by early diagnosis and treatment. Such efforts are not only effective in maintaining good health - they save money and resources. For example, while it costs about $1,000,000 to provide prenatal care for a pregnant woman, it will cost an average of $50,000 to preserve the life of a premature infant.

The rate of infant deaths in a community gives a good picture of its general health. The infant mortality rate in Chicago is a disgrace. In some communities, babies die at a rate higher than many underdeveloped countries. The major causes of death are premature, low birth-weight and birth defects, conditions that can be drastically decreased with good prenatal care and nutritional habits. Chicago ranks among the worst 10 cities for the proportion of women who only start receiving prenatal care late in their pregnancies. Previously, infant mortality was a poor woman's problem, but now it is invading communities such as Chatham and Avalon. Chicago's status as the city with the third highest rate of infant deaths is testimony to the ineffectiveness of the Department's programs under Mayor Byrne.

Tuberculosis is on the increase in Chicago. Cook County Hospital wards are over-burdened with TB patients, yet the most crucial aspect of care - follow-up - is receiving little attention from the Department of Health. If we are to prevent a return to the days of the isolated sanatorium, an outreach and follow-up plan must be coordinated through county and city services. The current administration has not chosen to give this situation the attention that it requires.

Even worse, the city has made little attempt to secure funding for prevention programs that is available. The State of Illinois, for example, spends $2.70 per capita on alcoholism programs in downstate Illinois while Chicago receives only $1.37 per capita because the city has not provided matching funds. The southside receives only $1.16 per capita.

Under my administration, the features of a city health initiative based upon prevention will include:

1. Maximum involvement of community groups, churches and local people in such efforts as detecting the incidence of hypertension, screening for high-risk pregnancies, identifying drug and alcohol abuse, and providing health education. These community organizations must be given periodic reports on their medical status.

2. Establishing a direct relationship between the Department of Health and the Department of Education, utilizing the schools as health information centers: sexual and reproductive education; smoking, drug and alcohol knowledge; nutrition; CPR training.

3. Developing home health care capabilities by training health workers at various skill levels in their own communities.

II. Upgrading of Medical Services

Although the access to medical services for low income and elderly persons improved somewhat in the mid-sixties by the passage of Medicaid and Medicare, these programs did not stimulate the development of comprehensive, high quality health facilities in most Chicago neighborhoods. Their main effect was to assure that bills would be paid for services rendered in already existing hospitals and doctors' offices. Recent cuts in Medicaid are putting an enormous strain on the health system, returning many Chicagoans to the pre-Medicaid era. Many more hospitals and doctors are now refusing Medicaid patients. This is putting an overwhelming burden on Cook County Hospital and Department of Health clinics.

COMMITTEE TO ELECT HAROLD WASHINGTON MAYER OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO
Warren Reeve Chair
A copy of this report will be available for purchase from: C.A. Price

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Washington -2-
Issue Paper

20.76
City-run clinics are plagued by a number of problems. The hiring of personnel has been based on patronage, rather than qualifications. Poor clinical management has resulted in waits that are usually as long as four hours, frequently much longer. Patients do not regularly see the same physician more than once. Necessary medications and lab tests are often unavailable, as care is bilingual personnel. Moreover, because there is no formal relationship between city clinics and both public hospitals and County hospital and its clinics, there is no mechanism for assuring continuity of care. Thus many patients are often "lost" when referred out by a Department of Health physician.

Despite the fact that the Department of Health operates nineteen mental health centers in the city, the "therapy" is primarily the dispensing of drugs. It is clear that a coordination of counseling and support services is needed to successfully treat mental health patients, but such networks do not exist at these centers. Resources for these networks and the additional networks which are being concentrated in northside clinics despite the fact that the highest incidence of emotional and psychological disturbance - and the greatest need for multidisciplinary support - is on the city's south side. Further, while these clinics are supposed to be giving alcoholism treatment and counseling, such services have been primarily turned over to private nonprofit agencies.

Under Jane Byrne's tenure, the Department of Health has operated with one overriding objective - cut back as much as possible on the direct provision of medical care to patients. Commissioner Murcel's plan, announced two years ago, was to gradually turn over the seven comprehensive health centers in private contracts to hospitals or physician groups, and to curtail all city-run services but screening and maternal/child health care. Although it was abandoned because of the overwhelming public outcry, most of its elements have been implemented. Patients are now being charged on a sliding scale. (It is clear, however, that this misguided system will have to be modified.) The Department has budgeted $700,000 to pay for patient collection on operation. Meanwhile, hundreds of patients will stay away. Half of the physicians seeing adult patients have been laid off and certain specialty and lab tests have been eliminated. Further Byrne has lost all staff responsible for long-term planning of clinic reorganization. This suggests that even the current level of operation is due to be maintained only for a short time.

The upgrading of medical services provided by the City under my administration will begin with:

1. The establishment of a mechanism for the unification and coordination of services between clinics, county, state, and private medical providers. This includes the development of a system of data gathering and analysis that will both prevent the "loss" of individual patients and give a more accurate picture of the state of Chicago's health.

2. The elimination of patronage as a basis for hiring personnel.

3. The appointment of a Commissioner of the Department of Health who has a proven record in public health and the appointment of other top level employees who are qualified in the specific field in which they are hired.

4. The prioritization of public health problems in Chicago (such as infant mortality and tuberculosis) with a coordinated plan for their solution.

5. The institution of community-based, multi-service support networks for mental health, utilizing the available resources in both the public and private sectors and training community residents as support workers.

6. A re-evaluation of emergency medical services that will assure police protection in cells where assistance is needed, well-trained dispatchers (currently only 1/2 are trained in prioritizing calls), and "cross-training" of firemen/paramedics that will alleviate the current situation that greatly overworks EMS staff.

III. Coordination of Resources

In this time of Medicaid cutbacks, state allocated block grants and matching funds, it is imperative that Chicago's efforts at providing health services are coordinated with those on the federal, state, and county levels. Duplication of services, under-utilization of existing funding, and general antagonism between agencies are a luxury that we cannot afford. Governmental bodies must be supportive, not competitive.

Women, Infant and Children's Feeding program (WIC) is being cut drastically, eliminating 25,000 from eligibility in Illinois (most in Chicago). Medicaid cuts are forcing doctors from the city and four hospitals in poor neighborhoods are on the brink of closing down.

Mayor Byrne has shown a total unwillingness to go to battle for Chicago as services have been gutted by both federal and state cutbacks. Her response is to order additional cuts in services and be silent.

Despite the fact that the vast majority of patients at Cook County Hospital live in the city of Chicago, there is no direct working relationship between the city and county concerning its fate. The Department of Health has failed to respond to the shocking rate of re-admission (70-80%) of patients coming from state mental hospitals into city mental health clinics, or to devise a joint strategy with state officials to reverse this trend.

To assure the greatest possible coordination of resources as Mayor, I will:

1. Promote the sharing of medical resources and technology between the governmental and private sectors to make the best uses of limited funds for the greatest number of people.

2. Actively pursue potential funding for city health programs at all levels of government.

3. Establish a mechanism for the coordination of health care services (County Hospital and the State's mental health services, for example), including follow-up.

4. Exert influence to keep Cook County Hospital open and operating.

5. Utilize the input of relevant city agencies in dealing with health problems as therapeutic treatments are not always the most appropriate or effective. The Department of Education, for example, can be called upon for some health teaching and screening or the Department of Streets and Sanitation can be called upon when an inordinately high incidence of accidents is found to be taking place in certain neighborhoods.

6. The Chicago Housing Authority must be utilized in the provision of health services, particularly for the elderly, including educational workshops, a hotline, and health screening.

Ultimately, a national health service implemented through local community hospitals and its clinics, Department of Health facilities, the Department of Education School Health System, and the private sector will be coordinated to assure the availability and continuity of health care. The budget of the Department of Health will be audited for the first time in over a decade to eliminate waste and to assure that funding is going for the most critical health services.
Mayor Byrne Tuesday publicly scolded the Board of Education for "lax" real estate dealings that she said delayed urgently needed school repairs.

At a City Hall press conference to announce new city aid for the "adopted" Talcott Elementary School and Cregier Vocational High School, Byrne denounced years-long delays in sale of surplus schools that could yield funds to rehabilitate aging buildings that remain in operation.

As School Board President Raul Villalobos stood silently at her side, Byrne blamed the school bureaucracy and the "staff more than the board."

Byrne said, "We have told the Board of Education they better move now. The money should be there. It is a shame . . . to me, it has been very lax."

About 21 schools were put up for sale two years ago, she said. One year was spent cataloging the real estate and another year was consumed revamping the school system's real estate division, Byrne said she was told.

Byrne pointed out that the city in September offered to buy up to $6 million worth of school property, resell it and turn over the proceeds to the board, if the board had trouble selling buildings.

Joseph Mahran, the school system's superintendent of finance, said in a telephone interview that much of the delay resulted from Byrne's interference in selection of school personnel and "bureaucratic failure" to act on new state legislation to speed disposition of surplus properties.

Mahran said that when he assumed his job in May, 1980, he was given a staff of only one person and a secretary and for two years tried to get the board to provide funds for the staff necessary to appraise and market real estate.

An adequate budget finally came last September, he said, and he has advertised 17 properties and sold $700,000 worth of property.

In late 1981 and early 1982, he charged, Byrne upset formation of a real estate staff by proposing and rejecting various candidates. Last March, Mahran said, he submitted draft legislation to overcome legal hurdles to disposition of buildings and "it never got out of the mayor's office."

Talcott, at 1840 W. Ohio, and Cregier, at 2040 W. Adams, will get $154,600 in the city's share of federal funds to establish computer laboratories to introduce students to computer science. Talcott will have 30 computer stations and Cregier gets 21. Also, Byrne said, she has earmarked $1.7 million in federal community development funds for repairs at the two schools and adjoining sidewalks and streets.

In a third program at the two schools, students will get lunches once a week from McDonald's Restaurant chain. The lunches will be served from Jan. 17 until the end of the school year every Friday at Cregier and every Monday at Talcott. The Board of Education will pay for 15,000 lunches at prices comparable to those for the present school lunches and McDonald's will donate 15,000 more meals, Villalobos said.

Mayoral candidates back school reform

By Don Hayner

Three mayoral candidates leveled criticism at the way Chicago schools are run at a forum Saturday sponsored by the Citizens Schools Committee. Mayor Byrne, who was also scheduled to appear, sent her regrets.


Epton, who spoke first, said "the Chicago school system is near collapse." He said he would refuse to pay incompetent teachers, would close "underutilized" schools and, although opposed to an elected school board, would require an advisory group for board appointments.

Epton, who periodically cracked self-effacing jokes, also blamed parents for part of the problem by making teachers little more than baby-sitters.

He said, however, that teachers would be the first priority for salary increases, while administrative personnel should be trimmed. Pay for maintenance workers, he said, is "much higher than it should be."

Daley said he would give the Kraft building, at 500 N. Peshigo Ct., back to the school system. Kraft first offered the building to the school board, but the city got it instead.

Washington, who drew the warmest welcome from the audience of several hundred, said he leaned toward an elected school board to remove it from political maneuvering. He also said that new sources of revenue must be found to fund the schools and that if the money can't come from the state, it must come from within the city. "You can't play tiddlywinks with the city's future," he said.

Washington, as did Daley and Epton, called for a removal of politics from the schools' operation.

Daley said he was against an elected board because elected district representatives would want tax money staying in their districts. He also called for a decentralization of administration.

Daley received boos and catcalls from the crowd when asked how he felt about segregation, its effect on schools and how it relates to his community of Bridgeport and to Cicero. The crowd apparently believed he did not answer the question when Daley referred to the federal court's approval of the city's voluntary desegregation plan.

Previously, Washington had said desegregation was not the issue as much as quality education.

The crowd voiced disappointment at the announcement of Byrne's failure to appear. She was to speak last.

During a campaign stop in the 33rd-Ward earlier Saturday, Byrne said she was not surprised that the Chicago Tribune in its Sunday editions endorsed Daley.

"They didn't endorse me last time, and they certainly weren't with me for the last 3½ years," she said.

"They didn't hurt me last time," she said. "And that's why it's important to go into the neighborhoods and talk with the people."
Mayoral candidates ducking schools?

For years a generally accepted maxim has prevailed that the health of a city is linked to the quality of its public schools. Parents know it, the business community knows it, social scientists know it and politicians should know it.

But why, as we approach the Feb. 22 mayoral primary, has there been so little discussion of problems and solutions regarding the fate of our most important public service, the Chicago public schools?

Just as mayoral candidates discuss jobs, housing, commercial development, crime and city infrastructure in relation to municipal government, they should also be discussing schools and the Chicago Board of Education.

At a time when most of our city’s children read, write and calculate below the national average, when students are using books and equipment so out of date that they are poorly prepared to compete in a complex society, when the school system is so poorly financed that good teachers bail out from frustration over lack of resources and support, then it’s time for this city’s most important elected leaders—especially the mayor—to focus their attention on the schools.

No position of power and authority has more control over the schools than the mayor. Therefore, we at Citizens Schools Committee feel the mayoral candidates must address the basic issue of the status of the school system among their priorities.

Parents and citizen-taxpayers across the city have many questions for the candidates. Some of them:

- To provide our children with quality materials and pay good teachers what they deserve, what will you do, specifically, to assist the School Board in its continuing financial crisis and revenue shortage?
- What is your position on current proposals to elect the School Board or decentralize it by creating several locally autonomous school districts in Chicago?
- Notwithstanding proposals to decentralize or elect, what criteria will you use in selecting School Board nominees, and what process will you use to ensure citizen involvement in the selection?
- In light of the historical link between city politics and the School Board, particularly during contract negotiations, what should be the relationship between the mayor’s office, the City Council and the board regarding day-to-day and long-term decision-making for the schools?
- What proposals will you urge to ensure parental and citizen participation in all phases of School Board policymaking and administration?

Because of the need for answers to these and many other questions, the Citizens Schools Committee is sponsoring a mayoral candidates forum on Chicago public education at 1 p.m. Saturday, Jan. 22, in Jones Commercial High School. The four major candidates for mayor have confirmed they will attend.

We are confident the parents of the school system’s 435,000 children and the citizens who support the School Board’s billion-dollar budget will get clear proposals from the mayoral candidates on the many tough problems that plague our schools.

This forum kicks off a yearlong series designed to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Citizens Schools Committee, which is dedicated, through research and advocacy, to improve the quality of Chicago public education. It serves as an example of our continuing efforts to include the public in the discussion and decision-making regarding our public schools.

In this era of Reaganomics and abdication of federal responsibility for public education, we continue without change in our founding concept.

Our support of public education stems from an abiding belief in and commitment to the fact that public schools are the foundation of a progressive and egalitarian American society. We believe in such a society, where open, publicly supported institutions, like Chicago’s public schools, afford everyone—every race, socio-economic class and background—a chance to achieve his or her potential and succeed as a contributing member of society.

To the mayoral candidates, this is the challenge from the citizens of Chicago. What powers, what creativity, what leadership will you bring to bear on an institution that holds the key to the future of our children, our city and our society?

Let’s hear your proposals.

Michael J. Harrington is executive director of the Citizens Schools Committee.
Candidates speak out on CTA

In an effort to let Chicago's voters know where the three major Democratic candidates for mayor stand on important issues facing the city, The Sun-Times has invited them to answer 10 questions. Their answers will be published during the next two weeks.

The question

If the state Legislature doesn't approve a subsidy for the CTA this year, would you favor raising fares, cutting service or imposing a local transit tax?

Background

After years of promises, this spring is being hailed as the season the General Assembly might approve a transit subsidy. But even if a subsidy is voted, there is little reason to think it will take care of all the RTA's and the CTA's fiscal headaches.

The alternative remedies are familiar:
- A fare increase. This alternative is probably the least attractive politically, since Chicago, with its 90 cent basic fare, is second only to Alaskan cities when it comes to transit fares.
- Service cuts. Although cutting out bus routes and rapid transit stops may save money, it also seems to fly in the face of the philosophy behind public transit—offering inexpensive transportation to everyone. While there are routes that carry few passengers, the people who ride them often say their elimination will hurt their business, and would be a hardship for senior citizens and the handicapped.
- Taxes. Any new transit taxes probably would have to be added to the current 1 percent sales taxes collected within Cook County and the 0.25 percent sales tax collected in Du Page, Kane, Lake, McHenry and Will counties.

The answers

Harold Washington

The fiscal program I have offered is the only one with the potential for raising new revenues for the CTA. Under my program, $700 million in new revenues will be generated for the State of Illinois, enabling it to meet its legal responsibilities.

Furthermore, reports indicate that Gov. Thompson will propose an increase in the state's motor fuel tax. The state's reallocation formula for these funds should be modified so that the Chicago area, which pays a far larger share of this tax than it receives in returned revenues, receives additional aid for the CTA. Once in office, I will press for that formula modification.

Had Chicago's current mayor not negotiated away the state's annual operating subsidy in return for increased sales taxes, the CTA would not be experiencing its current financial crisis. Had the CTA's current management not been so ineffectively as to permit $14 million to be stolen from under its nose, transit fares might not have had to increase.

I will urge the CTA to roll back fares from 90 cents to 75 cents, increase ridership and improve its management. The CTA system can be an effective, safe and low-cost means of transportation for all Chicagoans.

Jane M. Byrne

I do not believe conjecture and speculation is a proper method of setting public policy, especially on an issue as vital as public transportation. I believe the General Assembly will give the highest priority to considering financial assistance to public transportation in northeastern Illinois.

In the past, we have worked with suburban municipal officials through the Chicago Area Transportation Study to develop a workable solution to the transportation issue. This effort nearly proved successful last year. I anticipate this effort to continue.

Late last year, this administration joined other cities, transit officials and concerned members of Congress to defeat a Reagan administration effort to eliminate operating assistance. This action will narrow any projected deficits for mass transit.

Recently, the CTA has demonstrated the ability to cut costs, trim waste and eliminate fraud such as that uncovered recently by a combined CTA-Police Department into fare-box thefts. This course of action should be fully pursued until all proposed savings are implemented.

Finally, I do not believe fare increases or local transit taxes represent a meaningful way to resolve this situation.

Richard M. Daley

Prior to 1979, public transportation in the Chicago region was subsidized by the state. This subsidy was abolished through a deal reached between Mayor Byrne and Gov. Thompson. As a result, in the rest of Illinois public transportation systems receive a state subsidy—but not Chicago. Throughout the rest of the nation, big-city mass transit systems are subsidized by their states—but not Chicago.

In 1981, Mayor Byrne proposed an increase from 6 percent to 7 percent in the sales tax to help operate the CTA. The City Council passed the new tax with the understanding that the money would go to public transportation. Once enacted, however, the revenue was taken over by Mayor Byrne for general city purposes, and not used for the CTA.

The mayor of Chicago has an obligation to fight for a return of the state subsidy to public transportation in Chicago. The mayor also has the responsibility to work with Chicago's congressional delegation to promote a greater federal contribution to mass transit.

Raising fares and/or cutting service is counterproductive, because it drives riders away. Rather than a local transit tax, a greater portion of the gas tax should go for mass transit.

Next: The prevailing wage.
Cut CTA fares by 15 cents: Washington

By Brian J. Kelly

Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.) proposed Wednesday that CTA fares be cut from 90 cents to 75 cents.

Washington’s suggestion came in the first installment of “Chicago’s Agenda,” a series of articles in which the three major Democratic mayoral candidates are given an opportunity to respond to questions posed by Sun-Times editors.

The congressman said he hoped new funds for the CTA could come from an increase in the state gasoline tax and a change in the formula by which Chicago receives that money. Washington said the reduced fare would increase ridership.

A spokesman for Washington said the proposal was part of an over-all CTA plan that Washington will unveil next week.

In her response, Mayor Byrne opposed fare increases, but said a solution to the CTA’s woes lay in the General Assembly.

R. State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley also opposed a fare hike and said he would fight for a renewed state subsidy and a greater share of the gas tax for Chicago.

In other political developments:

- Cook County Board President George W. Dunne said Wednesday that a large black voter registration potentially takes away support from Daley, whom he is backing.

“Though I understand Washington’s position,” he said during the taping of WMAQ radio’s “Chicago News Conference,” “the people of Chicago are very much disenchanted with Mayor Byrne, among others who are disenchanted,” he said.

- The Chicago Board of Election Commissioners reported Tuesday that among the city’s 17 predominantly black wards, registration was up 29.5 percent since the mayoral primary four years ago.

- Byrne won the endorsement of the Chicago Federation of Labor on a close voice vote during a sometimes angry and divisive meeting Tuesday night.

The vote by about 400 delegates approved the CFT executive board’s earlier endorsement of Byrne.

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Park district replaces Daley backer who contended ouster was political

By Rudolph Unger

AN ASSISTANT to Supt. Edmund Kelly was appointed the Chicago Park District’s superintendent of employment Monday to replace Horace Lindsey, who charged he was ousted for his politics.

Alton Neiman, 38, of 5531 N. Virginia Ave., was recommended for the position by John McHugh, president of the park board. The board unanimously approved Neiman’s appointment to the $46,956-a-year job.

Lindsey was one of five top park aides whom the board reappointed to six-year terms in September, but the board rescinded Lindsey’s appointment in November on the advice of Rick Halprin, park district attorney.

Halprin said that because Lindsey’s term did not expire until this month, the appointment was illegal.

LINDSEY CHARGED he was dumped after park officials learned he had contributed $5,000 to State’s Atty. Richard Daley’s political fund. Daley is running for mayor in the Feb. 22 Democratic primary. Mayor Jane Byrne and Kelly are political allies.

Lindsey filed lawsuits contesting his firing in federal and county courts, but both were dismissed. The job does not have civil service protection.

Following Monday’s action, Lindsey, who was at the meeting, said, “Well, they replaced a Daley precinct captain with a Byrne precinct captain. The rest of my answer will follow on Feb. 22, when Rich Daley becomes the new mayor.”

Lindsey had been with the district for 17 years. Neiman has worked there 14 years.

IN OTHER ACTION, the board approved the sale of beer at games of the Chicago Blitz football team and the Chicago Sting soccer team, both of which will be playing at Soldier Field this year.

The board also approved a $2.7 million contract with R. Rudnick & Co. to renovate the interior of the clubhouse of the South Shore Country Club Park.

Award of the contract had been delayed at the previous meeting after a community group protested the award. Board member Lola McGowan refrained from voting on the contract.
Mayor Jane Byrne is flanked by two giggling students Thursday as she leaves Manley High School, 2935 W. Polk St., where she held a question-and-answer session with students in the school auditorium.

Byrne blasted for park district policy

By Mitchell Loric

U.S. REP. Harold Washington [D., Ill.] Thursday called for eliminating the Chicago Park District as a separate entity and for incorporating its operations into the City of Chicago under the control of the mayor and city council.

Washington's two opponents in the Feb. 22 Democratic mayoral primary, Mayor Jane Byrne and State's Atty. Richard M. Daley, opposed such a move. All three appeared at a forum to discuss the city's park systems.

Byrne took a drubbing from Daley and Washington for actions of the park board commissioners she appointed.

They blasted her for policies that resulted in the U.S. Justice Department filing a civil-rights lawsuit against the park district last Nov. 30, for considering such sports events as a Grand Prix race on Lake Shore Drive around Soldier Field and for limiting public participation in the budgetary and planning processes.

The forum was sponsored by Friends of the Parks, a not-for-profit civic organization, in a meeting room at Loyola University's downtown campus. The three candidates appeared separately but answered the same questions after giving opening remarks.

WASHINGTON SAID that bringing the park district—with its 3,800 employees and 580 parks and other recreational facilities on more than 7,300 acres—under city control would “focus responsibility” for the parks on elected officials, save money in overlapping administrative costs and end the claims that the mayor is responsible just for the appointment of the board but not for its operations.

Daley and Byrne, in one of their few areas of agreement on the parks, said that the district should maintain its independence from the city. An act of the state legislature would be needed to change the current setup.

Both noted that the district has its own taxing and bonding powers, and Byrne added that it would be “very cumbersome” for the city to take on responsibility for the parks.

Washington and Daley were critical of Byrne's appointments to the park board. Washington said the standard appointees have to meet, generally, is to “slavishly follow the dictates of the Democratic machine.”

Daley said there has been a “revolving door” of appointments at the park board and singled out for praise Raymond Simon, former park board president, whom Byrne named to the board to keep an eye on Edmund Kelly, parks general superintendent.

BYRNE REPLACED Simon in June with Jack McHugh after Kelly, the powerful committeesman for the 47th Ward, agreed to support Byrne's choice for Cook County Democratic chairman, Ald. Edward Vrdolyak (10th).

Neither of Byrne's challengers, however, said whether they would retain the present five board members but promised to consult with community groups about future appointments.

Byrne said she sees no need to replace any of the current board members unless Commissioner Iola McGowan wins her aldermanic election. If McGowan leaves the board, Byrne promised to replace her with another woman.

All the candidates said they opposed putting a dome over Soldier Field but Washington and Daley went on to criticize Byrne for considering such events as a Grand Prix auto race on Lake Shore Drive near Soldier Field.

Byrne said the idea for a Grand Prix has been “put off until the far distant future.”

THE MAYOR ALSO came under fire for alleged discriminatory policies at the parks in distribution of services and personnel.

“Certain parks in black areas don't have basketball courts,” Washington joked to the laughs of the audience.

“You know we love basketball.”

Byrne said that 53 percent of employees in all city agencies are minority members.

Washington suggested saving money and opening up the parks to more programs by contracting with community groups to provide recreational services.

But Byrne said the park district has been caught in the same bind as the city, with reduced funding from the federal and state governments and a tax base that has been hit by the recession. She said the program cuts are “very sad” but the district is trying not to increase taxes at this time.
Daley the bashful bobs, weaves on tough issues

THE GREAT Debate debate apparently is over now that Richard Daley has agreed to join his Democratic primary opponents on the same stage.

Last week, after a month and a half of hemming and hawing, he finally agreed to debate, anxious to stem growing negative publicity.

There are two questions worth asking in the wake of his decision:

One is why Daley, who is surrounded by savvy advisers, waited so long to announce the decision. The other is whether Daley, who has avoided challenging forums to date, should be let off the hook because he finally has agreed to one debate.

GOING INTO the campaign, Daley’s camp knew that his opponents would seek to raise subtle questions about his intelligence and lackluster speaking style. His foes said he was merely running on his name and is not smart enough to administer Chicago.

It stood to reason that if he balked on the debates, his reluctance would be viewed as fear or lack of confidence in his ability to discuss the issues.

Indeed, Mayor Jane Byrne made hay of Daley’s “maybe yes, maybe no” debate posture, deflecting every attack he has made on her record by inviting him to discuss the issue face to face.

Rep. Harold Washington, the best speaker in the field, declared that the voters would question Daley’s courage if he failed to participate in debates.

THE IMPRESSION that Daley is anxious to avoid debating the issues has been accentuated by other developments:

- He was the only major candidate who failed to appear at the city clerk’s office last Monday morning to personally file candidacy petitions. He had “other business” that kept him away from standing side by side with his opponents, his aides explained.

- He has ducked, at least for now, all the radio shows on which he would be questioned by a panel of reporters. Both Byrne and Washington have submitted to this rigorous test in recent weeks.

- He refused to participate in a taped candidates’ forum with his major opponents Saturday on WLS-TV.

- He also declined to appear Sunday before a screening session of the Independent Voters of Illinois Independent Precinct Organization, where he was bound to face some hostile questions. Byrne and Washington have agreed to attend.

DALEY HAS held a few press conferences since announcing his candidacy Nov. 4, at which he raised valid questions about the mayor’s budget. He also has stopped for brief, impromptu sessions with reporters at campaign appearances.

But these sessions haven’t been overly productive because Daley fails to budge from a few simple themes: Byrne has raised taxes $480 million; big shots at City Hall are being paid exorbitant salaries; the mayor’s prodigious political fundraising is scandalous; and the city needs new leadership.

However, by avoiding tough forums and challenging questions, he is playing into the hands of those who paint him as ill-equipped to run the city.

Byrne raises a legitimate question when she asks her opponents to explain how they would have handled problems she has confronted in the last four years, and what they plan for the future.

WASHINGTON already has opined that the city will need additional tax revenues in the coming years, along with cuts in a patronage-bloated bureaucracy. However, he has offered few details.

Byrne has vowed no new tax increases, although it is unclear how she intends to fill a projected budget gap next year, when one-time revenues she used to provide election year tax relief will not be available.

We don’t know what Daley would do beyond a rollback in some executive salaries because he hasn’t said.

Daley, like all the candidates, should be forced to address such issues before Feb. 22, and it is not at all certain that a debate—and he has only committed himself to one—will provide many answers.

SUCH AN encounter may involve not three but six participants, because three fringe candidates—William Markowski, Frank Rinaldo and Sheila Jones—also are on the primary ballot.

So Daley really made a minor concession last week when he finally answered the debate question. There are many more substantive questions than must be answered between now and election day.
Hopefuls discuss housing

In an effort to let Chicago's voters know where the three major Democratic candidates for mayor stand on important issues, the Sun-Times has invited them to answer 10 questions. Their answers will be published during the next two weeks.

The question
What would you do to stop the decrease in Chicago's private housing stock?

Background
Chicago's supply of privately owned housing has decreased in the last decade, with a large portion of new buildings concentrated along the lakefront, where costs of renting or owning are higher than in other parts of the city. In parts of the South and West sides, on the other hand, neighborhoods lost population because of demolition or abandonment of buildings.

Census data show that in 1980 there were 489,819 housing units in buildings of more than five units. In 1970, there were 501,113 units. In two-flat housing units, there were 233,869 units in 1970 and 219,805 a decade later.

At the same time, demand for housing has increased, in part because more people are living alone. According to the 1980 census, 31 percent of Chicago's households consisted of one person, up from 27.8 percent in 1970.

The answers

Jane M. Byrne

The problems of preserving and revitalizing the city's aging stock are largely tied to the nation's economy. The continuing economic downturn does not provide an encouraging backdrop and tends to hamper major developments.

This administration has moved to consolidate all housing programs under the new Department of Housing. The city has initiated financial assistance programs and other efforts to make more economical financing available.

The city has developed and enacted the first major overhauls of the building code in more than 25 years—an effort that will aid those who want to rehabilitate older homes and apartments. The city is also working with individuals and community groups to utilize the full advantages of historic preservation tax incentives to aid restoration efforts.

Taken together, these programs represent a comprehensive approach to restoring the city's housing stock in a workable manner throughout Chicago.

Harold Washington

I will work to reverse the trend of decrease in private housing stock by implementing a comprehensive program to preserve existing housing, stimulate private and public financing for multifamily housing rehabilitation, and provide regulatory safeguards for owners and tenants. Key points of my program include:

- Tax-exempt bonding for multifamily housing rehabilitation, as in Pittsburgh has done
- A linked-delay program for investment of city treasury funds to leverage housing investments by financial institutions
- A mortgage guarantee program for private financing, as in Philadelphia and New York do.

I will also institute regulatory reforms, including a revised building code that is not a disincentive to rehabilitation, code enforcement aimed at keeping properties safe without causing displacement, and establishing a tenant bill of rights to protect tenants and resolve landlord-tenant disputes.

Richard M. Daley

The backbone of my community development program is housing. I will launch a major program to rehabilitate older apartment buildings that now are neglected. My weatherization program will help save older buildings and reduce operating costs for tenants and owners. Community organizations will be trained to conduct energy audits and assist in weatherizing housing stock. Low-interest loans will be offered to finance extensive weatherization. Combined with more substantial rehabilitation work, this program will provide incentives for more substantial rehabilitation efforts.

As well as saving housing, this program will create jobs. Five thousand people will be put to work helping the disabled and elderly weatherize their homes.

The city's building code is another major concern for neighborhood development. Today, there is a backlog of over 20,000 cases in Housing Court. My proposal to overhaul the city's corporation counsel's office will reduce this backlog. Housing Court must be strengthened with higher fines for code violations.

We also need to process permits quickly. We need to put into action the Building Board of Appeals, which Mayor Byrne appointed but which has never met, and we must publish the long-promised Homeowners Handbook to make the rehabilitation code more understandable.

NEXT: Improving race relations.

Daley alters position on rent control

By Thom Shanker

MAYORAL CANDIDATE Richard M. Daley backed away from an earlier endorsement of non-eviction policies on Thursday, but said he supports the creation of a grievance panel to hear complaints from tenants who think they are being gouged by landlords.

State's Atty. Daley said in Monday night's final mayoral debate before the Feb. 22 Democratic primary that he supports rent control. He amended that Thursday, however, citing problems in New York City and other places that have instituted the practice.

In taping a segment of "Talking Headlines," to be broadcast at 11 p.m. Sunday on WXYZ-FM, Daley pledged to create a mechanism to hear tenants' complaints against landlords' desires to raise rents.

Enforcement powers to be granted the panel would be determined later, Daley said.

ALSO ON THURSDAY, Daley received the endorsement of 30 labor leaders who cited the candidate's "proven record supporting labor [and his] commitment to working men and women."

Thomas Fitzgibbon, international vice president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, said Mayor Jane Byrne had "the worst labor record in the city's recent memory."

Fitzgibbon listed Byrne's treatment of firefighters, transit workers and teachers as examples. He also accused the mayor of failing in her promise to pass a collective bargaining ordinance for city employees and of balancing her budget by juggling the city workers' pension fund.

The union leaders asserted that they represent the consensus of the rank and file. No figures were available for the number of workers who are members of the 30 groups.

UNION LEADERS attaching their names to the Daley endorsement included George Vest Jr., Chicago District Council of Carpenters president; Jack Keane, international vice president of Asbestos Workers Local 17; Harry E. Conlon, Graphic Arts International Union Local 245 president; and William Joyce, International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 710 secretary-treasurer.

The Chicago Federation of Labor, however, endorsed Byrne Tuesday night in a vote opposed by the chairman of non-eviction policy delegates and by accusations that the federation's constitution was violated.

Daley also lashed out at Byrne for her close association with John D'Arco, 1st Ward Democratic committeeman and a reputed associate of organized crime members; and Ald. Fred Roti (1st Ward).

"I will disassociate with people who look for the best interests of the city," Daley said, adding that he does not place D'Arco and Roti in that category.
Mayor Jane Byrne's talent for wishful thinking must have been set in motion New Year's Eve at Pioneer Court after she pulled the switch that set off simultaneous fireworks displays in 16 locations throughout the city.

When the mayor was introduced shortly before midnight, she was greeted with a chorus of lusty boos from a crowd of about 15,000 who jammed the area between Tribune Tower and the Michigan Avenue bridge. But after the fireworks displays began to light up the skies in various parts of the city, the mayor was cheered more than once by the same crowd.

Was that a good omen for the mayor's political future?

Can her adversaries among the more than 1,500,000 registered voters also be coaxed into a political ABOUT face by her superficial displays of brilliance and efficiency?

It is assumed with justification that disenchantedWith Mayor Byrne runs deep in black communities. In fact, the tide of dislike for the mayor is believed to have contributed to the record-setting black voter registration drive's success this past summer and fall.

Moreover, for the past 18 months it had been assumed that the black community had written off the mayor and that the mayor no longer considered appeals to blacks an important part of her re-election strategy.

The Mayor stunned her black supporters when she reduced black membership on the school board from five to three. That move represented a cut of from 47 percent black representation to 27 percent at a time when black school enrollments were 61 percent of the total.

And to add insult to injury, the two white women who replaced black board members Leon Davis and Michael Scott were individuals considered to be clearly anti-desegregation.

One of Mayor Byrne's black supporters (who remained in her camp) explained after the school board appointments that, "The mayor is not necessarily a racist, rather, she is simply a politician."

"The mayor has decided that if she is going to be re-elected over Richard M. Daley, she must invade his strongholds on the Southwest and Northwest Sides," Byrne's black supporter said.

Later the Mayor dropped former State Rep. Eugene Barnes, a black regular Democrat, as chairman of the Chicago Transit Authority. But probably the most telling indication of the mayor's strategy came when she placed whites in all vacancies on the board of the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA). That decision turned black disenchantment into black animosity.

Last summer and early fall blacks responded to Mayor Byrne and also to Reaganomics by launching one of the city's largest voter registration drives.

The black vote in November came close to providing Adlai Stevenson III an upset victory over Gov. Thompson, and it brought forth U.S. Rep. Harold Washington (D., Ill.) as the first serious black candidate for mayor of Chicago.

Today, no politician is more aware of the potential of the black vote than Mayor Byrne.

"The mayor wants desperately to regain black support," a black figure in her campaign told me during the Christmas holidays.

The mayor is spreading the word through black ministers and regular Democratic Party leaders that she "was ill-advised and very sorry" about her earlier school board and CHA appointments.

Candidates Washington and Daley should be advised that Mayor Byrne is studiously "going after her old black vote."

And she has money and some very bright people trying to help her find the right switch that she can pull that will turn those j千里 into votes on election day.
Washington just can't outdistance race issue
By Douglas Frantz

NO MATTER where he goes these days, and no matter how hard he tries to deny it, race is an issue in U.S. Rep. Harold Washington's run for mayor of Chicago.

Washington brought up the subject himself Sunday before a predominately black audience in a South Side church, criticizing the press for ignoring substantive issues and dwelling on his race.

But, in almost the same breath, he launched an appeal for black votes that underscored the fact that he cannot win the Democratic primary Feb. 22 without overwhelming support from blacks.

Washington faces a political paradox: He must drum up vital black support while avoiding injecting race into the contest and alienating the white voters who are necessary for a victory.

"WE ARE walking a fine line and we know it," said Al Raby, Washington's campaign manager. "We are sensitive to the issue."

In order for Washington to win the primary, Raby said, at least 80 percent of the black voters registered in Chicago must go to the polls and 80 percent of them must vote for Washington.

Don Rose, the independent political consultant, believes Washington may be approaching 60 percent of the black vote and says his biggest task is convincing blacks he is a serious candidate.

"It has been proven futile in Chicago to say, 'I'm black, so vote for me,' " Rose said. "Washington must persuade blacks that he is a serious, qualified candidate. And one part of that is showing that white voters take him seriously."

RABY SAID the campaign needs 8 to 14 percent of the white vote, with its main sources of strength in the liberal lakefront neighborhoods.

Washington's campaign appearances, however, have been concentrated in the black communities of the South and West Sides that form his political base, and his message has a familiar ring.

"The old saw that you can't fight City Hall will end when I enter that office," Washington told a largely black audience Sunday at the Church of the Good Shepherd, 5700 S. Prairie Ave. "You know why? Because you will be City Hall."

Raby said the comment, which Washington uses frequently before black audiences, has two meanings. On one hand, he said, it is an appeal to blacks. On the other, it is an appeal to "everyone who has been disenfranchised by the political machine."

RABY ACKNOWLEDGES, however, that the comment can spark the type of racial interpretation that the campaign is endeavoring to avoid.

Later in his speech at the church, Washington attacked the press for brooding about his race.

"They don't want to talk about the issues," he said. "They just want to polarize things."

In a later appearance before a predominately white audience in Marquette Park on the Southwest Side, Washington received scattered boos and catcalls amid polite applause. His message was of unity, stressing that all Chicagoans face similar economic and educational problems.

Washington also recalled a remark made recently by Chicago author Studs Terkel: "Shut your eyes and listen to the candidates, and there is only one you can vote for."

On TV, radio

The fourth debate among candidates in the Democratic mayoral primary will be carried live at 8 p.m. Monday by WTTW-TV (Channel 11), WBBM-AM (780) and WBEZ-FM (91.5). WOJO-FM (103) will broadcast the debate live with a Spanish translation of the participants' remarks.

The debate will be at the Chicago Police Academy at 900 W. Madison St., and is sponsored by the Chicago Area Association of Women Voters.

How Tribune vote poll was taken

THE FINDINGS of this Tribune poll are based on 1,069 telephone interviews with Chicago adults who said they are registered voters, selected by random-digit dialing.

The interviews were conducted Jan. 17 through 23 by Market Facts Inc., an independent market research firm with headquarters in Chicago.

Results for the total survey can be expected to differ no more than 4 percentage points from results obtained by interviewing all Chicago adults claiming to be registered voters.

Chicago was divided into six geographic areas, and interviews were stratified accordingly, so that data could be analyzed by each area. Results of the survey of residents of the Hispanic community can be expected to differ no more than 9 percentage points from results obtained by interviewing all Chicago adults in that community who claim to be registered voters. The research was prepared and directed by The Tribune.
How candidates would improve race relations

In an effort to let Chicago's voters know where the three major Democratic candidates for mayor stand on important issues facing the city, the Sun-Times has invited them to answer 10 questions. Their answers will be published over coming days.

The question
What would you do to improve race relations in Chicago?

The answers

Harold Washington
Race is a key issue in Chicago politics and governance. Because of well-documented inequalities in city jobs, services, schools, parks and awards of contracts, this city is divided and citizens are pitted against one another on the basis of race.

As mayor, I will speak out forcefully and continually to end the city's role in perpetuating racial division. Specifically, I will:
- End the practice of allocating city services to neighborhoods based on residents' race.
- Work with the Personnel Department to increase the hiring, appointment and promotion of minorities and women, ensuring that employment is on the basis of qualifications, not on the basis of race, sex or national origin. I will require city departments to implement an equal employment opportunity plan, submit a semiannual status report and rectify imbalances due to discrimination.
- Insist, for the first time, that minority businesses get a fair shake in the award of all types of city contracts and subcontracts. The current administration's record of 8 percent for blacks, 1 percent for Hispanics and a minimal percentage for women is a travesty.
- End the city's wasting of taxpayers' money opposing well-founded discrimination complaints and court-ordered remedies.

For Chicago to be a great city, racial divisiveness must be put to an end.

Jane M. Byrne
The complexity of this issue requires action that touches all aspects of government at all levels. This administration has worked to open up city government so that appointments go to the most qualified. This practice has resulted in a substantial increase in the number of blacks, Hispanics and women working in the highest levels of government.

This policy has also resulted in greater placement of city deposits in community-based banks and an expansion of the city's policy of actively seeking minority contractors and vendors.

This administration enacted the city's first affirmative action plan and followed up with a strategy to implement the goals contained in the plan.

I believe these actions, all of which will be continued and expanded, form an important effort to improve race relations in Chicago.

Richard M. Daley
One of the most practical steps that can be taken to improve race relations in Chicago is to ensure that the citizens of every community have jobs available to them and an equal opportunity to obtain these jobs. Consistent with this, employment opportunities at all levels in city government must be equally open to all.

In addition, creative steps must be taken to physically improve Chicago neighborhoods. Housing rehabilitation, prosecution of slum landlords, tenant education and organization programs, and fair-housing-law enforcement must all be part of revitalizing and harmonizing Chicago's neighborhoods.

Finally, we must reinvigorate the authority and influence of the Human Relations Commission.

If the fears and problems associated with unemployment, job discrimination and neighborhood deterioration can be relieved, a significant step toward improved race relations will have been achieved.

Next: City Hall and Springfield.
THE BLACK ROLE IN THE BYRNE ADMINISTRATION

Between the charges and counter charges, facts show Mayor Jane M. Byrne has opened up city government to the black community as no other Mayor has done. No quotas, no artificial promotions, Mayor Byrne has sought the most qualified person to fill key jobs and the best businessmen to handle city business.


MAYOR BYRNE HAS ENCOURAGED GOVERNMENT AGENCIES TO APPOINT QUALIFIED BLACKS TO LEADERSHIP POSITIONS. THIS HAS LED TO THE SELECTION OF RUTH LOVE AS SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS.

MAYOR BYRNE SELECTED THE REVEREND WILBUR DANIELS AND NANCY JEFFERSON TO SERVE ON THE CHICAGO POLICE BOARD.

MAYOR BYRNE ENCOURAGED THE CHICAGO HOUSING AUTHORITY TO APPOINT ELMER BEARD EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR.

UNDER THE BYRNE ADMINISTRATION, THE CITY NOW PURCHASES $40 TO $50 MILLION IN GOODS AND SERVICES FROM MINORITY BUSINESSMEN - MORE THAN DOUBLE THE AMOUNT PURCHASED DURING OTHER ADMINISTRATIONS.

UNDER THE BYRNE ADMINISTRATION, CITY DEPOSITS IN MINORITY-OWNED BANKS HAS INCREASED TO $40 MILLION MORE THAN ANY
OTHER CITY IN THE NATION.

BETWEEN 1979 AND 1982, NEARLY 8,000 BLACKS HAVE BEEN HIRED BY THE CITY, OR 45% OF ALL NEW PEOPLE HIRED DURING THIS PERIOD. NEARLY A THIRD OF ALL FULL-TIME CITY JOBS ARE NOW HELD BY BLACKS.


We support Mayor Byrne for a second term for the following reasons:

(1) For the records that appear on this page of how she has given positions and employment to many of our people. We would rather at this time publicize what she has done in this field, than to criticize her for what she has not done.

(2) She has shown a keen interest in the total life of our City. She has risen above polarization and dealt with all groups and classes with interest and concern. She has not been afraid to be identified with the poor and the rich, with the educated and the uneducated in such a way that the City can be regarded as one big family.

(3) Her re-election as the Chief Executive of this great City for a second term not only will be a testimony to her and to her party but will be a tribute to the significance and the leadership of women in the life of our Cities and the Nation.

(4) This Committee has no ill will against any candidates but we believe the support of an elected official, who has achieved what Mayor Byrne has achieved, does the following things:

(a) It strengthens the unity of the party, (b) it makes continued use of the ability, the genius, and the talent that Mayor Byrne demonstrated.

(c) In these times when there are so many forces seeking to wreck and to ruin our Cities and the Nation itself, we do well to use our democratic process in preserving the strength and the leadership that we already have, as well as, seeking new talents and new leaders.

Dr. J.H. Jackson, Pastor
Olivet Baptist Church
Organizer and Chairman of
this Special Sponsoring Committee
Sure Byrne's wooing blacks—is that bad?

Mayor Byrne has recently done a few flip-flops on people and issues of concern to blacks. She asked one new white member of the Chicago Housing Authority board to resign and replaced her with a black person. She named two blacks to the panel that will oversee cable television in Chicago. She has hinted that the white CHA president's job is in jeopardy.

Byrne has also created a new, temporary program that should certainly aid many blacks.

No question about it: The mayor is openly courting the black vote. In some quarters, among some blacks, she's being criticized for this. But why the criticism?

If the mayor made a mistake by appointing three whites to the CHA board, recognized she made a mistake and moved to correct it, why should she be criticized?

If the mayor becomes aware that blacks, about 40 percent of the city's population, deserve substantial presence in the cable TV scene, why should she be kicked?

If the mayor admits she has said and done things to anger blacks in the past and now wants to say and do things to soothe them, what's wrong with that?

Of course this is all very political on the mayor's part. But should a politician be knocked for being political?

Moreover, what we are seeing here is democracy at work, and blacks should be happy about it. The howls that followed the removal of two very good black appointees to the School Board and their replacement with two very bad white appointees were heard.

The protests launched after three whites were appointed to the CHA board were rendered effective by the mayor's recent actions.

The concerns that blacks might be frozen out of cable TV did not fall on deaf ears.

A politician is supposed to be responsive to the people and to their concerns. Byrne has apparently decided to take those people and their concerns seriously.

Sure, she did so only after protest, after massive voter registration that threatens to provide great numbers of votes for her opponents and after a great deal of criticism from many quarters. But the point is that she did so. Blacks know that there is power among them.

Yet some blacks feel the mayor is up to some sort of dirty-trick, election-time Machiavellian scheme to lure black votes. She is, and it's called politics.

The important thing to note are that she is about some of the business many blacks wanted her to be about, and that the efforts of blacks brought this about.

This is precisely the way our political system is supposed to work, but has all too often not done so for non-whites. It seems to be working now.

Why does it always take an election to bring this about? For one thing, since the greatest threat to a politician is the threat of election defeat, the people have the greatest power over politicians close to elections.

For another, the mayor may have properly estimated the response of blacks to her earlier actions. After the response she apparently realized she had made at least political mistakes, and perhaps policy mistakes, and moved to undo them. She really should be lauded for this, no matter what her motives.

In politics, it's actions that count, not motives. We should stop worrying about why the mayor does what she wants, so long as she does it.

And that goes for any other politician, be he or she black or white. Let the political scientists worry about motives, and let the people get what they want.

William Sampson is an associate professor of sociology at Northwestern University.
Mayor Jane Byrne talks with students during a question and answer period Friday afternoon at a De Paul University lecture hall.

By Mitchell Locin
and Douglas Frantz

AN APPARENT slip of the tongue by Mayor Jane Byrne caused a stir Friday in an audience of De Paul University students when she said one of her major appointments is black but good.

Steven Brown, Byrne's campaign spokesman, said the mayor was making the point that she has brought in many qualified people to her administration, including blacks.

"If there was a grammatical slip-up, I don't think there was anything intended by it," Brown said.

The mayor was answering questions in a forum in a De Paul lecture hall at 2325 N. Seminary Ave. when she was asked if she had kept her 1979 campaign promise to fight against racial polarization in the city.

BYRNE RECITED a list of appointees, citing their credentials and mentioning that they happen to be black when she got to the name of Lenora Cartwright, the commissioner of human services.

Byrne said of Cartwright that she "has her master's degree in social work, excellent.

Race for City Hall

"She happens to be black, but she's good."

The remark caused gasps and "oooh's" in the audience as Byrne continued defending her record in appointing blacks and reached the name of Elmer Beard Jr., whom she had named to be executive director of the Chicago Housing Authority.

Beard, she said, "also happens to be black but also happens to be good."

Brown said that the mayor has responded to the same question "a thousand times" without a problem.

BYRNE MENTIONED a list of appointments in her relations with the black community in recent months since the furor that arose in the summer when she appointed two whites to the board of the Chicago Housing Authority, creating a white majority on a panel that oversees an agency that serves mostly blacks.

She said that "somehow it didn't get out" in news stories at the time that the federal government wanted her to fire the entire CHA board, not just the controversial CHA chairman, Charles Swibel. But she came up with an enlarged and restructured board as a way to save three previous black appointments. She also said the question is moot because she has since replaced one of the whites, former interim schools Supt. Angelina Caruso, with a black, Earl Neal.

Byrne later appeared before students in a Loyola University auditorium at 625 S. Sheridan Rd., where the issue of campaign advertising, raised in the third debate Thursday night among the three major Democratic mayoral candidates, surfaced again.

Byrne said State's Atty. Richard M. Daley, who had attacked her media campaign, will be spending more money on television advertising this week than she will.

ROBERT BENJAMIN, Daley's campaign spokesman, called the contention "ludicrous" and said Byrne will spend three times as much on television advertising as Daley by the end of the Democratic primary campaign on Feb. 22.

But Brown countered, "I predict by the time we're done, the $500,000 budget he [Daley] said he will have [for television] will be widely exceeded."

The third major Democratic candidate, U.S. Rep. Harold Washington (D., III.), meanwhile, has not aired a television commercial, largely because his campaign has not raised enough money.

Al Reby, Washington's campaign manager, said Washington has raised $400,000 so far but hopes to get between $1.1 million and $1.5 million. He said a major fundraiser is being planned and that Washington has been attending a series of small fundraisers throughout the city as he did Friday in several private homes.

Washington also made campaign appearances in black neighborhoods, where the theme was that he would listen to the problems of blacks in a way that Byrne has not.

He went to a two-flat at 4016 S. Vincennes Ave., where he complained that 100 homes in the neighborhood had been "wiped out" by a developer to make way for a high-rise project, but the area's residents had not been consulted.

16-9
Games with numbers

Racist voters?

A few days after becoming a candidate for mayor, Harold Washington jabbed a finger at a copy of this newspaper and angrily said something that wasn’t true.

"If this campaign becomes racially polarized," he said, '"I think we can look back to Nov. 11, the Chicago Sun-Times, Page 2, and point a finger at Mr. Royko."

Washington was upset because I had written a column in which various white political ward bosses had predicted a large registration of white voters before the February primary.

THE POLITICIANS had said that droves of whites would register because the possibility of Washington, a black man, being elected scared them.

That kind of talk upset Washington, although I don’t know why it should have.

After all, black leaders had been waging a massive black voter registration drive for a year. They were quite open about their goal—to elect a black mayor—and nobody said they were being racist.

Washington himself had said that he expected every black voter in Chicago to support him, which sounded a little like racial polarization to me. But nobody criticized him for injecting race as a campaign issue.

Well, the registration is over. And now politicians, including Washington, are poring over the figures to see what they mean.

WHAT THE FIGURES seem to mean is that those early predictions about a big white voter registration were right on the mark.

The final registration figures won’t be ready until next week, but the raw, preliminary figures are enough to give us an indication of what happened on Tuesday.

White wards: 66,000 new voters.
Black wards: 31,000 new voters.
Racially mixed wards: 15,000 new voters.

Those figures don’t include those who registered before last Tuesday by going downtown to City Hall. And there still are some precinct that haven’t been counted.

But it’s obvious that whites did, indeed, turn out to register in greater numbers than they have in many years.

The question is, what motivated them?

Those who are afflicted by chronic idealism probably would say: "They are registering because they believe it is their civic duty to exercise the most precious of rights in a free society."

(As Jay McMullen used to say before his wife zipped his lip: "Some people think it’s all on the legit.")

Others will say that the turnout was brought on by the drama of the confrontation between the Prince of Bridgeport and Our Lady of Scowl. But Washington is just kidding himself if he thinks that he isn’t the biggest single reason why there has been such a sudden surge in white registration.

As I’ve said before, it’s unfortunate, even tragic, that so many Chicagoans vote along racial or ethnic lines. But the reality is that they do—especially whites.

AND THAT’S WHY Washington’s supporters are doomed to disappointment. And that’s also why all those games they played with numbers were just that—games.

You probably have read some of those number games. They went like this:

"If Washington gets most of the black vote, and 20 percent of the white vote, and Byrne and Daley split the rest of the white vote, Washington will win."

They made the scenario sound so simple you wondered how Washington could possibly lose.

BUT THERE WERE three basic flaws in their numbers game.

First, there will be more white voters in this election than they anticipated, and there won’t be as many black voters as they expected. The sleight of hand that many black precinct workers played when they were cranking out votes for Adlis Stevenson aren’t going to be allowed in this election.

Second, Washington probably will receive only a tiny slice of the white vote.

Third, and most important, Washington is not going to get as much of the black vote as he needs to have a chance of winning. Oh, he’ll get the majority of it, but Byrne and Daley also will receive a sizable share.

That’s because the Machine’s precinct captains still have more influence in black neighborhoods than in white. And because Chicago blacks aren’t nearly as racist as Chicago whites. Or maybe they’re just more gullible.

If there are any political predictions I’d like to be proved wrong on, it’s the ones I just made.

It would be wonderful if Chicagoans put their prejudices aside and simply voted for the candidate who appeared to be the most intelligent, thoughtful and forthright and who presented the best programs.

If that ever happened, Washington probably could start planning his victory party.
Black Reps. Endorse Byrne

Led by Illinois State Representative Larry Bullock and Assistant House Majority Leader Taylor Pouncey, a coalition of 13 black General Assembly members from the Chicago area have endorsed Mayor Jane M. Byrne in the Democratic mayoral primary on February 22. As a whole, this group of General Assembly members serves a constituency that represents over 90% of all registered black voters in Chicago.

“We are delighted to strike a chord of harmony with nearly all of Chicago’s black representatives in Springfield,” said William J. Griffin, Mayor Byrne’s campaign coordinator. “Their support is crucial to the success of our overall campaign effort.”

“As a unified group of Chicago-based legislators in Springfield, we are of course concerned with the special needs that city government must provide our constituents. After all, the majority of people who voted us into office are experiencing, in the most fundamental ways, the ravages of Reganomics. And it’s our responsibility as their representatives to back a mayoral candidate whom we feel will best complement our efforts to help them downstate,” said Bullock.

“In large part, the coalition based its endorsement on the Byrne administration’s minority hiring practices. Blacks accounted for nearly 40% of all new city employees hired during her first four-year term in office. Mayor Byrne has also appointed more blacks to high level posts in city government than any other chief executive in Chicago’s history. After thoroughly evaluating each of the three major candidates and canvassing our respective constituencies she emerged as the obvious choice.”

According to Bullock, the presence of a serious black candidate for mayor did not hinder the coalition’s decision-making process.

“We talked about leadership, integrity, respective records of accomplishment and sensitivity to the black community as a whole. We understand that our endorsement is in opposition to a black candidate. However, we also understand that the black community is not monolithic. It never has been and never will be. Blacks vote for candidates who answer their concerns... period. Like everyone else, we vote for the individual who works for us, who opens their door to us, who recognizes the inequities of the past and offers practical solutions for the future. And Mayor Byrne, while she has definitely made mistakes in the black community, has shown courage in admitting those mistakes and correcting them. She has kept the lines of communication open.”

Bullock concluded his remarks by saying that, “Another key factor behind our decision was the Mayor’s proven ability to work effectively with Chicago’s black legislators in Springfield. She knows how government works. She gets things done. And black people understand the difference between idealism and realism. The reality is that the black community needs jobs, housing and a strong war against crime, particularly gang crime. The Byrne administration has set a course in the right direction. Now it needs another term to finish the plan. This city needs continuity in government.”


Harold Washington recently received the endorsement of over 300 black ministers in the Chicago. The Westside Baptist Ministers Conference and the Black United Methodist Ministers of Chicago endorsed the candidate because of his “ability to lead and implement planned strategies.” Among those taking part in the endorsement were, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, Operation PUSH, Reverend C.E. Ferguson of ST. Stephenson M.B., John McGruder of Zion Hill West M.B. and the Reverend Al Sampson of Fernwood Methodist Church.
Leaders criticize Daley endorsement

Black leaders, reacting to the Chicago Sun-Times' and the Chicago Tribune's endorsement of Richard M. Daley for mayor, criticized the move, despite the fact it was "no surprise." One Black community organization plans to counter the endorsement with a mass rally Saturday morning in support of U.S. Rep. Harold Washington, another mayoral candidate.

Dr. Conrad Worrill of the Task Force for Black Empowerment, blasted the endorsement, saying "The battle lines have been clearly drawn by the white media."

"This is just another attempt of the white power structure to impede the campaign of Harold Washington," he said. "However, it will not stop the movement."

The organization, along with Chicago Black United Communities (CBUC), will hold a rally in support of Washington Saturday, Feb. 5, 8:00 a.m. at the Charles Hayes Community Center, 4859 S. Wabash.

Lu Palmer, head of the CBUC organization, also criticized the papers, saying they were "searching for reasons" to endorse Daley.

"I'm both surprised and not surprised," he said. "Surprised because neither paper endorsed (Mayor Jane) Byrne, but not surprised that both endorsed a white candidate."

"The white organizations obviously feel threatened," Palmer added, "but the endorsements will have no no effect on Blacks, for the simple reason that Washington is the most qualified candidate. There's no doubt about that."

Frank Wilkins, a spokesman for Operation PUSH said it could make no comment to the Defender until "you tell us who your paper is endorsing."

Nancy Jefferson, executive director of the Midwest Community, lashed out at the endorsements, labeling them "the drumbeat of racist America."

"You would expect a white paper to endorse a white candidate," she said, "just as you would expect the Defender to endorse Harold Washington."

While admitting that such support for Daley was no surprise, Rev. Shelvin Hall of Friendship Baptist Church questioned a letter-writing protest, saying "Do you really think it would get past the editor's desk?"

Urges arrest, conviction

Ald. Vrdoljak condemns 10th Ward racist bombing

by Henry Locke

10th Ward Ald. Edward R. Vrdoljak Wednesday condemned the racially motivated actions of five white men who reportedly set fire to the home of two South Side Black women and destroyed their car with a firebomb.

"We will not put up with such outrageous actions," said Vrdoljak, who is also the Democratic county chairman, "I have asked the police to find the hoodlums, arrest them, and prosecute them for their actions."

Vrdoljak made his comments after he replaced the women's car and moved them to a motel where they will reside until they can find a new apartment in a different neighborhood.

However, Vrdoljak said if Charlotte Jackson, 33, and her sister, Yvette Palmer, 20, had wanted to remain in their old apartment at 9088 Avenue N, "I would have had the police to provide protection for them until they felt they were safe again."

But Jackson, expressing disappointment that such racially motivated incidents still occurred in Chicago, told the Chicago Defender she was "satisfied with the new arrangements."

"We have lived in Mr. Vrdoljak's ward for several years and we never had any problems until last weekend," she said. "When the five white men taunted us and said 'Nigger, we don't want you here,' we ignored them and chalked it up to their ignorance."

"But when they threw a brick through our window, stoned our house with snowballs and then firebombed our car, we decided that it would be best to move," she said.

"We feel safe in our hotel here, but we still think about our personal belongings and furniture back in our old apartment."

However, police said an around-the-clock guard at the women's home would continue indefinitely, at least until they had found a new apartment and moved their furniture out of their former residence.

(continued on page 10)

Vrdoljak condemns bombing

(continued from page 1)

Jackson, a manager at the Front Room Cocktail Lounge, 11358 Front Ave., said: "When our car was destroyed, I didn't have any way to get to work. But I guess, in reality, I was afraid to leave the apartment because we felt we were prisoners in our own home."

"Even with the police standing guard in front of our apartment," she added, "we still didn't feel safe. We kept thinking that someone would attempt to firebomb our apartment. In fact, when they firebombed our car, we believed they would have torched our apartment if they had been sure of the apartment in which we lived. They had seen us in our car and they didn't have any doubt about which car was mine. I'm disappointed that we had to move, but satisfied that I'm away."
State rights group rips Byrne...

Call Bridgeport iron gates symbol of housing racism

Byrne, and the name of the president is Ronald Reagan.”

Byrne should remove the gate “because it's symbolic of segregated neighborhoods and is an example of one of the problems,” Pugh said.

“I noticed that Mayor Byrne distributes baskets to the needy, and she also puts her name on iron gates that block people from each other,” Pugh told the Chicago Defender in a later interview. “She appoints the authority, so she's responsible.”

When questioned about the political significance of holding the press conference in the heart of the 11th Ward, home of mayoral candidate Richard Daley, Pugh denied that the upcoming elections had any bearing on the event.

“The pictures of the gate were taken eight months ago, and the slide presentation and topography for the report were done long ago,” Pugh said. “You must realize that the U.S. government works very slowly. It was not designed to call attention to the mayoral campaign.”

When contacted by the Defender, Chicago Housing Authority board member Leon Finney said he agreed that open housing statutes were not being enforced.

“I believe the public housing of the vintage built in the late 50's to the 70's, where multiple or large families are concentrated in high-rises, is a racial and moral issue. It is a travesty. But we can't do that any more, thank God,” Finney said.

Bob Benjamin, Daley's press secretary, told the Defender that the iron gate was installed “about ten or twelve years ago” in response to residents’ complaints about heavy auto traffic to and from the Chicago Amphitheatre, “so 45th Street is now open to come directly to the Amphitheatre,” Benjamin said. He added that he was unaware of Wednesday's press conference and therefore could not comment on any political implication.

Labeling it a “symbol of segregated housing,” an adviser to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Wednesday assailed the existence of an iron gate in the Bridgeport community which, he claimed, separates Black and white neighborhoods, and called for Mayor Byrne to “take the gate down.”

Tom Pugh, chairman of the civil rights body, said he was “considerably upset” over violation of the Fair Housing Law, pointing to a public housing site in a predominately Black area separated by the iron gate under a viaduct at 42nd St. and Shields.

Pugh made the assessment at an unusual press conference held near the gate to announce the release of a his committee's 139-page report, Housing: Chicago Style, which paints a gloomy picture of rampant housing discrimination.

“Until the Cabrini-Greens of this community are replaced with livable housing units and affirmative steps are taken to dismantle the dual housing market,” Pugh said, “Chicago will continue to earn its title as the nation's most segregated city, with thousands of Black citizens forced to live in crime-ridden, rat-infested concentration camps.”

A remedy to the housing problem, Pugh suggested, would be for the city to provide scattered site housing in white areas, enforcement of the fair law, and ensured enforcement of state and federal laws.

When asked who would be responsible for such an enforcement, Pugh replied: “The name of the governor is James Thompson, the name of the mayor is Jane (continued on page 18)
Race and mayoralty campaign

By John McDermott

As everyone knows, but few will publicly admit, race is the great hidden issue in Chicago’s mayoralty campaign. It is an issue because of the presence of a black candidate who has a real chance of becoming Chicago’s first black mayor. It is hidden because it is so volatile and dangerous. Even if tempted, the candidates know that fanning the race flames may cause the issue to blow up in their faces. It may galvanize some supporters, but also mobilize opponents.

And the stakes are larger than politics.

Many Chicagoans, black, white and Hispanic, are deeply worried about the damage that a racially polarized campaign can do to the city’s social fabric and progress. We should confront this danger openly by joining together to support the basic principle that race is not a legitimate issue in this campaign. A candidate’s qualifications, character, record and program are legitimate issues, but not his or her race, and the same principle applies to a candidate’s sex.

If Chicago manages to survive this campaign with these principles intact, it will be to the city’s credit and will mark a milestone in our race relations progress. But this won’t happen by itself. To work for a racially clean campaign is everyone’s duty, a special responsibility for the candidates, their lieutenants and the news media.

Here are the guidelines that the candidates and the news media should consider during the next month and a half before the primary.

- Pride vs. Hate: Racial or ethnic pride in a candidate is not the same as racism and should not be labeled as such. There is great pride and hope in much of the black community over the possibility of Chicago electing its first black mayor. There is nothing wrong or unfair or underhanded about this.

- Judging the candidates: Indepth critiques and evaluations of each candidate, including his or her character and moral fitness as well as qualifications, experience, program and public records, are perfectly legitimate. Public office is a public trust, and the voters have a right to demand that the mayor and all public officials are people of good moral character.

- Role of the media: The role of the news media in this campaign is extremely important. The media must report all the facts, but they also have a responsibility to safeguard the public interest by exercising careful judgment in reporting the racial aspects of the campaign.

- Fair campaign practices committee: One practical way to promote a clean campaign is through an independent, nonpartisan fair campaign practices committee. This committee would monitor the campaign, investigate complaints and issue findings. Such a committee could be composed of the presidents of the Chicago Urban League, the Latino Institute, the League of Women Voters and the chairpersons of the political science department of three or four local universities.

We all have to live together next April. Let us join together now to make this election a time of greatness rather than shame for our city.
Solidifying the blacks
BASIL I. ALBOTT JR.
Sun-Times Political Editor

THE SEATING configuration at Rep. Harold Washington's press conference Monday convinced me he could become an awesome force by the time of the 1983 mayoral primary. Successful black businessmen sat up front facing reporters in the room at the Hyatt Regency Chicago; militant blacks stood in the rear.

Two factions in black politics that rarely mix were brought together Monday. Business executives and others in the black establishment up front were introduced ceremoniously as spokesmen to a steering committee; the militants hung back quietly, behind the TV cameras.

Business executives supply money and middle-class respectability. militants supply drive. The two groups frequently avoid each other. Washington's success in bringing them together shows he is solidifying his ethnic base like no black here has been able to do for decades.

Monday's press conference contrasted with Washington's first meeting with reporters, Nov. 10. That press conference—in which he declared his candidacy—began with a prayer, was punctuated by gospel shouts and was filled with much shouting and pushing. A ring of off-duty policemen surrounded the podium arm in arm, cutting off the candidate from reporters. The militants were up front on Nov. 10.

SINCE THEN Washington's accomplishments have been remarkable. For example, he subbed the ego of the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, boss of Operation PUSH. One Washington aide said the police guard at the Nov. 10 announcement wasn't set up to keep reporters away; it was intended to prevent Jackson from hogging the TV cameras. Jackson didn't show up Monday.

Washington's campaign must be put in perspective. Much foolishness has been written about Washington plotting his campaign for several months. A few Washington enthusiasts who would like to be considered campaign insiders told reporters Washington was set to run months ago. Their claim was wrong-headed as most campaign theories.

When an accurate history of the Washington campaign is written, it will show he was forced to run. Militant blacks, including Lu Palmer, backed him into a corner. Then Washington campaigned off guard almost as much as some reporters were by the success of the summer and fall black voter registration drives.

How are blacks elected as mayors in the U.S. and what difference can they make? These were two of the topics discussed at a conference on "Black People and Politics" held recently at the University of Illinois at Chicago under the sponsorship of the Chicago Center for Afro-American Studies and the Illinois Council for Black Studies.

John O'Laughlin of the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana pointed to the importance of bloc voting, high turnouts, and alliances with non-blacks in the elections of black mayors in major cities. O'Laughlin traced black candidacies in Detroit, Atlanta, New Orleans, and Los Angeles and noted some interesting similarities.

When a black candidate first runs for mayor, the turn-out of both black and white voters increases dramatically, as blacks look to coming into their own. All whites fear a black takeover. That first candidacy is usually unsuccessful, but the next time around black candidates have won narrowly. Once perceptions that blacks cannot govern have been dispelled, the black incumbent goes on to comfortable, easy victories.

In all of these elections, O'Laughlin found that once a black was elected, white turnout in subsequent elections went down, but black turnout remained high.

In most cases, black candidates are supported by 90 percent of black voters and initially have very little white support. Detroit's 1969 and 1973 elections were the most polarized. New Orleans, an integrated city, did not have as marked a polarization. Detroit Mayor Coleman Young's white support increased from 5 percent in 1973 to 10 percent in 1977 and 31 percent in 1981.

Blacks are usually elected after as high a registration and turnout as possible, after a segment of the non-black population has been targeted as an ally, and after strong attempts to avoid a split in the black vote.

Once a black is elected mayor, what difference can he make? Peter Eisenger of the University of Wisconsin found substantial differences in the six major cities with black mayors, despite constraints of limited federal aid, and despite the fact that blacks have often been elected in declining industrial cities.

First of all, Eisenger said, black mayors matter for black people in all cases, expanding black participation in public sector employment and contracts. They have instituted vigorous affirmative action programs and have devoted their administrations to local economic development.

Though black unemployment cannot be solved through city jobs alone, Eisenger noted that payrolls are significant not only in cities like Detroit (21,000 jobs), but Richmond, Virginia (10,000) and Little Rock, Arkansas (2,000), accounting for up to eight percent of the working population. Black mayors have pursued recruitment targets in most cases by hiring black personnel directors, by restructuring merit examinations to emphasize job-related skills over abstract verbal skills, and by affirmative action offices. "The increase in the proportion of black payrolls is dramatic," Eisenger said, especially at higher occupational levels.

Black mayors have also made significant advances in minority police hiring, in the appointment of black police chiefs as well as in equitable promotion of officers and in hiring black regular Democratic Party figures, keeping them independent, appealing to whites and holding on to the militants. He also must fend off kooky do-gooders who have little experience and no real understanding of black politics.

White corporate Chicago may have to take Washington seriously. He will likely be a force in the city's political future whether he wins as mayor or not.
REPORT TO
New World Ministries
honors Mayor Byrne

THE PEOPLE

Politics at black churches targeted

By Roy Larson
Sun-Times Religion Editor

Starting Sunday, ministers who let
Mayor Byrne and State's Attorney
Richard M. Daley campaign from
their pulpits at Sunday services may
find pickets outside and walkouts
inside their churches.

The new tactic has been devised by
the Task Force for Black Political
Empowerment, chaired by Robert
Starks, associate professor of inner-
city studies at Northeastern Illinois
University. Starks supports the can-
who is running against Byrne and
Daley in the Feb. 22 Democratic pri-
mary.

The task force also plans to put
internal pressure on black ministers
who support Byrne or Daley by en-
couraging members of their church
boards of trustees to "register vigor-
ous protests with their ministers,"
Starks said.

"The pulpit at a Sunday morning
service is a holy place. It should not
be open to politicians campaigning
on blatantly political issues."

In an interview, Starks also said lay
leaders of black churches whose min-
isters support Byrne or Daley will be
urged to find out whether their pas-
tors have been "compromised" by
accepting gifts to their churches from
candidates or jobs on the city payroll.

Charging that several black minis-
ters have been playing "plantation
politics," Starks said a committee of
100 ministers will "monitor" the po-
litical activities of ministers.

Committee chairman is the Rev.
Steven Thurston, pastor of New Cov-
enant Missionary Baptist Church.
Protest ministers' support of Richie Daley for mayor

A group of demonstrators, including ministers, picketed outside the Hyde Park Hilton Hotel Wednesday to protest an endorsement session of 150 Black ministers who announced they are backing State's Attorney Richard Daley for mayor.

The demonstrators, who also included civil rights activists and members of a newly-formed Task Force for Black Empowerment, claimed that the ministers who support Daley are "desecrating the holy sanctuary of the pulpit" by allowing Byrne or Daley to speak at their churches.

The demonstrators said that Daley should have allowed the Black ministers to come and eat in Bridgeport; they also charged Daley with trying to buy off the Black clergy.

Daley has hotly denied the charges.

"The question is," said Rev. Al Sampson, one of the ministers who told his parishioners to follow his guidance. Daley said that his ministers would be "weighing him out."

Rev. David Coleman, pastor of Mt. Sinai Church, 1235 W. 59th St., said he was undecided. Rev. O.D. White, pastor of the Spirit of Love Baptist Church, 6035 S. Ashland, told the Defender: "We are trying to ascertain the facts of all three candidates."

"People are curious, and we have looked at other cities where they have elected Black mayors."

While some ministers voiced uncertainty, others did not. Rev. J.W. Gayles, pastor of the Minister of Gospel Temple Baptist Church, 3526 W. 103rd St., told Daley: "I think you will do a better job than your daddy," but quickly told the Defender, "...Now, that doesn't mean an endorsement."

Said Rev. Richard Posey, pastor of the Berean Baptist Church, 5149 S. Dearborn, "Daley is the most logical candidate; besides, he's been in politics all of his life, and he knows city government."

Black clergy for Washington hit pro-Daley colleagues

By Mitchell Locin and Jane Fritsch


The Washington supporters questioned the other ministers about their support for Daley and photograped the license plates of their autos as the Daley supporters complained about intimidation and threats.

Mayor Jane Byrne, meanwhile, picked up the support of the Chicago chapter of the National Organization for Women in her race for re-election.

Rev. Al Sampson, pastor of the Fernwood United Methodist Church, at 101st and Wallace Streets, and spokesman for the Washington group-called Task Force for Black Political Empowerment—said:

"We want to see if some of those preachers who have Sunday school children who can't even ride a bicycle through Bridgeport without getting whipped like mashed potatoes are now sitting up there with Daley eating whipped potatoes."

Rev. Sampson said the ministers who support Daley "don't have a right to endorse whomever they choose because they're part of black history and they're part of a liberation movement for our people."

The Washington supporters picketed outside the Daley endorsement luncheon in the Hyde Park Hilton, 4600 S. Lake Shore Dr., and chanted, "Plantation politics must end!"

Washington later said that the black community was "wide open for them (Daley and Byrne) to campaign in," but that invitations for him to speak in certain sections of Chicago have not been forthcoming.

Arriving at the event and asked about the past racial violence in Bridgeport, Daley said, "People can walk through every neighborhood in the city of Chicago. I have spoken out against it [racial violence] in my public and private career."

Inside, Rev. T.A. Clark Sr., pastor of the Greater Galilee Missionary Baptist Church, at 1308 S. Independence Blvd., said his group was supporting Daley based on his record in the legislature and as Cook County state's attorney.

Rev. Clark said he had received several telephone calls "intimidating and threatening me and my congregation," and said it was appalling to know that Black ministers are to be intimidated and targeted for public criticism for allowing a candidate to speak in the church where they worship.

Rev. Clark, who said he endorsed Daley's late father, Richard J. Daley, in his last mayoralty campaign, said he believes the state's attorney "will be fair and equitable" in the distribution of city jobs and will address the problems of unemployment, education, housing and transportation.

The N.W. endorsement of Byrne was announced by Karen Wellsich, president of the Chicago chapter.

Byrne made "substantial contributions" to the campaign for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in Illinois, Wellsich said.

Daley's anti-abortion stand "absolutely barred" the group from supporting his candidacy, she said.
Clerics: A black can’t win

by Chinta Strausberg

Several Black ministers in attendance at Richard Daley’s mayoral endorsement session Wednesday told the Chicago Defender they feared the election of a Black mayor would cause the banks to reportedly “dry up the money, and the city would go to pot.”

Some ministers asked not to be identified; others didn’t care whether their beliefs on why Chicago is unready for a Black mayor were announced.

Congressman Harold Washington could not be reached for comment.

One minister who endorsed Daley said, “If Harold Washington is elected, the city would go down the tube...just like Gary.”

Referring to the election of black mayors, Rev. O.D. White, pastor of the Spirit of Love Baptist Church, 6035 S. Ashland, said: “We know what happened in Cleveland, Gary and Detroit. When-Mayor Richard Hatcher was elected, the white officials took all the money to Merrillville, Indiana. Gary is now a ghost town.”

White, who admitted he had not spoken to Washington, questioned whether Washington could “pull together the businesses to generate the jobs.”

“Maybe with the name of Daley, he can do this, but we are not banking on his name. He can motivate the businesses to produce the jobs,” said White, who has not made an endorsement yet.

However, Rev. E.J. Jones, pastor of the First Unity Baptist Church, 5129 S. Indiana, and an aldermanic candidate for the Third Ward, announced his support for Daley and hoped his parishioners would follow his suggestions.

Jones said he should be able to support whomever he pleased, “but I am not hung up on Black...I look at the man, and with Daley, I like what I see. He is the right man for this time.”

“Even if there will be a lot of friends lost in this election, but I stand by my convictions. My choice of mayoral candidates puts me in a bind...running for alderman in an all-Black ward and supporting a white mayoral candidate...but I have to do what I think is right.”

Before Chicago could have a Black mayor, Jones said, the candidate would need four years of groundwork so Black men and women could be placed on the boards of large corporations to prevent them from leaving Chicago if a Black were elected.

Jones added, “It is our spiritual insight and my better judgment, and I am not an Uncle Tom, but I believe the homework should be done. We moved into this ‘Harold Washington for Mayor’ too rapidly. I guess we got too excited with the extra few thousand voter registration.”

However, Dr. Conrad Worrill, press secretary for the Task Force for Black Political Empowerment, said: “They said Blacks needed more time in 1977 (when Washington ran for mayor). I think his remarks are ludicrous...insane. Is he saying that if Washington is elected mayor, the Sears Tower and Prudential will leave because a Black man is mayor?”

“We are not attacking the Black church as an institution. We want spiritual reciprocity. We want Daley and Byrne to invite Father George Clements to churches in Bridgeport and in the white 42nd Ward. We want an open door.”

Protest meeting...

A group of ministers and civil rights activists Wednesday picketed a Black ministers’ endorsement session of Richard Daley for mayor. Carrying signs that read, “Preachers should not be allowed to sell out the Black community,” the group has targeted the ministers for more protest for endorsing Daley. (Defender photo by John Gunn.)
Black clerics endorse Daley

By Lillian Williams and Harry Golden Jr.

Despite the protests of two dozen community activists, more than 150 black ministers Wednesday endorsed mayoral candidate Richard M. Daley.

Daley faced hecklers and pickets as he received the support of the ministers at the Hyde Park Hilton Hotel.

Mayor Byrne also faced protesters at a Wednesday night rally sponsored by the

Poll shows Byrne, Daley running neck and neck; Kup, Page 86.

Northwest Hispanic Democratic Coalition.
A crowd of about 50 members of the Westtown Concerned Citizen Coalition greeted Byrne with chants of "We want jobs" as she entered the hall at 2544 W. North Ave.

Inside, however, the reception was warm as she welcomed what she called the "newest [racial] group to Chicago."

The action against Daley came a day after a group called the Task Force for Black Political Empowerment threatened disruption of Sunday services at churches that allow Daley or Byrne to speak from the pulpit.

About 20 task force members, led by Robert Starks and the Rev. Al Sampson, chanted "plantation politics must end" as the ministers entered the hotel at 50th and South Lake Shore Dr.

The meeting was convened by the Rev. T. A. Clark, pastor of Greater Galilee Church, who praised the state's attorney for establishing a gang-crimes unit to stop intimidation of our youth, molesting of our women and, yes, even robbing of our churches. We believe that he will be fair and equitable in the distribution of city jobs."

After receiving a standing ovation, Daley told the group, "To me, each and every one of you has stood by his convictions. I need your help because this is a long and difficult election. We're up against a $10 million [Byrne] campaign fund."

Daley earlier was heckled by Starks inside the luncheon room when Starks asked, "Have you spoken out against police brutality? Have you spoken out against abuses in your community?"

Daley answered, "We have," and then greeted ministers attending the luncheon.

Sampson, pastor of Fernwood Methodist Church on the South Side, said he believes

Continued from Page 3

He added, "What Byrne has done is buy her way into black churches. What Daley does is politic himself into black churches."

Washington, campaigning on the South Side, said later of the task force, "I am in no way connected with their actions."

Meanwhile Wednesday, the mayor and her finance officers denied that the city plans to offer labor agreements to city employees now covered.

Despite published reports that she is considering major extensions of union agreements with city workers, Byrne said, "Nobody's talked about anything like that. Nobody's even thought about it."

Budget Director Albert A. Boumenot and Comptroller Anthony N. Fratto also said they knew of no plans to offer new labor agreements to city workers.

The three major Democratic candidates Friday will seek the Chicago Federation of Labor endorsement.

On the Republican campaign front, mayoral candidate Bernard B. Epton will press his efforts for national GOP funding with a letter that he said he was promised will get President Reagan's attention.

Epton said he met White House aide Richard Williamson at Gov. Thompson's inauguration Monday in Springfield.

Williamson invited Epton, who has been frustrated in getting party support for his longshot candidacy, to "send [a letter] to me personally and I'll see to it that it reaches the president's desk," Epton said.

MAYORAL CANDIDATE Rep. Harold Washington is deep in thought during a reading of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech during a birthday celebration for the slain civil rights leader at Hyde Park Career Academy. RIGHT: State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, after picking up the mayoral endorsement of a coalition of black ministers at the Hyde Park Hilton, is met by pickets protesting the endorsement outside the hotel Wednesday. (Sun-Times Photos by Bob Black)
Byrnes and Daley sharpen TV ad attacks

By ROY LARSON

To an unprecedented degree, the current mayoral campaign is being played out in the three commercial TV networks. The debates centered around the Chicago Urban League debate, according to a Thompson Co. survey of Chicago TV stations. Byrne's commercials, costing $200,000, or about $60,000, were aimed at critical issues such as the city's schools and the economy. Daley's campaign, with a $100,000 budget, focused on public safety and crime. Byrne's ads featured testimonials from people, while Daley's ads showed news clippings and black and white pictures of Byrne and Daley. Byrne mentioned his support for the Kennedy space program, while Daley emphasized his opposition to the Vietnam War. Byrne's ads were seen on ABC and NBC, while Daley's ads were seen on CBS and NBC. Byrne's ads attacked Daley's support for the Vietnam War, while Daley's ads attacked Byrne's support for the Kennedy space program. Byrne's ads were more popular among the younger voters, while Daley's ads were more popular among the older voters. Byrne's ads were more upbeat and optimistic, while Daley's ads were more negative and critical. Byrne's ads were more successful in terms of viewership, while Daley's ads were more successful in terms of recall. Byrne's ads were more successful in terms of persuading undecided voters, while Daley's ads were more successful in terms of changing the minds of those who already had a preference.
Campaign dividing blacks, churches

the service, but told the leaders her schedule would require her to leave early. Before departing, she spoke briefly and announced she was leaving a check for $5,000.

Her action triggered the May 29 act in the form of an "open letter," that told the mayor her "public displays of 'gifts' smack of slavery to us, plantation politics nuanced to a modern-day sophistication."

Several churchmen say that since that incident Byrne has continued to make such gifts, but has done it in more subtle ways.

Steve Brown, press coordinator for the Byrne campaign, said last week that criticism of Byrne's gifts has not caused her to change her policy.

"The mayor is grateful she is in a position to help," Brown said. "These gifts, which usually range from $1,000 to $5,000 or $8,000, have no political implications. It's understood there is no quick pro quo."

A third point of contention centers around the question: Should clergymen be on the city payroll?

For many years, black ministers have been given city jobs—as advisers, chaplains, consultants. The Rev. John C. Jackson, general secretary of Black Methodists for Church Renewal, states that "no number of clergy are on the payroll with no work involved."

Representing the new breed, Wright questions the appropriateness of ministers taking such posts. "If you take money from Caesar," he said, "you can't speak out when Caesar is wrong."

Finally, more and more black ministers are beginning to criticize the way "the city that works" works, especially in its relationship with churches.

A South Side minister complains that a building inspector insisted his church install an expensive "tot toilet," but allowed a "loyalist church" to get by with an inexpensive step stool.

Similarly, the swelling chorus of critics complains that city officials even use programs that provide useful human services—day care centers, Headstart and Golden Age centers—to reward cooperative preachers and penalize uncooperative ones.

Dr. Charles S. Spivey, pastor of Coppin Memorial AME Church, 5627 S. Michigan, and former executive director of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, says that the city allows "substandard practices" in some churches, but holds other churches strictly to the rules.

As the charges and countercharges fly, one thing is clear: Now more than ever, campaign tactics are exacerbating old divisions and creating new divisions within the black community and its most solid institution, the church.

At the moment, it appears that the old order is dying, but is not yet dead. And the new order is still a-borning.

Meanwhile, the tensions remain—and these tensions, creative or otherwise, will be plain to see between now and Feb. 22.

Roy Larson is the Sun-Times' religion editor.
Ministers to host Mayoral Candidates

The African Methodist Episcopal Ministerial Alliance of Chicago and Vicinity, and the Chicago Conference Lay Organization, which represents over 100,000 church members in the city of Chicago, are sponsoring a city-wide mass meeting, Sunday, January 30 at 4 p.m. in the nave of Bethel A.M.E. Church, 4449 S. Michigan Ave.

The following mayoral candidates have agreed to speak at this meeting: Congressman Harold Washington, Mayor Jane Byrne, State's Attorney Richard Daley and Republican candidate Bernard E. Epton.

The alliance and lay organization are concerned about the economic growth of Black people in the city of Chicago. Some of the main concerns are:

- That Black health services be provided for the poor of our society.
- That Black contractors be given more meaningful contracts.
- That Black journeymen and laborers be employed by the city of Chicago.
- That Blacks on the Southside of Chicago be given the same rights as whites on the Northside. For example, the garbage on the Northside has been collected twice weekly all along.
- That a statue of DuSable, the Black man who discovered Chicago, be erected in the Daley Center Plaza.
- That Blacks, browns and whites be given the same opportunities when seeking employment in the city of Chicago.

The Black A.M.E. ministers and lay persons in the city of Chicago say they have heard rhetoric all of their lives. Promises are like pie crust, made to be broken. Blacks have been systematically excluded from policy-making positions in the city that was founded by a Black man.

All are urged to come out and ask questions of the candidates. Free bread, cakes and other foods will be given to the unemployed, senior citizens and welfare recipients immediately following the forum.

Special music will be rendered by the 100-Voice Chicago Conference Choir. Bishop Hubert N. Robinson is the presiding bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church Ministerial Alliance of Chicago and Vicinity, and Reverend W. S. Harrison is the president.

Co-sponsors are The Chicago Conference Lay Organization of which Willie Thompson is the president, and The Chicago Urban League, James Compton, president.

Tommy Clifton, executive director of 'We Do Care,' presents Archbishop Bernardin with a portrait done by one of Chicago's most outstanding artists, Jennie L. Washington. The portrait was presented to "a future prince of the church" during a birthday memorial cele-

-ration for Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. at St. 

Martin's Catholic Church.
Mayoral candidates skip Mt. Pisgah food lines

by Chinta Strausberg

All three Democratic mayoral candidates failed to appear Thursday at Mt. Pisgah Baptist Church, 4622 S. King Dr., where over 6,000 people stood in lines despite the snow and frigid weather.

Because of the indictment of a top underworld crime figure, State’s Attorney Richard Daley could not appear at the feeding program; mayoral candidate Harold Washington was detained in Washington, D.C. Rumors that Mayor Byrne would appear were false.

Some people were in line at 2:00 a.m., according to church officials. To keep warm, a group burned sticks, planks and pieces of cardboard on the ground and in wastepaper baskets.

Standing over one ground fire, Jesse Field, 37, said he was laid off as a welder last year. Now on general assistance, his total income is $144 per month; his unemployment benefits ran out three months ago.

A mother of ten, Lady Whitfield, 49, was in line at 7:30 a.m. An ADC recipient, she said her check didn’t stretch far enough and the free food baskets at Mt. Pisgah were the only means she had left to make ends meet.

Last month, Whitfield was reportedly robbed by a pickpocket. The Department of Public Aid refused to replace her stolen check or food stamps. With her landlord allegedly threatening to evict her, Whitfield, who lives at 611 E. 47th St., said she owes almost every cent of her next check to friends who helped her through the crisis.

Berneice Coleman, 39, a mother of seven who also has custody of three grandchil-

dren, lives in four-and-a-half rooms in a basement apartment at 439 E. 45th Pl. Her ADC check is $450, she said, but her rent is $250.

“There’s just not enough to make ends meet,” she said. “Life in this apartment is (not) too good for the children. The rats have eaten through the insulation in the stove, and we have no lights because the owner has to rewire the building.”

But word of Mt. Pisgah’s food program has traveled throughout Chicago; in fact,

Washington, D.C. officials have called it the largest feeding program in the nation.

Students at a Phoenix, Arizona college recently invited Soft Sheen executive Edward G. Gardner to speak, offering him a fee; Gardner refused payment, but asked the students to match the funds and donate the money to the feeding program.

Beverly Decker, hunger coordinator for the Chicago Church Federation, has given praise to the program, and CTA commis-
sioner Howard Medley and Cook County Sheriff Richard Eiland recently donated a truck to Rev. Joseph Wells, pastor of the Mt. Pisgah Baptist Church, to pick up don-
ated food.

The next feeding will be Thursday, Feb-

uary 10th.

Among the 150 ministers who endorsed mayoral candidate Richard M. Daley at a recently-held luncheon at the Hyde Park Hilton hotel were (left to right) Rev. John H. McReynolds, pastor, New Spiritual Light Baptist Church; Daley; Rev. T.A. Clark, Sr., pastor, Greater Galilee Missionary Baptist Church, and Rev. J.B. Felker, pastor, Mt. Carmel Missionary Baptist Church.
Ministers to host Mayoral Candidates

The African Methodist Episcopal Ministerial Alliance of Chicago and Vicinity, and the Chicago Conference Lay Organization, which represents over 100,000 church members in the city of Chicago, are sponsoring a city-wide mass meeting, Sunday, January 30 at 4 p.m. in the nave of Bethel A.M.E. Church, 4449 S. Michigan Ave.

The following mayoral candidates have agreed to speak at this meeting: Congressman Harold Washington, Mayor Jane Byrne, State's Attorney Richard Daley and Republican candidate Bernard E. Epton.

The alliance and lay organization are concerned about the economic growth of Black people in the city of Chicago. Some of the main concerns are:

- That better health services be provided for the poor of our society.
- That Black contractors be given more meaningful contracts.
- That more Black journeymen and laborers be employed by the city of Chicago.
- That Blacks on the Southside of Chicago be given the same services as whites on the Northside. For example, the garbage on the Northside has been collected twice weekly all along.
- That a statue of DuSable, the Black man who discovered Chicago, be erected in the Daley Center Plaza.
- That Blacks, browns and whites be given the same opportunities when seeking employment in the city of Chicago.

The Black A.M.E. ministers and laypersons in the city of Chicago say they have heard rhetoric all of like pie crust, made to be broken. Blacks have been systematically excluded from policy-making positions in the city that was founded by a Black man.

All are urged to come out and ask questions of the candidates. Free bread, cakes and other foods will be given to the unemployed, senior citizens and welfare recipients immediately following the forum.

Special music will be rendered by the 100-Voice Chicago Conference Choir. Bishop Hubert N. Robinson is the presiding bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church Ministerial Alliance of Chicago and Vicinity, and Reverend W. S. Harrison is the president.

Co-sponsors are The Chicago Conference Lay Organization of which Willie Thompson is the president, and The Chicago Urban League, James Compton, president.

Tommy Clifton, executive director of 'We Do Care,' presents Archbishop Bernardin with a portrait done by one of Chicago's most outstanding artists, Jennie L. Washington. The portrait was presented to "a future prince of the church" during a birthday memorial cele-
Ministers in support of Byrne

by Chinta Strausberg

Two Southside ministers openly endorsed Mayor Byrne Saturday with one believing Congressman Harold Washington couldn't win and the other because he did Byrne wrong four years ago.

Father Paul Smith, S2, principal of Holy Angels School for the past 13 years, said he is endorsing Mayor Byrne because she has done a credible job.

Smith said Washington is an eloquent speaker and an excellent Congressman who "should be functioning for Sen. Charles Percy's seat."

"Harold Washington," added Smith, "is the most outstanding, most articulate politician we have, and I believe Washington would serve himself and the Black community better by remaining in Washing-
Voters drive is paying off

The city of Chicago, which already has made impressive gains in its voter registration, may recruit another 75,000 to 100,000 voters or more during the next five weeks, predicts the city's chief election official.

Michael E. Lavelle, chairman of the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners, said that this could result in a Chicago registration of more than 1,650,000 persons, the largest for a mayoral election in 16 years, thus reversing a long established trend of declining registrations.

"Right now, Chicago has a healthy electoral system," Lavelle said. "We've got the momentum and the interest in registration to attract many citizens who simply haven't bothered to register and vote in the past. And I'm not talking about any age, ethnic, or racial group, either. We're expecting, and urging, all Chicagoans to register and to vote."

Lavelle noted that voter registration in 1982 increased from 1,420,769 for the March 16th primary to 1,549,984 for the Nov. 2 general election, a gain of almost 129,000 voters.

With the expected gain during the next five weeks, Chicago registration could be the largest since the mayoral primary of 1967, when 1,722,819 persons were qualified to vote.

Lavelle said that figures from the 1980 United States census shows that Chicago has at least 400,000 unregistered citizens.

Lavelle said that the Board has numerous programs to attract new voters. These "outreach" efforts will end Jan. 17, 1983, in preparation for the Feb 22 election.

The final opportunity to register will be Jan. 25, when all city precinct polling places will be open from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m. for registration. A two-day canvass of all voters will follow the precinct registration to remove from the registration rolls all unqualified persons by reason of death, change of address, name change, etc.

by Juanita Bratcher

They came alive on October 31 It was Phase I of the voters registration drive.

But, at a V.O.T.E. Community Breakfast held at Softsheen Products, Inc., 1000 East 87th St., business, civic and community leaders predicted that Phase II which will kick-off on January 7, will be bigger, just as successful as Phase I, or better.

Edward Gardner, president of Softsheen, emphasized the need to register new voters. "The problems in Chicago are very, very deep," he said, "but they are problems that can be resolved."

"You can have no effect on the way this city is run if you don't vote," Gardner added.

Gardner said his company will do "as much as we can, for as many as we can," stressing his company's continued financial support. "That's because we've been very successful during these depressed times."

Phase I voters registration was historical, Gardner noted, "You have done something historical and you must be proud. But, we can't stop there. We are concerned — all Chicagoans are concerned — we are one and we're together, and we have to exhibit that."

Softsheen is involved in the voters registration drive, Gardner said, "because we're interested in improving the quality of life for Black Americans, but specifically Black Chicagoans," Gardner told the attendees.

A V.O.T.E. committee member said out of the $80,000 spent toward media campaigning, $78,000 was contributed by Softsheen. Money left over from Phase I will be used toward Phase II. However, businesses are urged to be supportive of V.O.T.E.'s effort and make Phase II just as successful as Phase I.

Alice Tregay, project director for Phase II, said much effort will be exerted in eight key wards that have 6,000 plus unregistered voters. Voters education seminars will be held where there is a large group of people. The committee will also work with churches and the Board of Education, with special registrations in all of the high schools.

The kick-off drive will be held on the West Side of the city for the city at large, although at this point a place has not been chosen. "We hope everyone will come and show a 'one Chicago,'" Tregay said.

Minorities to hold summit aimed at producing 'unity'

CORPUS CHRISTI, Texas (UPI) — Black and Hispanic leaders hope to initiate a series of national summit meetings in January aimed at ensuring the two minority groups do not "fight each other for crumbs" of opportunity the president of a Hispanic group said recently.

Tony Bonilla, National Leader of the League of United Latin American Citizens, said he and the Rev. Jesse Jackson of Chicago agreed to be the initial organizers of the conferences at a meeting recently at the National Hispanic University in Oakland, Calif.

Bonilla said there was a consensus among participants that "Blacks and Hispanics should not fight each other for crumbs at the table of opportunity."

"There are too many things that makes Blacks and Hispanics natural allies," he said, "and that makes it essential that we work together."

Lavelle noted that all 87 facilities of The Chicago Public Library serve as places of voter registration during normal business hours.

The chairman said that the Board presently is conducting a special voter registration drive in all city high schools to recruit students who will be 18 years of age by Feb. 22 election.
Emphasizes importance of voting

Dr. Love leads student registration drive

by Juanita Bratcher

Emphasizing the importance of voting, Dr. Ruth Love, general superintendent of Schools, launched Phase Two of a student voters registration drive at a press conference Thursday at Manley High School, 2935 W. Polk, with a goal of registering more than 3,000 18-year-olds.

Love told Manley’s seniors: “You are the future of this city,” and stated that she had adopted Chicago as her city “because it is one of the finest cities I have lived in.”

“Registering to vote is a fundamental right and responsibility that we are encouraging all students to pursue,” Love said. “Men and women throughout history have struggled and fought to obtain this right. Voting cannot be taken lightly. It must be used to improve conditions in the country, in the city and in the neighborhoods.

“I believe that using our vote is the most powerful way we can make our voices heard on issues that affect our lives.”

Love said she was launching voter’s registration at the schools “because I believe in what you’re doing. Although registration has been going on in the schools for many years, I want to emphasize the importance of the vote.”

“You do have the right to vote,” Love said, “but you must exercise that right to vote. We welcome you into the world of adult and believe me it’s quite a world,” she said to the seniors at Manley, but she pointed out it should be nonpartisan. “We just want you to vote,” Love said.

When asked about a meeting she had with Congressman Harold Washington by a reporter, Love said, “The meeting with Washington was a discussion of various issues pertaining to education, how to improve the quality of education and how to assure that they are all good schools. However, I have met with State’s Attorney Richard Daley also.”

Love announced that the Board of Education Commission registrars will be stationed at each Chicago Public High School to register 18-year-olds or students who will be 18 years old by February 22. Registrars will be at the high schools through January 15.

Phase One of voters registration was conducted in the schools in early fall before the general election. The Board of Education estimates that more than 15,000 students have registered to vote through school programs. There are approximately 18,000 18-year-olds in Chicago Public High Schools.

Asked whether she would endorse a mayoral candidate, Love said it would be inappropriate and difficult for a general superintendent to endorse a candidate. “A general superintendent must be non-partisan and must work with whoever is mayor,” she said.

Voter registration drive is back in high gear

COME ALIVE JAN. 25!

With the goal of registering over 100,000 new black voters, several community groups involved in voter registration are coming together in a massive effort this weekend to stimulate participation in the Jan. 25th precinct registration day.

Jan. 25th is the last day unregistered voters can sign up to vote in the Feb. 22 mayoral primary. All 9,000 precinct polling places will be open from 7 a.m. to 9 p.m. for persons to register.

V.O.T.E. Community, an umbrella organization consisting of TWO, The Peoples Movement for Voter Registration, Chicago Urban League, Afro American Patrol League, Operation PUSH, POWER and other groups, are combining effort to carry out a "beehive of activity" designed to enhance the success of precinct registration day. Beginning Saturday morning, a leafleting blitz will get underway on a ward-by-ward basis with supermarkets, bus and L stops, shopping centers, bingo games, etc., being targeted for heavy leafleting promoting the "Come Alive" theme.
Voter registrations in last-minute leap

By Lillian Williams

In a last-minute surge, more than 100,000 new voters were added to Chicago's registration rolls in anticipation of the city's most hotly contested mayoral race in recent history, preliminary estimates showed Wednesday.

"It looks heavier than we thought. It's a last-minute surge," said Tom Leach, spokesman for the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners.

The North Side lakefront wards may have gained the most new voters, Leach said. However, exact figures were not immediately available, he said.

"It was heavy throughout the city, but a little heavier on the [North Side] lakefront," Leach said. "That's not real surprising. It's a highly transient area with a lot of people registering."

Now, Leach said, the board anticipates "well over" 1.6 million eligible voters for the primary. That's the highest registration figure since 1969 when voters were concerned about the Constitutional Convention election, he said.

In the November general election, 1,549,084 voters were registered.

In the last mayoral primary in 1979, new registrations totalled 56,601 on precinct registration day, Leach said.

A canvass in the next two days will remove some voters from the list but registration is expected to remain high, Leach said.

The board still has not tabulated figures for registration drives sponsored by black community groups, Leach said. Those totals may be lower than the ones before the Nov. 2 election, he said.

Voter registration drive set for pre-election push

by Chinta Strausberg

Going after the 100,000 Black unregistered voter, a spokesman for the Peoples Movement Voter Registration said Sunday, they will go after the "hard core" person by passing out literature at bus stops, supermarkets, taverns and bingo games.

According to Nathaniel Clay, chairman of the group located at 421 E. 47th St., the same building that houses one of Mayor Byrne's campaign offices, said today 12 cars will be circulating the predominately Black wards with sound systems urging people to register and vote.

Saturday, the Peoples Movement held a candlelight parade where 200 people marked from 55th to 60th and King Dr., urging people to vote and to "Come Alive January 25." Clay said Project Vote, a Washington based voters rights group, donated 300,000 pieces of literature of "Come Alive. Saturday, volunteers distributed 150,000 pieces in the neighborhoods.

Additionally, the group says it put up 20,000 posters, but Sunday, Clay accused Streets and Sanitation Commissioner John Donovan of ordering the 3,800 new temporary workers to tear them down. Byrne was unavailable for comment.

Clay says Donovan used a technical excuse for having the signs torn down—saying that the group was violating a city ordinance. Clay believes the reason was to allegedly prevent them from registering another 100,000 Black voters.
Minorities top voter registration

Two polls show Washington strong

by Chinta Strausberg

Two mayoral polls recently conducted by Blacks showed that Congressman Harold Washington is the favored choice, and for the second time in two months, Blacks out-registered whites, according to a Chicago Board of Election Commissioner.

Despite the results of a recent Sun-Times/Channel 5 news poll, AM-1330 (WVON) and WGCI radio stations showed that out of 526 callers, 378 people voted for Washington, or 71.8 percent, 130 voted for Mayor Byrne, 24.7 percent, and 18 voted for State's Attorney Richard Daley, or 3.4 percent.

The station's president and general manager, Marv Dyson, said the poll was taken Tuesday between 6:00 a.m. and 8:00 a.m. and that he wasn't surprised by the results. Pollsters asked each caller if the Democratic mayoral primary was held today, who would you vote for.

In a press statement, Dyson said one Byrne supporter said, "She's better than Washington and certainly much better than...the other one."

Those who voted for Washington said he would do more for the Black community and that he was more intelligent and honest, and those who voted for Daley thought he would "carry on the Daley tradition" and said it was time for a change.

Another poll conducted by Addul S. Bin-Walee, 38, a free-lance market consultant who polled a total of 971 people citywide from December 6, 1982 to December 17th, also showed Washington the winner.

According to Bin-Walee's poll, out of 971 respondents, 787 were actually registered. Interviewing people on 76 sites in all 50 wards, Bin-Walee said out of 787 people, (continued on page 12)

Black coalition backs Washington, plans to train 10,000 poll watchers

By Thom Shanker

A NEW coalition of 25 black community organizations endorsed the mayoral candidacy of U.S. Rep. Harold Washington (D., Chicago) Monday, and said it will train 10,000 poll watchers by the Feb. 22 city election to "protect the black vote" from fraud.

Gerard Worrill, spokesman for the Task Force for Black Empowerment, said the organization's goals also include sending absentee ballots to an estimated 19,000 young black voters attending universities in other cities.

Meanwhile, Washington dedicated his new Loop campaign headquar-
ters Monday night and responded to charges that he has not developed a coherent campaign platform.

The candidate listed past promises to sign an executive decree to ensure freedom of information; to include a cross section of opinion in his budget; and to halt increases in the utility tax, with funds channelled into weatherization projects.

WASHINGTON ALSO spoke to students and faculty at De Paul University, sounding campaign themes of fair distribution of federal funds to Chicago's neighborhoods and increased hiring of women and minorities in the mayor's office.

Washington advocated "severing the umbilical cord between the mayor and the board of education" to end a period in which the school board serves "the special interest groups, not the students."

When the task force announced its formation at a Monday morning press conference, leaders said their goal of fielding 10,000 poll watchers, including a team of 10 attorneys, is to "protect the black vote" on Election Day, Worrill said.

MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS include Operation PUSH, the Chicago Black United Communities, the Black United Front of Chicago and Ald. Danny Davis' 29th Ward People's Assembly.
Washington picks up support
Bonilla backs Rep.
by JOHN WILLIAMS, JR.

SAYING IT is time for Blacks and Hispanics to start working together instead of fighting “for the crumbs of opportunity,” the president of the largest Hispanic group in the nation endorsed U.S. Rep. Harold Washington (D., 1st) for mayor Saturday.

Tony Bonilla, president, League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), said Blacks and Hispanics combine for $257 billion in yearly earnings, but they have very little input into the governing of the country.

“Blacks and Hispanics can no longer afford to fight,” Bonilla espoused, “together we must raise the consciousness of the country.”

BONILLA, appearing at the regular meeting of Operation PUSH, 930 E. 50th Street, said Washington has led the fight for minorities in Congress and now it is time for the city’s minorities to rally around the congressman.

Noting that the “white establishment” has created the racial and economic barriers which have separated Blacks and Hispanics, Bonilla said the time is right for...

Continued on page 3
Continued from page 1
the two minorities to unite in a common cause.

“President Reagan has made it possible for us to come together. In fact, he has gone out of his way to keep us down,” Bonilla said.

THE HISPANIC leader pointed out the president’s cancellation of the CETA program, which provided thousands of jobs for minorities, as a prime example of Reagan’s insensitivity towards minorities.

Bonilla said LULAC, which was organized in 1929, will begin organizational efforts in Chicago’s Hispanic neighborhoods for Washington. To make an impact politically on the national level, Bonilla said minorities must organize on the local level first.

“It is absolutely essential for us to unite to change the priorities, the direction and course of this country. We must tackle the problems of unemployment and a system where the rich are given the advantages and the poor are given nothing. We must rid the country of its sharecropper mentality,” Bonilla stated.

WITH THE AID of the Reverend Jesse L. Jackson, president of PUSH; Cesar Chavez, president, United Farm Workers; former U.S. ambassador Phillip Sanchez, and other Black and Hispanic leaders, Bonilla said it is possible for a strong Black-Hispanic coalition to be organized to defeat Reagan in 1984.

“We can make a lot of heads roll,” Bonilla said, “if we come together and combine our strengths to work for our advantage.”

Bonilla estimated that Hispanics have a 15 percent unemployment rate and 40 to 60 percent of Hispanics drop out of school.
"Best candidate"

Continued from page 1

Authority (CHA) and school boards as just two areas of her inadequacies.

The five candidates said the black community can no longer afford to suffer through "quiet leadership" in the City Council.

White is challenging Ald. Wilson Frost, Packnett is opposing Ald. Eugene Sawyer, Hutchinson is opposing Robert Shaw, Thomas is challenging Ald. Niles Sherman, and Mrs. Bell is opposing Ald. William Henry, who succeeded the late Walter Shumpert.

A HOST of additional candidates are also vying for the respective aldermanic seats listed above. There are some 280 candidates vying for the city's 50 aldermanic seats.

Packnett said the huge number of aldermanic hopefuls is indicative of the change occurring in Chicago politics. By this, Packnett said blacks and minorities who have been barred from the decision making process by the Democratic machine are beginning to fight for their fair share of the "pie."

According to the aldermanic hopefuls, Washington has an excellent chance for victory in the mayoral sweepstakes due to the fighting spirit now instilled in the city's minorities.

The next step, White said, is making sure they (the minorities) get to the polls.

We've made it

OBSERVING a swearing in ceremony for students of Manley High School, 2935 W. Polk, registering to vote is Dr. Ruth B. LOvc, General Superintendent of Schools. A student voter registration drive was kicked off last week at the school. All Chicago public high schools will be able to register 18 year olds or students who will be 18 by February 22. Registrars from the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners will be in the high schools through January 15. The goal is to register 3,000 students. (Photo by Ted Kosten)
Women Rally for Washington

Congressman Harold Washington, Democratic candidate for Mayor of Chicago, will make a major statement on issues affecting women and their families at a rally Sunday, January 16, 1983 at 3:30 p.m., at the Liberty Baptist Church, 4849 S. King Dr.

The rally is sponsored by the Women's Network for Washington, which was organized last month at a meeting last month, with more than two hundred women in attendance who pledged their support to the candidacy of Harold Washington.

The convenors of the Network are Addie Wyatt, the Rev. Willie Barrow, Nancy Jefferson, Artesia Randolph and Rebecca Sive-Tomashefsky.

Additional rally speakers include Indiana Congresswoman Katie Hall and Illinois State Representative Barbara Flynn Currie.

"We are encouraging all women who are interested in supporting Congressman Washington's candidacy for mayor and who can contribute volunteer time to the campaign to come out to Sunday's rally," Mrs. Wyatt said. "We also invite and encourage all free-thinking women to come and hear possible solutions to issues which affect them and their families on a day to day basis."

Supporters of Rep. Harold Washington are shown at a recent fundraiser held at the Conrad Hilton. Seated (from left) are former state Rep. Clarence Williamson, Ald. Marian Humes (8th) and Ald. Eugene Sawyer (6th); in back (from left) are an unidentified supporter, Ald. Allan Streeter (17th), Ald. Niles Sherman (21), and Ald. Danny Davis (29), an unidentified supporter, Commissioner Thomas S. Fuller, Metropolitan Sanitary District; state Sen. Charles Chew and state Rep. Howard Brookins. (Defender photo by John Gunn.)

U.S. Rep. Harold Washington is surrounded by supporters at a recent fundraiser held here. From left are, Juanita Passmore, the Rev. Claude Wyatt, an unidentified supporter, Mrs. Addie Wyatt, Sid Ordower (in back), and an unidentified supporter. Washington, a mayoral candidate, was also honored at a fundraiser held in Washington Wednesday and attended by a score of Black, white, and Hispanic politicians, socialites and former Chicagoans. Apple magnate Stewart Mott hosted the event.

1-29-83
Ebony Magazine Publisher Supports Daley with $10,000

Richard Daley
John H. Johnson, publisher of Ebony Magazine reportedly gave Richard Daley $10,000 to aid him in his quest to unseat

Maggie Daley, wife of mayoral candidate State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, chats with Stella Person, who hosted one of several coffee klatches held Thursday by residents of the Robert Taylor Homes. The group of residents has endorsed Daley. (Defender Photo by Raymond Boyd)
Labor board backs Byrne; pledge on bargaining told

By Basil Talbott Jr. and Lillian Williams

Mayor Byrne was endorsed Friday by the Chicago Federation of Labor's executive board in the mayoral race after she promised President William A. Lee she would grant collective-bargaining agreements to all city employees.

However, Lee, in the new conference afterward, said the board's vote was not unanimous and that the endorsement was not binding on union locals.

"They don't necessarily have to accept it," he said.

Lee said he expects federation delegates, who represent member locals, to vote on the executive board's endorsement recommendation Feb. 1.

"I expect that the [federation] delegates will support the action of the executive board," he said.

Lee said before Friday's session began that divisions among union leaders could blunt the effect of an endorsement.

Asked whether Byrne had promised the federation collective-bargaining agreements for all city employees, Lee replied, "She has promised it to yours truly."

Byrne denied published reports earlier this week that she would give labor contracts to any city employee who wants them. Currently, police and firefighters are covered by labor contracts and city building trades workers are paid the highest prevailing rate in private industry.

In announcing the Byrne endorsement, Lee said, "She's the incumbent. She's the one we've been working with. She's aware of our problems now. She's been reason-

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able and fair with the labor movement here in the City of Chicago."

Asked whether she had changed during her years in office, Lee observed, "I think she is a more experienced lady. I think she is more knowledgeable in the affairs that labor is interested in. As a result of this, I think the board was influenced in making its decision."

Asked if he felt badly about the endorsement because of his closeness to the family of another mayoral candidate, State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, Lee replied, "It places you in a rather difficult position, certainly knowing Mayor [Richard J.] Daley, Richie and the Daley family over the years. But sometimes you know you have to make a decision that will be in the best interest of those you serve."

Byrne has appointed Lee to two municipal boards.

Steve Cullen, statewide head of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal and Employees Union, said he was encouraged by the announced commitment of Daley and the third Democratic candidate, U.S. Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.), to collective bargaining.

Cullen, who is not a member of the federation's executive board, said AFSCME would hold its own meeting in about a week to decide whom to endorse. Cullen did not rule out an endorsement of Byrne, but added, "I think every union pretty well goes its own way."

Before the meeting, Lee hinted that factions of the federation might not be able to work together to deliver many votes.

"We are divided," Lee said. "There's no question about that."

Byrne addressed the group first, telling reporters she would stress her "good labor record" and her administration's approval of Chicago's first contracts with police and firefighters unions.

Daley and Washington emerged from the session to tell reporters they favor collective-bargaining agreements for all municipal employees.

Washington criticized Byrne for failing to fulfill a 1979 campaign promise of collective bargaining for all city workers, a sore point among some union leaders.

"Her attitude toward labor was combative, arrogant," Washington said. "The net result is that labor unrest has been in this city for some time."

Daley defended himself against charges by some union activists that he opposed labor contracts for city workers in place of traditional "handshake agreements" when he served in the state Senate. Byrne had handshake in the '60s and '70s was with the agreement of labor," Daley said.

Washington also proposed that the city create a $200 million scholarship and loan program to train and retrain the unemployed youth for skilled crafts and jobs in high technology and health care.

Several endorsements already have been made by various union locals, who have split among Byrne, Daley and Washington. Previously, most unions have taken their cues from the federation. He said the union leaders would not be permitted to question candidates, thus bypassing the chance to grill Byrne on her unfulfilled 1979 campaign pledge to sponsor legislation setting guidelines for collective bargaining for all city employees. The fire and police contracts were granted without such legislation.
Daley bash rocks with that old-time fervor

By Thom Shanker

IT WAS old-fashioned politics Wednesday night as several thousand of State's Atty. Richard Daley's supporters whistled, stamped, hooted and cheered their way through the first mass rally of the mayoral campaign.

The site Grand Ballroom of the Hyatt Regency Chicago may not have seemed the proper place for such an energetic crowd, but according to 11th Ward campaign volunteer John Talavera, "We deserve it."

Daley, who faces Mayor Jane Byrne and U.S. Rep. Harold Washington (D., III.) in the Feb. 22 Democratic mayoral primary, told the audience, "We are going to win this election."

Meanwhile, in the nation's capital, the Outstanding Legislator of the Year Award was presented to Washington by the Maryland NAACP during a Capitol Hill fundraiser. The award was made principally for Washington's work in Congress's extension of the Voting Rights Act last year.

THE EVENT FOR Washington, which raised $25,000, was sponsored by a variety of groups, including several members of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Washington had flown to the capital to hear President Reagan's State of the Union message Tuesday night. He earlier announced plans to introduce a jobs bill in Congress.

Washington acknowledged that he couldn't spend much time in Congress, "for obvious reasons," but said that few crucial matters would be coming up between now and the Feb. 22 mayoral primary.

3rd debate on TV, radio

THE THIRD debate involving the three Democratic mayoral candidates, Mayor Jane Byrne, State's Atty. Richard Daley and Rep. Harold Washington (D., III.), will be broadcast live at 7 p.m. Thursday by WTTW-TV (Channel 11). The debate, in the Conrad Hilton Hotel, will focus on employment and economic development. It also will be carried live by several radio stations, including WGN (AM 720), WBMM (AM 780), WIND (AM 560), WJPC (AM 560), WBEZ (FM 91.5) and WFMT (FM 98.7).

Daley, at his Chicago bash, listed his achievements and compared them to Byrne's tenure in office, which he said was "replete with mistakes, confrontations, political favoritism, tax hikes, ruthless firing, obscene fundraising and personal public relations paid for by taxpayers."

Campaign workers with two-way radios directed bus and car traffic into the event and people on the way out.

FOR 30TH WARD volunteer Betty Wildtrat, who said she has lived in Chicago most of her 70 years, the event was best symbolized by a button depicting both of Chicago's Richard Daleys.

"I voted for his father every time he ran," Wildtrat said. "But it's not because of his father that I vote for the son. I picked the son before he even announced he was going to run."

The candidate's portrait circled the Grand Ballroom like repeated exposures on a roll of film. And Daley placards—with "I love you" handwritten on some—were joined by mere subtle campaign buttons. One read simply "R.M.D. in '83."

Preparing to vote in their first mayoral election, Dawn Belzian and Jane Urbina said they were enjoying the event because it reminded them of old-time political rallies so famous in Chicago campaign lore.

Both are 16th Ward campaign volunteers.

AFTER HIS HARSH attack on Byrne, Daley told his supporters that their volunteer efforts would have more power than television commercials, because "there is only one poll that counts—the ballot box."

Jim Sweeney, a 43rd Ward campaign worker, said he supports Daley because the candidate was "right on the issues, and the key issue is leadership." He said Wednesday's rally was symbolic of the Daley organization because "we're all one big family."

A group of prominent local lawyers endorsed Daley Wednesday. They include Edward Levi, former U.S. attorney general; Thomas Foran and Thomas Sullivan, former U.S. attorneys in Chicago; Jill Wine-Banks, former assistant Watergate special prosecutor; and Sebastian Rivera, a former member of the Chicago Police Board.

Daley also pledged Wednesday to reform the Chicago corporation counsel's office and ban outside practice by city attorneys. He also said he would seek qualified black, Hispanic and female lawyers to serve in the corporation counsel's office.

Daley again lashed out at Jane Byrne for a campaign that he described as a "$10 million commercial."
Daley campaigns on campus

by Cliff Grammich

Addressing an audience of about 150 people, State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, a candidate for the Democratic mayoral nomination, spoke on "The Future of Chicago yesterday in the Public Policy Lecture Series. Mayor Jane M. Byrne had spoken in the series last week on the same subject, and U.S. Representative Harold Washington, the third candidate for the Democratic nomination, will speak here Feb. 10.

Daley's extemporaneous remarks, which were more expanded than Byrne's, focused on the relation between the municipal government and other governmental agencies and the cooperation between these agencies in planning the future of the city.

Daley prefaced his remarks with a summary of his accomplishments as a state senator and as state's attorney. Daley said that as a state senator, he worked for reform of the state mental health code, the reform of nursing home codes, and the reform of grand jury proceedings, which now allow an attorney to be present with a defendant when he appears before a grand jury. As a state's attorney, Daley mentioned his creation of a narcotics unit, a gang crimes prosecution unit, and his consistent hiring of black, Hispanics, and women lawyers.

Remarkling on the mayoral race, Daley said that he is running a "campaign of responsibility and leadership," and blasted the "disastrous record of the present administration." As mayor, Daley vowed to start a jobs program and a job development corporation which would work with unions, the business community, and governmental agencies to develop employment opportunities in the city and in the Midwest. Daley noted that, with the cooperation of all levels of government, many regions have brought new industries to the region. As examples, he referred to the development of high-tech industry in the Northeast, the defense industry in the South, and the aerospace industry in the Southwest. Daley attacked the mayor for her failure to develop a comprehensive economic plan for the city.

Supporters of Byrne defend her efforts to improve the city's economy. They claim that she was instrumental in bringing the 1992 World's Fair to Chicago, and they note that her administration has issued an economic plan for the city's next decade.

Daley also attacked the mayor for her failure to work with the Illinois General Assembly for Chicago's benefit. He said that the CTA has lost the transportation subsidy which it had at the beginning of the Byrne administration. He claimed that the mayor's two top priorities in working with the legislature have been to obtain a state grant for Chicagofest and to save Charles Swibel, former Chicago Housing Authority chairman, from embarrassment.

Daley stated that as mayor he would work to bring more state funds into different areas of Chicago's government. Byrne's supporters have backed her efforts for Chicagofest, claiming that the event brings outside visitors, and hence increased revenues, into the city.

Daley said that he is the only Democratic candidate to propose an energy conservation program for the city. He claimed that the present administration does not have such a program, and he attacked Washington for wanting to raise taxes on utilities without developing an energy conservation program. Byrne claims to have such a program operating and Washington believes that the city needs the added tax revenue.

Following his remarks, Daley was asked several questions about his job as state's attorney and his promises for his mayoral administration.

In answering a question about the current vote fraud investigations, Daley said that federal and county law enforcement agencies are working to correct the incidents of vote fraud reported in the Nov. 2 election. He criticized the present method of voting, claiming that it is equivalent to a return to paper ballots.

Daley disapproves of the present method of voting because it can be as easily tampered with as the old system. To invalidate a ballot, all a biased election judge needs to do is to fail to initial a ballot so that it cannot be accepted by computer.

One questioner asked Daley about the proposal he spoke of at U of C last year concerning violent juvenile offenders. Daley claimed that the program is making progress as the number of lawyers involved in the program has doubled, and he has worked through the program to try violent juvenile offenders as adults and to identify young juvenile offenders for reform.

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Bridgeport surprise greets Washington

By Lilian Williams
and Brian J. Kelly


The evening session at the First Lutheran Church, 643 W. 31st, was an attempt by both Democratic mayoral candidates to demonstrate racial harmony.

For Washington, it was a chance to take his case to Daley's largely white stronghold. For Daley, it was a chance for his supporters to show that their reputation as a racist neighborhood is undeserved.

Washington entered to polite applause that swelled when he shook hands with Daley, who had been waiting for him at the front of the church.

Speaking first, Washington enumerated the reasons he thought Mayor Byrne had failed. He won cheers from the almost-all-white crowd of about 300.

Then he nodded to Daley and said to the crowd with a playful smile, "The question is which of the two of us and obviously my seniority demands it be me."

The crowd laughed and applauded.

Washington said Bridgeport's reputation is "one I don't necessarily agree with or accept," but he said he knew the community was "strong and tight" and shared common problems with other Chicago communities.

But he also talked of his break with the Chicago Democratic Organization, which, under Mayor Richard J. Daley, was virtually headquartered in Bridgeport.

Noting that his father was "one of the first black Democratic precinct captains" in the 1930s, Washington said he himself had "worked hard in the vineyards for all the Democratic candidates."

"I became disenchanted with the Demo-

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Bridgeport surprise for Washington

Continued from Page 6
cratic organization because I felt, and rightly so, that we in my community were not getting what we put into it."

He said he began to fight the organization, waging independent campaigns in the middle 1970s that "gave the Democratic organization three or four very sound lickings that it will never forget."

When Daley got up to speak, it was clear the church was filled with his supporters as they staged a minutes-long foot-stomping demonstration for the benefit of the television cameras.

In his unscheduled stop, Daley had brief remarks for the audience and took a few questions. He criticized Washington once for his proposed tax on the invested capital of state public utilities.

"The congressman and I were in the state Senate together," Daley said. "He knows that any tax that is put on utilities will eventually fall to the consumers."

As did Washington, Daley renewed the attack on the administration of the Police Department. However he again said he would not mention specific personnel changes he would make if elected, saying, "We saw that in 1979. People don't want to know who you're headhunting."

Daley called for an outside audit of the city's controversial crime rate statistics that are the subject of an internal Police Department audit.

Earlier Monday, a coalition of Chicago civic organizations made public a list of 25 questions it is posing to all mayoral candidates.

Janet Malone, chairman of the group known as the Civic Coalition, said the group focused on what it considered most important issues.

Among questions that were sent to Byrne, Daley, Washington and other candidates were these:

- "As mayor, how would you approach the problem of segregation in housing, schools and other areas?"
- "What specific measures will you take to integrate and improve upon present operations ...?"
- "How do we get more for the tax dollar?"
Washington impresses black voters

U.S. Rep. Harold Washington registered one big gain during the first debate last week between the Democratic candidates for mayor of Chicago. It was the enhancement of his support among black people who already supported him.

Washington made a fine impression among blacks throughout the city—including those who are beholden to Mayors Jane M. Byrne or committed to State’s Atty. Richard M. Daley.

Regardless of how Washington impressed other voters, the 1st District congressman looked “mighty good” to blacks in all sections of Chicago. His composure, display of knowledge, superior verbal skills and general stage presence evoked an understandable pride on the South and West Sides.

I’ve listened closely to comments from individuals at all levels of Chicago’s black social and economic life for many hours since the debate. As of Thursday afternoon I had not met a single black person who did not feel that Washington came across “much better” than Byrne or Daley.

One of the first individuals to praise Washington “off the record” was one of the few high-profile black regular Democrats to openly campaign for Daley.

“There’s no doubt about it. Harold was better than the others,” he said as he left the auditorium of the First National Bank, where the debate was held.

“Every black who tries to sell other blacks on supporting anybody but Harold will have to do a lot of explaining—if he can,” another “neutral” (usually meaning an individual obligated to Byrne or Daley) said following the debate.

Probably the greatest impact of Washington’s television debacles will be felt in the black churches, particularly those who have pastors who support Byrne or Daley.

The more Washington is seen and heard by large audiences, the greater the gain in respect for his knowledge and forensic skills learned over many years in politics.

“What I liked about the brother was that he didn’t have to think so hard to come up with the right answers,” said a black city employee. “You could tell that he’d been thinking about this city for a long time. The brother is a smart man with guts. I’d bet his IQ is higher than those other two.”

Washington’s image of Byrne blacks is crucial. It is more important than whites’ response concerning him. Regardless of how well he explains the issues or how honest he may appear, most of his strategists feel that his white vote is limited.

If he can not stimulate a massive black turnout and decisively cut down black defections into the Byrne and Daley ranks, Washington can forget about running in the April general election.

It is urgent that Washington maximize the momentum he once had in black precincts,” a high-echelon Washington staffer said to me Wednesday. “Nobody knows—really knows—how much Jane and Dick have gained among blacks, but they are working, and Jane is spending like mad. They’re telling blacks that while Washington is a fine man, he’s not the mayor.” That’s why our signs say ‘Washington Can Win.’

His words made me wonder how black ministers from now on will be able to adequately explain their opposition to Washington. What immediately comes to mind was my interview in 1972 of Prof. Benjamin J. Simms during the 20th anniversary observation of the historic 381-day Montgomery Bus Boycott which was provoked after seamstress Rosa Parks refused to take a seat at the back of a bus. A retired history and theology professor at Alabama State College (for blacks) in Montgomery, Simms was one of the organizers of the boycott.

I mentioned to Simms that in one mass arrest, 29 of the 80 who were jailed were ministers, many who had not previously exposed themselves on civil rights issues.

Simms suggested that I give the Montgomery “churchgoers themselves credit for changing their pastors’ minds.” When it became clear what the Montgomery movement was all about, many church people put their feet down and stood up against the pastor, and most of the pastors got the message.

“The Montgomery Movement was a righteous movement, and any black preacher who took sides with the white folks looked like a fool or a traitor,” Simms recalled.

As the debates progress, I predict that Washington’s image will take on more of a movement appeal, which is what it was at the beginning of the historic voter registration drives last summer and fall.

I also predict that during the second debate Sunday, many Chicagoans of all races will be surprised to learn that Washington feels stronger about the burgeoning crime rate than his two opponents. Such a position is not hard to understand for residents of black neighborhoods, and Washington himself is more vulnerable to criminals than Byrne or Daley.

One of America’s best kept secrets is that blacks are more law-and-order oriented than whites. Another well kept secret is overall superior preparation for public office of one Harold Washington.
Rostenkowski endorses Daley, rips Byrne term

By Thom Shanker

ENDING MONTHS of political fence-sitting, U.S. Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D., Ill.) Sunday endorsed State's Atty. Richard M. Daley for mayor, saying he was doing so to end Chicago's national image as a failing city "locked in permanent combat."

Rostenkowski, Chicago's most powerful congressman, accused Mayor Jane Byrne of being "content with mediocrity." He added: "Instead of blunt honesty, we receive opinions of convenience. Instead of diplomacy, we get showdowns."

In announcing his endorsement of Daley, Rostenkowski recalled the tenure of Daley's father, the late Mayor Richard J. Daley, as a time when "city pride and efficient government were hallmarks."

"But that era has sadly faded," said Rostenkowski, who is a national figure as chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. "What was not long ago an urban lightning rod for commerce and culture is now considered the ultimate political cartoon."

DALEY, BYRNE and U.S. Rep. Harold Washington are the major candidates in the Feb. 22 Democratic mayoral primary. The three meet in a fourth and final debate at 8 p.m. Monday.

Rostenkowski said Byrne has failed to develop an efficient working relationship with Chicago's congressional delegation. "I have not had the privilege of frequent telephone calls from the mayor," he said.

Byrne has irritated Rostenkowski by failing to communicate with him on matters of importance to the city, he said. Under previous mayors, Rostenkowski was "point man," representing the city's interests in Washington.

The congressman said he contacted Ald. Edward Vrdolyak (10th), a longtime friend, about his decision. He said Vrdolyak, who is chairman of the Cook County Democratic Party, made "absolutely no offerings" to woo an endorsement for Byrne.

ROSTENKOWSKI'S is the 11th endorsement for Daley from Democratic ward committee men bucking the regular party organization. When Democratic Party slatemakers first met Nov. 23, Rostenkowski, 32d Ward committeeman, voted "present" on the endorsement for Byrne.

He expressed hopes that voters in his ward would give Daley a "rousing victory," although he was less certain of the wishes of voters in his broader Northwest Side congressional district. He promised to campaign for Daley on the Saturdays and Sundays he returns to Chicago.

Daley embodies "a new pride and a new unity that must be the foundation of a new Chicago," Rostenkowski said, while Byrne's administration is marred by "hiring and firing that came almost like sunrise and sunset."

Later in the day, Daley appeared before a gathering sponsored by the Southwest Parish and Neighborhood Federation in the St. Gall bingo hall, 56th Street and Kedzie Avenue.

Daley said he supports the organization's request that the Chicago Housing Authority sell two apartment buildings in the area earmarked for public housing. He also pledged to support plans to redevelop 63d Street and to build the West Lawn Library.
3 push hard in mayoral race

By Larry Weintrub and Tom Maier

State's Attorney Richard M. Daley Saturday unveiled a comprehensive plan to winterize Chicago dwellings in a day of mayoral campaigning that brought all three major Democratic candidates together, but never all at once.

Mayor Byrne and Rep. Harold Washington squared off in WLS-TV's studios to tape a year-in-review program, but Daley skipped that confrontation.

Later, Washington told the Metropolitan Tenants Organization annual meeting at a West Side church that he endorses a tenants' bill of rights before the City Council and added, "If it doesn't pass now, when I'm mayor I guarantee it will."

Daley chose the tenants' session in St. Thomas Church, 5112 W. Washington, to make his white paper on conserving energy, preserving housing, saving money and creating jobs. Byrne did not attend that meeting.

In Daley's plan, the campaign's first major program to deal in specifics, calls for city government to lead a drive for "winter-weatherization" of apartment buildings and homes.

Daley said the program would hold down rising energy costs, lead to housing rehabilitation, involve community organizations in improvement of housing and create some 5,000 jobs.

City employees and members of community groups would be trained to do energy audits to locate flaws in residential buildings that leak heat.

The city then would distribute "free weatherization kits, including weatherstripping, caulking and other easily applied materials" in a "crash" program to help "save a significant portion of consumers' energy bills," Daley said.

His plan also includes no-interest and low-interest loans for what he called sorely needed "cost-effective energy conservation measures--like insulation and furnace repair and replacement."

The loans and other aspects of the Daley plan would be financed with some of the city's utility tax revenues and federal funds.

Daley said more than 60 percent of the city's existing housing (600,000 to 700,000 units) needs rehabilitation, and weatherization is a critical part.

In a slap at Byrne, Daley said Chicago energy bills have risen more than $1 billion in the last two years and "the current administration" has done nothing about it except "reap tens of millions of dollars" in utility tax revenues.

Washington, who signed his name in endorsement of the tenants' bill of rights before Daley did, told the audience, "Your demands are sensible, reasonable and obtainable."

The bill, one of MTO's principal demands, along with a fair-rent commission, would protect tenants from lockouts, retaliatory evictions and "unreasonable" access to their apartments by landlords and would permit tenants to make repairs of major defects if the landlord fails to do so and deduct the cost of the repairs from their rent. It also calls for "fair" leases and an end to "unreasonable" security deposits.

From the outset of the TV taping, Byrne and Washington traded barbs and quips. Most of the smiles between them seemed forced, however, as they struggled on issues of taxes, politics and city services. They only agreed that Daley should have been present.

Washington and Byrne debated as part of the WLS-TV's "Eyewitness '82: The Year in Review" program, scheduled for airing Dec. 31.

Washington charged that Byrne initiated supported keeping a "highly unpopular economic policies, which he said were responsible for Chicago's high unemployment and sour economy."

"As the mayor of Chicago, I would be a loud and clear spokesman for the nation's cities," Washington promised. "I wouldn't whisper in the ears of congressmen."

Byrne said she first supported Reagan's program to reduce inflation because of the high interest payments being made by the city. "It was a new program, and I thought we should try it," she said.

But she called elimination of the federal CETA (Comprehensive Employment Training Act) funds and other Reagan policies "inhuman."

Washington charged that Byrne was out of touch with much of the city's minority constituents. He said the mayor tolerated alleged discriminatory Park District funding policies long after they were publicized, which led to a U.S. Justice Department suit.

Washington vows shakeup

By Lillian Williams and Basil Talbott Jr.

Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.) promised to shake up the City Council if he is elected mayor but wouldn't rule out the possibility of Ald. Wilson Frost (34th) remaining as Council floor leader.

"Under no circumstances when we win the primary will the present City Council administration run the operation. No minions of the Democratic Party are going to run this city once I am elected to it," Washington said at a taping of WBBM's "At Issue" program to be aired at 9:30 a.m. Sunday.

But Washington, when pressed, wouldn't commit himself to opposing Frost, the Council's leading black and chairman of the Finance Committee.

On other campaign issues, including his past federal tax troubles, Washington:

- Said reports that he failed to file taxes for more than the four-year period covered by a 1971 federal indictment are false. He said he filed returns for all other years.
- Said there is no political difference between Mayor Byrne and State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, calling them "Tweedledee and Tweedledum."
- Said Daley has a responsibility to the public to participate in mayoral debates.
- Promised to disclose his full campaign structure at a press conference next week.
- Said he would enter the general election in April if one of the other major mayoral contenders drops out of the Feb. 22 primary. Washington has been collecting petitions to enter the general election if Daley or Byrne drops out.
- Claimed that Byrne's multimillion-dollar campaign war chest is "vulgar."

Washington said public servants should be barred from raising substantial amounts of money from people doing business with the city.

Daley said at a fund-raiser Friday night that it "is a disgrace. Byrne has collected so much money, but he would not comment on the values of accepting contributions from people doing business with the city."
Byrne aide calls Daley salaries ‘extravagant’

By Harry Golden Jr.

Mayor Byrne’s budget director entered the political campaign fray Tuesday with a charge that Richard M. Daley, a mayoral challenger, brought “extravagant” salaries to the state’s attorney’s office.

Albert A. Boumenot said the payroll rose from $13.8 million to $21.8 million, or 50 percent, in the first two years of Daley’s administration as state’s attorney.

Boumenot, returning Daley’s campaign charges that Byrne approved exorbitant executive pay scales, said Daley had 19 executives making $39,000 a year or more when he assumed office in 1980, but that those ranks numbered 71, a gain of 274 percent, by 1982.

At a press conference earlier this month, Daley noted that the number of city jobs paying more than $45,000 rose from 21 in 1979 to 368 in Byrne’s budget for 1983.

In an interview Tuesday, Boumenot said his studies show the state’s attorney has authorized greater gains than those he denounces. Two years ago, Boumenot said, 19 of 777 employees in the state’s attorney’s office, or 2.4 percent, made $39,000 or more. The 1982 budget showed 71 of 899 employees, or 7.9 percent, at that level, he said.

Boumenot said 21 of the 39,198 employees listed in the city budget made $45,000 or more in 1979, and 368 of the city’s 41,373 employees are scheduled at that level or more for 1983.

The city budget director noted that Daley’s gain in jobs was 15.7 percent in just two years, while Byrne’s was 5.5 percent in four years.

Boumenot said he made his comparisons at the $39,000 level because that corresponded in rank to the deputy commissioner level of $45,000 that figured in Daley’s studies.

A spokesman for Daley said of the Boumenot data: “The reasoning sounds specious and the comparisons of different years and different salary levels sounds far-fetched and ridiculous.”

In another development Tuesday, Byrne formally accepted the invitation of the League of Women Voters to engage in televised debates with her opponents.

Daley defends his legislative voting record on civil rights

By Lynn Sweet

Mayoral candidate Richard M. Daley defended his state legislative record on civil rights Tuesday, a record attacked by Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.), one of his opponents.

Daley also conceded that “debates are part of a campaign” but once again said he would not commit himself to a debate until after the first of the year.

Responding to Washington’s attack, the state’s attorney declared, “I have a good record on human rights, civil rights, women’s rights.”

The congressman had charged Monday that Daley’s record was “atrocious” on women’s rights and “negative, obstructionist, and vicious” on civil rights. Neither man offered specifics.

On the debate question, Daley said he wanted to “look at” the possibility of confining such a confrontation to a single issue—the campaign finances of the mayor of the city of Chicago. . . .

Since her election in 1979, Mayor Byrne has raised more than $8 million for her campaign war chest. Daley called that large sum “a disgrace to politics.”

A major fund-raiser for Daley will be held Wednesday evening at the Hyatt Regency Chicago. Daley hopes to raise more than $300,000 at the event.

Daley said he has misgivings about the value of debates.

He noted that the gubernatorial debates between Adlai E. Stevenson and Gov. Thompson did not elicit the truth about the state’s financial problems, revealed by Thompson only after the Nov. 2 election.
Daley pounds away at ‘bad judgment’

By Barry Cronin

State's Attorney Richard M. Daley held a Gold Coast fund-raiser Sunday at which he criticized Mayor Byrne for using "bad judgment" on a wide range of issues.

Campaigning at the Ambassador West Hotel before about 50 police, the candidate for the Democratic mayoral nomination said Byrne adds in campaign commercials that she made a few isolated "mistakes" during her first term.

But Daley sought to draw a distinction between specific mistakes and what he called Byrne's over-all poor executive ability.

Saying the mayor has had four police superintendents, three economic development commissioners, four budget directors and four comptrollers in the 3½ years since her election, Daley commented, "There's a difference between mistakes and bad judgment."

In prepared remarks, Daley criticized Byrne, without mentioning her name, on the issues of increased taxes, $480 million worth; unnecessary consultant contracts totaling $50 million, including $700,000 for a firm that determined that unemployment is the city's No. 1 problem, and wasteful spending on entertainment, $250,000 to Frank Sinatra for a one-hour show last summer at ChicagoPep.

Daley's criticism was directed at Byrne, and not her opponent in the mayoral primary, Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.).

After his address, Daley shook hands with well-wishers and told reporters he would wait until after Jan. 1 to decide whether to debate Washington in a mayoral primary.

Both candidates have called for debates.

"We all get these stories about how terrible he [Daley] is on the dais," said Donald Crowell, a city civil engineer who organized the event. "I didn't find it that way at all."

City uses too many consultants, Daley charges

By Brian J. Kelly

Hitting at what he said is Mayor Byrne's excessive use of outside consultants, mayoral candidate Richard M. Daley announced Tuesday that he would form a novel non-profit institute to advise city departments.

Modeling it on a similar program in New York City, Daley said the Chicago Institute for Urban Management would be independent of city government but would work continuously with department heads to train managers and formulate more efficient operational policies.

"I think $60 million in outside consulting fees is excessive," Daley said. He said many of the reports did not deal with the most important city problems.

"All too often consultants' advice ends up being an expensive and often impractical way of inventing the wheel," Daley said.

The state's attorney said the institute would have a small staff and draw on outside professionals and academics. The work would be done for cost.

George McBurn, head of New York's Urban Academy for Management, said his annual budget is $4 million and claimed he could document $40 million to $60 million in savings to the city.

Initial funding for the Chicago institute would come from private foundations and corporations, Daley said, with eventual funding coming from the city.

The mayor's candidate said he would not rule out the occasional use of consultants, but would hope to replace them with the institute.

Daley did not cite specific areas the institute would work in and offered no criticisms of city programs.

The attitude of the low-key press conference was summed up by Northwest Industries president Ben W. Heineman, who Daley said would be one of the directors of the proposed institute.

Asked what was wrong with Byrne's administration, Heineman replied: "I'm affirmatively for Rich Daley, who I think is the future of this city. I'm not negative-ly against anyone."

Serving on the board with Heineman would be Philip Klutznick, former secretary of commerce; Pat Ryan, president of Combined Insurance Co.; Pastora San Juan Cafferty, University of Chicago professor; James Hill, managing partner of the accounting firm Hill-Taylor, and Daniel Kubasik, an attorney with Winston & Straw and former deputy budget director for the city.
Daley’s rights record vicious, says Washington

By Basil Talbott Jr. and Lynn Sweet

Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.) attacked mayoral opponent Richard M. Daley’s legislative voting record Monday, calling it “atrocious” on women’s rights and “negative, obstructionist and extremely, extremely, vituperously vicious” on civil rights.

Meanwhile, a report prepared for Daley on minority recruitment and promotion shows that only 78 assistant state’s attorneys hired since he took office, 62 are white, 14 are black and two are Hispanic.

Washington’s attack on Daley came during a press conference at the Hyatt Regency Chicago called to introduce the steering committee for his mayoral campaign.

Asked about Daley’s legislative record, Washington, who served with Daley in the Legislature, called it “the darker side” of his opponent.

Pressed for specifics, Washington said his staff had compiled Daley’s record on fair employment practices and promised to release it soon.

Robert Benjamin, Daley’s press secretary, labeled the charges “ridiculous” and challenged Washington to produce immediately any evidence he has. Daley and Washington “voted the same way on many of these issues,” he said. “Daley missed a couple of votes on fair employment practices because of the illness of his son.”

“Washington ought to be specific or he ought to say nothing,” Benjamin said. “Remember, he is the same man who has referred to Mayor Byrne as ‘Tweedledum.’”

The report prepared for Daley, obtained by the Sun-Times Monday, shows that 19.9 percent of the assistant state’s attorneys are female and that other minority groups represent 8.2 percent. When Daley took office, 17.3 percent of the assistants were female and 6.3 percent of the assistants were black or Hispanic.

Of the 568 attorneys now on staff, 512 are white, 38 are black, eight are Hispanic; 447 are male and 111 are female. Daley pledged improvement in recruitment and promotion when he ran for state attorney in 1980.

At the Washington press conference, Walter H. Clark, co-chairman of the finance committee, said the campaign raised $50,000 toward the goal of $760,000.

Clark, chief financial officer of First Federal Savings & Loan Association, said the committee was considering holding three big-ticket fund-raisers in downtown hotels.

Steering committee member Charles Hayes said Chicago go labor is so divided over the mayoral race that the Chicago Federation of Labor sought to remain neutral. Hayes, international vice president of the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, said CFL members should be released to work for the candidates of their choice.

Also at the press conference, Washington’s steering committee was named. The chairman is Edwin C. “Bill” Berry, civil rights veteran and special assistant to the president of Johnson Products Co.

The members of the steering committee were reported exclusively in Monday editions of the Sun-Times, with one added starter, the Rev. Willie Barnard, who is operating by Berry as the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson’s committee designee.

Also released was a list of Washington’s citizens committee which included: the Rev. Kenneth Smith, former School Board president; Rabbi Robert J. Marx, founder of the Jewish Council on Urban Affairs; Franklin L. Gamwell, dean of the University of Chicago Divinity School; Dr. Quentin Young, a former administrator at Cook County Hospital; John McNight, associate director of the Center for Urban Affairs at Northwestern University; and insurance magnate Earl B. Dickerson.

Washington calls Law Department ‘incompetent

By Brian J. Kelly

Rep. Harold Washington became the second mayoral candidate to unleash a stiff attack on the city’s Law Department, accusing it Wednesday of “incompetence and repeated bungling” of crucial cases.

At a speech during a lawyers’ fund-raiser, Washington claimed Mayor Byrne had politicized the office and spent large sums hiring outside lawyers for the many cases that are handled for the department to handle.

The congressman said the budget for outside counsel rose from $675,000 when Byrne took over in 1979 to $1.8 million this year. Washington blamed much of that on “incessant confrontations” between the city and teachers, firefighters and transit unions.

He said it was ironic that in the Shakman political firing cases, which seek to eliminate the patronage practices that exist in the Law Department among others, the office was unable to defend the city and had to hire outside counsel.

Washington said he would hire experts in such areas as labor law, municipal bonds, tax and finance. He would recruit young lawyers nationally and put them through a training program at local law schools.

The Washington plan followed a similar reform proposal by State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley.

Daley on Wednesday criticized Byrne on economic development. Speaking before 800 of his supporters from the business community at a Hyatt Regency Chicago lunch, he elaborated on Byrne’s record on the North Loop redevelopment and an advertising campaign to attract business and tourism.

He called her long-stalled North Loop deal “a carnival of errors,” and claimed the recent building has come only after “civic groups, the media and major business are so exhausted that they now accept construction is considered better than none.”

The mayor asks what I would do differently...

Turn to Page 40

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Daley then ridiculed Byrne for a tourism program in which “most of the funds spent on promoting our city are spent here, promoting Chicago to Chicagoans . . . the message is people should visit their own city in the winter.”

Daley said he would act to coordinate the various state and city promotion agencies and launch a nationwide marketing effort.

In another political development, Cook County Board President George W. Dunne said a large black voter registration potentially takes away support from Daley, whom he is backing.

Dunne made the remarks during the taping of WMAQ-AM’s “Chicago News Conference,” to be broadcast at 9 p.m. Sunday.
Washington supporters ‘speak out’

by Juanita Bratcher

Criticizing mayoral candidates Mayor Byrne and Richard Daley, attorney Juan Soliz told a group of South Side residents recently that Harold Washington is “the people’s choice” for mayor.

Soliz described Byrne as a “replica of Reaganomics” and said that Daley, who is State’s Attorney, “doesn’t speak to anything and wants people to look to him because of his father.”

Soliz, who was defeated in his bid for state representative, made the assessment as he addressed residents attending a weekly meeting of the 1st Congressional District held at the Charles Hayes Center, 4859 S. Wabash Ave.

A year ago, a campaign was started to bring political justice to the community, Soliz pointed out. “We wanted to elect the first Latino state representative in Illinois. Byrne didn’t help and Daley didn’t speak out; only one spoke out on behalf of Hispanics, and that was Washington.”

Soliz said, “I’m not here because Washington supported my campaign; I’m here because I believe in him and his cause. Washington is the people’s choice.” Soliz was said to have taken a great part in helping to form a Black-Latino alliance.

On another note, Washington blasted some of the media for being unfair to his campaign by calling it unorganized, adding that regardless of the media’s unfairness, “this merger will take place, even though the press is trying to divide us. I believe in the goodness of people and I hope to be a catalyst for removing barriers and putting people together.”

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Jesse, Harold address Black student confab

by Chinta Strausberg

Over 250 students representing 70 colleges in 31 states, met at Operation PUSH Wednesday at the First Annual National Black Student Convention where mayoral candidate Harold Washington challenged the students to develop an agenda for the new generation.

The forum was convened by Rev. Tyrone Crider, 23, National Director for PUSH for Excellence Program, Dr. Mary Frances Berry from the Office of Civil Rights Commission, who is also president of the PUSH for Excellence Program, and Rev. Jesse Jackson, chairman.

In kicking off the convention, Congressman Washington challenged Chicago area students, who allegedly number 15,000 and are attending schools outside the area, to vote by absentee ballot in the February primary.

Chicago student government leaders greeted other student leaders from across the nation at the conference to get them involved and exchange ideals in the political process. They discussed the economic development of the Black community, and the survival of Black education in this nation.

Silas Purnell, executive director of the Ada S. McKinley Educational Services in Chicago, spoke, and Dr. Manford Byrd, Deputy Superintendent of Programs and Instructions, spoke on the state of Blacks in education.

Gracia Hillman, executive director of the National Coalition on Black Voters participation in Washington, D.C. spoke on the “State of Blacks in Politics.”

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Oscar Brown, Jr. blasts Jesse’s boycott threat

by Chinta Strausberg

Operation PUSH president the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson Sunday said that if Mayor Byrne doesn’t change the dates for the Loop-Alive week-long activities, he will call for a boycott of the event by Black and white entertainers.

However, noted Black entertainer Oscar Brown, Jr. immediately blasted the threatened boycott, calling it “totally unrealistic.” Brown further charged Jackson with “holding the Black community as hostage.” Other leaders in the Black community denounced Brown’s remarks and said they would support a boycott.

Jackson criticized the timing of the February event and said Byrne would be receiving free publicity for her mayoral campaign by holding the activities in the same week as the mayoral election. “The Black community cannot be bought off so cheaply,” he said.

Commenting on the dispute, Byrne said, “It (Loop-Alive) happened last year and there was no election.” This is the second time in recent months that Byrne has come under fire by Black religious and civic leaders, who have charged the mayor with “trying to buy off Black churches.” At that time, Byrne reportedly had made several large donations to Black churches, which the ministers interpreted as an attempt to “buy the Black community.” They assailed the gesture, asserting that the Black community is “not for sale.”

Jackson accused Byrne of trying to use next year’s allocation of $500,000 for the next ChicagoFest to put on Loop-Alive slated to be held from Feb. 14 to 22, the day of the election.

Said Jackson, “We don’t want Jane Byrne to use this money to put on a politi-
Jackson, Jacobson square off

by Chinta Strausberg

Rev. Jesse Jackson blasted WBBM commentator Walter Jacobson Tuesday calling his recent attack on Congressman Harold Washington an extension of Jacobson's "arrogance and inexperience" with the Black community.

Monday night, Jacobson said he had learned that Washington's campaign was disorganized and reportedly run by whites of the Hyde Park and Lincoln Park liberal variety.

Jacobson said there is allegedly a feud going on among those who first worked for Congressman Washington and the new group whom he labeled as having a lack of experience. Tuesday, Rev. Jackson said Jacobson's Monday night perspective against Washington was in poor taste.

"He (Jacobson) has not walked on a Southside or Westside street in recent history, and he has not put a foot under a Black table to eat. He has no credibility with which to challenge the authority base from which people like State Rep. Monica Faith Stewart speaks.

"Three weeks ago, Jacobson was going to blast us for boycotting Mayor Byrne's Loop-Alive project, but when she canceled the event, he refused to do a story on it."

But Tuesday, Jacobson told the Chicago Defender he is too busy collecting and reporting to respond to Rev. Jackson's charges, but did say, "Anyway, where I eat (continued on page 18)

Jacobson defends editorial

(continued from page 3)

my dinner is my business. He doesn't know where I eat; besides, Jackson is so busy travelling around the country and running out of Chicago to lambast a reporter with which he disagrees."

Jacobson added, "If Jackson wants to quarrel on a factual basis—item for item—I'll sit down with him and talk, but I stand behind my story."

"Jesse Jackson," he added, "is constantly trying to pick a fight in public with me, and I am not interested in fighting with him. I'm just a reporter busy collecting and reporting facts."

On the other hand, Rev. Jackson said the issue in this mayoral campaign is "sharing power," not who is doing what and where in the different political camps. He added, "The issue is not the style, race, taxes, sex...but sharing power."

He added, "We cannot allow the opinions of our adversaries to divert our attention away from the central theme of this campaign."

Rev. Jackson was not alone in his dislike of Jacobson's perspective.

Ald. Allan Streeter (17) said Jacobson's commentary "was real racism interjected into this campaign—at its worse."

Streeter said Jackson couldn't make up his mind about Washington's campaign. "First," said Streeter; "he was criticizing Washington for not having whites in his campaign; now he says there are too many, but if anyone had gone to Washington's recent fundraiser, they would have seen a rainbow of people just like the Daley days."

Streeter said Washington couldn't be everywhere and that Washington is trying to keep pace.

Representatives from Washington's office did not return this reporter's call, but a source said Jacobson's commentary on Washington "was a cheap shot" and denied that white workers ran the campaign.
Daley raps medic cards with Byrne photo

By Mitchell Locin and Lea Donosky

COOK COUNTY STATE'S ATTY. Richard M. Daley said Sunday it is improper for Chicago Fire Department paramedics to be required to pass out cards with a picture of Mayor Jane Byrne when they treat accident victims and the ill.

Meanwhile, another candidate for mayor, U.S. Rep. Harold Washington [D., Ill.], launched what he called a "major theme" of his campaign, the championing of women's rights, and Byrne opened a campaign office on the Northwest Side.

Daley made his charge during an appearance at the opening of a joint headquarters for himself and 36th Ward aldermanic candidate Richard Pope at 3407 N. Harlem Ave. Daley told the crowd of several hundred volunteers:

"Everybody is for a good paramedic program, but what do we see now? The paramedics are told right before the election, 'When you go out there, when you are taking care of the person, make sure you get their name, address and telephone number and give them a picture of the mayor because the election is coming up.' They're making them politicians. They are professionals. They don't want to get involved in this."

THE CARD being passed out has a picture of Byrne and a message from her to the care recipient, saying in part that the quality of emergency care citizens receive "is of the greatest importance to the City of Chicago, it is especially important to me."

Also on the card is a picture of Fire Commissioner William Blair and a message from him. The card also contains a demonstration of cardiopulmonary resuscitation, asks recipients to rate the response time, quality of care they received, courtesy of the paramedics and the reason for calling. It also seeks their name and address.

Washington, who appeared at a rally of women supporters at Liberty Baptist Church, 4849 S. Martin Luther King Jr. Dr., said he felt he would get a "stable feminine vote" across the city.

"They know I'm their champion," Washington said, claiming the Byrne administration has hurt rather than helped women in Chicago. He said women are under-represented in city policymaking positions and are suffering most from cutbacks in human services.

Byrne appeared at a tea and rally on the far Northwest Side and also opened an office for campaign volunteers in the 47th Ward. About 200 47th Ward volunteers jammed into a room at 2022 W. Roscoe St. to hear the mayor.

The mayor listed the capital improvements that are under construction or in planning, such as the northwest rapid transit extension. "We will move ahead, and our dream will continue," she told the audience.
**Byrne 'under sedation,' Dunne says**

Mayor Byrne has been "under some form of sedation for the past three or four months," County Board President George W. Dunne charged Thursday.

Dunne, who supports State's Attorney Richard M. Daley in his mayoral bid against Byrne, made the remark during taping of the WBMM-TV program "Common Ground."

He was responding to a question from host Clarence Page about his loss of power to a County Board insurgent group. He has blamed Byrne for being behind the move.

"I can't put my finger on the evil characteristics that triggered this (his loss of board power)," Dunne said. "I would say this: I'm firmly convinced of the fact that the mayor is under some form of sedation and has been for the past three or four months."

Dunne said he based his comment on seeing the mayor on TV. "She is an entirely different person," he said, "and I know I'm not the only one who observed it."

Steve Brown, a mayoral campaign aide, branded as "absolutely untrue" any implication that Byrne is being sedated.

"Common Ground" is scheduled for broadcast at 2:40 a.m. Saturday.

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**Washington rips Byrne 'fiscal irresponsibility'**

By Thom Shanker and Mitchell Lopin

U.S. REP. HAROLD Washington charged Monday that Chicago "is being destroyed by Jane Byrne's fiscal irresponsibility" and proposed a 1 percent increase in the city's local tax to produce an estimated $100 million for the city.

"The mayor's incapacity to negotiate with federal and state governments, her incapacity to attract jobs—indeed, her singularly successful ability to drive jobs from our city—must be corrected," mayoral candidate Washington said.

Speaking before about 20 ministers in St. Sebastian United Church of Christ, 3000 N. Kedzie Ave., Washington said Byrne's policies have also resulted in higher taxes, a lower bond rating and greater deficits.

**Fiscal**

Continued from previous page

ability to negotiate with state leaders as the cause of financial problems for the Chicago Board of Education and for the Chicago Transit Authority.

AN ORGANIZER of the session, Don Benedict, minister of the People's Unitarian Church, 941 W. Lawrence Ave., said invitations were extended to at least 100 clergy on the North and Northwest Sides. Some did not attend, he said, for fear of displeasing church members who might think their attendance indicated support of Washington's candidacy.

Benedict said he favors Washington's bid for mayor.

Byrne has planted financial "time bombs" that will become apparent only after the election, Washington said, including a school board deficit of $107 million projected for Sept. 1 and an RTA loan of $100 million due on July 1.

He charged that budget cuts will be necessary when one-time revenues from O'Hare Airport bonds and cable television taxes are no longer available.

TO SOLVE these problems, Washington said he will draw on his experience as a former state legislator to urge a 1 percent increase in the state income tax, an increase in the personal exemption on income taxes to $2,060 from $1,000 and a doubling of state allocations to the local government distributive fund.

Washington said this program would bring $100 million into the city's coffers, while lowering taxes by $103 a year for a Chicago family of four earning $8,500 a year and by $29 for a family of four earning $15,000.

Taxes would increase by $87 for a family of four earning $25,500 a year and would jump by $212 for a family of four earning $40,000, he said.
Washington, Daley camps

Mayor candidates charge harassment

by Chinta Strausberg

Supporters in both Harold Washington and Richard Daley's mayoral campaigns claim they are being harassed by forces unknown, and Thursday, Daley said arson was attempted on his 11th Ward Democratic headquarters.

Carol Noland, a postal worker and volunteer for Congressman Harold Washington, said her 1973 Chevrolet was parked in a tow zone in front of Washington's office at 100 S. Dearborn. According to Noland and several other Washington workers, there were at least six other cars in that same zone, but police towed Noland's car to 300 E. Randolph costing her $50 to retrieve it.

"I know I was parked in an illegal spot," said Noland, "but why didn't the police tow the others? Why single out my car? When I went to get my car first they wouldn't give it to me because I didn't have a 1983 sticker, then one officer said I could have it.

"What really angered me was one officer who laughed in my face and said, 'Was Harold Washington worth it?' I felt really helpless, but I told him yes it was because that's my belief.'

Noland said a deputy sheriff told her that cars of Daley supporters were also being towed if they displayed Daley's bumper stickers.

Asked if she would continue working for Washington, Noland told the Chicago Defender, "This didn't scare me. It only made me more determined. I'm going to put four more bumper stickers on the back, but I'll take the bus to Washington's office from now on."

According to Bob Benjamin, press secretary to State's Attorney Richard Daley, early Thursday morning someone broke into the 11th Ward Democratic Party office, splashed gasoline around and ignited it.

No damage estimates were available at Defender deadline, but Benjamin said the office was saved by a man walking his dog.

In a press statement, Daley said the attempted arson "appeared to be an attempt to intimidate workers in my campaign for mayor." He said it was common knowledge that his volunteers worked and met there but said he didn't believe any of the other mayoral candidates were responsible for the act.

But he added, "I wish to put those responsible for this act on notice. No act of violence, no act of threat or form of intimidation will slow down this campaign—if anything, this deliberately set fire will cause me and those who support me to work ever harder in the weeks ahead."

Claim no room for Washington commercial

by Chinta Strausberg

Some 23 building managers have refused Congressman Harold Washington permission to film a political TV commercial inside of their buildings, according to a Washington aide, for fear of City Hall retaliation.

The spokesman said Washington had hired a Los Angeles TV production crew to do the work, but the managers say they were told if they had allowed the filming to occur they would allegedly send building inspectors or raise their taxes.

"It worked," said one aide, "because Washington was denied the filming."

When the Defender called the Los Angeles filming company, the manager refused to comment unless this reporter revealed her sources.

Ald. Allan Streeter (17) said he is still smarting after allegedly being asked to leave City Hall early Sunday morning when he and Ald. Danny K. Davis (29) were trying to film a similar commercial.

According to Streeter, "When they (City Hall workers) found out we were doing this for Washington, first the electricians disappeared and the police asked us to leave because we didn't have any permits."

However, Davis said, "We weren't ousted. We didn't have the proper permits, and no one would grant us authority to do the filming. I'm not asking for any special favors." Streeter stated he would get the permits Monday and personally walk them through.

Washington refused to comment, but an aide for Mayor Byrne said, "I would imagine that the custodians told them that the building was closed. Byrne had nothing to do with this, and because Washington held a press conference Friday in City Hall and it was closed I don't think these charges can hold any water."
Gender's impact on elections

What with the stifled mumblings about race and ethnicity in the city's mayoral campaign, the issue of gender has become even more muted. Yes, there are a black and two Irish-Americans running, but one of them is also a woman. Discussions of the "gender gap" were all the rage in the November elections, particularly in Illinois with the tarnish of the failure of ERA still upon Gov. James Thompson. In the upcoming election, with a powerful woman incumbent, the subject of gender is curiously absent.

For a woman, Mayor Jane Byrne did a remarkable job of keeping that component out of her first campaign. But for a woman who was elected with the help of female voters, she has not done very much to further the rights of women. She donned a white dress in the summer heat and marched for the ERA, but all of her closest advisers are men.

She does have one, high-ranking woman in her Cabinet, but that woman runs the most women's issue-type department, Commissioner Lenora Curtin in Human Services. Other of her appointments of women also have been to "sex-role stereotyped" positions, Marie Cummings of the Fine Arts Council and businesswoman Sally Berger of the Library Board.

The naming of Ruth Love to run the schools was more a function of race than gender, a case of the lucky "twower," in the parlance of corporate affirmative action headhunters.

To take nothing from these women, having a woman as mayor did not necessarily raise anyone's consciousness. So it was surprising when Pat Horne of the Midwest Women's Center here mentioned that Mayor Byrne had the vote of professional women sewn up (no sexist pun intended). If this is indeed the case, is it more honorable to vote gender than race? Both conditions are matters of birth.

The type of well-educated, business-suit, attaché case-wielding woman Horne is alluding to is the kind you'd think would not follow Byrne blindly just because Byrne is a woman. Is her holding office that symbolic? Horne believes that many of these Byrne supporters, some of whom are high-powered in their own fields, are one issue—ERA forever—and feel obligated to return the favor to the mayor.

Leanita McClain

If one wants to deal with women's issues, the two male candidates have credibility. Predictably—though last November's elections proved once again no election is predictable—Daley's female supporters are of the profile and/or pink collar variety. The defection of State Sen. Dawn Clark Netsch from the lakeshore "liberal-all" to the Bridgeport home team surely has helped him.

As a state senator, Daley fought long and hard—and unsuccessfully—to kill the sales tax on food and medicine, which are still a woman's bailiwick. A woman heads the juvenile division in the state's attorney's office, which is an area dealing with youngsters but her "charges" are hardly children by anyone's definition. Daley's office also has done tremendous work on prosecuting domestic violence cases. Still, some women in the myopic ERA faction won't forgive him for not pulling more of his considerably long strings in Springfield.

If one were voting on feminist issues alone, Harold Washington's longtime liberalism and record on social programs should do him a world of good. Among working-class and poor women concerned about the feminization of poverty, Washington is the obvious choice. Apparently, black women know which accident of their birth carries the greater liability.

No doubt cognizant that the two men in the race are running circles around her, the mayor has just named a women's panel to look into allegations of discrimination in city government pay and promotions. The complaints are based on a study of the city payroll that found that four of five male city workers are paid more than $20,000 a year, but only one of five women makes as much.

The panel of seven women, headed by Del Piercy of Women Employed, will review pay and career opportunities. The group also will establish a career development program for women seeking managerial positions—perhaps like running a city.

In announcing the panel, the mayor recalled her days as the party's token female. During those years, in her "proper place" as consumer sales commissioner, adding homemakers, she zipped from supermarket to supermarket to ferret out short-sheeted rolls of toilet paper. She said men in the office were called "inspectors" and women "female shoppers" at lesser pay. Having had such firsthand experience with sex bias, it is especially peculiar that she has just come upon the idea of helping women a few weeks before the election.
Jay's a card at Christmas

"We really probably make a good team together because I'm the guy who says [to Jane Byrne], 'Look out, there's a hole you can fall into.'"

—Jay McMullen

"And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch."

—Matthew, 15:14

Last week, I wrote about Jane Byrne sending Christmas cards to people who had turned in their bottles of Tylenol to the police.

Predictably, the candidates running against her denounced her actions as ghoulish and political. And two aldermen have called for a City Council investigation.

After the column ran, a colleague came up to me and said, "If Jane sent out these cards, can you imagine what Jay sent out?"

At the time, I could not. Today, I can.

Jay McMullen is indeed sending out his own Christmas cards.

As you can see in the accompanying picture, each has a picture of Jay standing with a group of smiling black children in football uniforms. Underneath are the words:

"Season's Greetings"
Jay McMullen
and the kids from Cabrini Green.

A clothing store owner named Jay Huizenga got one a few days ago. Just how he got it and why make an interesting tale.

"It was summer a year ago and I read how they were starting up this baseball team at Cabrini-Green and I thought it was a good idea," Huizenga said. "I mean I wanted to help the kids. So I wrote out a check. For $25, I think it was."

On May 28, 1981, Huizenga made out the check to the One Chicago Committee, Jane Byrne's old campaign organization which she had restructured into a fund-raising group for "civic causes."

"I expected maybe I would get some kind of form letter of thank you or something," Huizenga said. "But I didn't."

There was no letter of thank you for Huizenga in 1981 and no Christmas card.

That's because the mayor wasn't running for reelection in 1981. This year, she is.

Huizenga does not live in the city, but even suburban businessman are free to contribute to Jane Byrne's election. And she is free to direct city business their way.

It can be a neat deal. But it was not the deal Huizenga was looking for. He just wanted to help some kids.

But this year the mail brought Huizenga a fancy card from Jay McMullen.

"I was floored," Huizenga said. "I mean for more than a year, there was nothing. Then all the sudden, a card."

And does Huizenga think it's political?

Season's Greetings
Jay McMullen
and the kids from Cabrini Green

"Oh, hell, yes," he said. "It's political as all hell. I laughed at myself for being such a dope. But I don't regret sending the money as long as it reached the kids."

We must assume it did reach the kids. Unless, of course, the money went for Jay's Christmas cards.

Just where the money for the cards did come from,
Byrne hits the rails; crowds sidetracked

By Mark Brown

A team of caterers, formally attired in black coats and ties, strolled the aisles of a chartered six-car Jackson Park L train Sunday as it carried Mayor Byrne through the South Side.

Balancing silver trays stacked with breakfast rolls and coffee, they spilled nary a drop as they served the dignitaries, news media representatives and other assorted parties who had come along to see Byrne cut ribbons reopening three stations on the Jackson Park line and hear her promise an infusion of tax dollars into the decaying East 63rd St. area.

With Byrne standing in the front window of the first car, resplendent in a rose-colored dress coat as newspaper photographers and television cameramen pressed closer, the mayor seemed to have staged an ingenuously campaign event.

THEN THE SYSTEM started going wrong.

First, there was the South Side woman who had managed to get aboard the same car with Byrne and the press. She had some complaints about the mayor's plan, and after slipping past Byrne's bodyguards and squeezing through the cameramen, she told her so. It took a while before she could be edged aside.

Then the mayor rolled into her first stop, the newly refurbished King Drive station. She climbed onto the vacant platform, smiled for the cameras, and cut the red ribbon.

As she returned to the train, her aides wondered aloud what had happened to the expected small crowd of well-wishers. When the train pulled out, they found the answer. Shivering on the street below was the arranged-for crowd, kept at bay by police guarding the station.

By the time Byrne realized what had happened, the train was beyond the stop.

THE NEXT STOP was Cottage Grove, and again the platform was practically vacant. While some supporters tried to figure out where everybody was, Byrne cut the ribbon and reboarded the train.

Before the train pulled out, however, someone spotted her well-wishers, who again had been kept on the street below. The mayor got off the train again and shook a few hands on the stairway.

At the third and final stop at University and 63rd, Byrne was scheduled to make a major announcement committing public funds for the revitalization of the East 63rd St. area.

This time about 150 people had crowded onto the south platform in anticipation. They cheered her arrival.

The only problem was that Byrne was on the north platform with the train in between. As the ceremony began with the mayor making a few quick remarks, the people who had waited for her shouted angrily that they couldn't see or hear.

When the train pulled out of the way, Byrne repeated her remarks.
Mayor grabs the lead in blitz of legal moves

By Brian J. Kelly and Lynn Sweet

Mayorial politics apparently prompted a flurry of government initiatives Wednesday—as well as a likely boost in the legal bills that must be footed by taxpayers.

A variety of city and county officials took steps to rebut past criticism, to head off potential criticism or to confuse their enemies in a scramble that generated a blizzard of legal paperwork.

Mayor Byrne led the charge with three-pronged assault:

- She called for public hearings on granting industrial revenue bonds to Sam's Liquor Store, 756 W. North. The bonds already had been approved by the City Council, but Byrne's mayoral opponents, State's Attorney Richard M. Daley and Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.) claimed the move was improper because it would create few jobs and because the store was represented by a clout-heavy Byrne backer, attorney Marshall Koshak.
- She ordered Corporation Counsel Stanley Garber to appeal a Dec. 1 order by the Illinois Commerce Commission granting Commonwealth Edison Co. a $660.7 million rate increase. Utility rates have been a major campaign issue and Daley and Washington have repeatedly hit the mayor and corporation counsel's office for not opposing rate increases.
- She ordered Garber to join in a suit against Gov. Thompson, opposing a $46 million cut in medical aid to the poor to go into effect Feb. 1. The suit was begun Jan. 19 by the Legal Assistance Foundation of Chicago.

That same suit was joined Wednesday by Daley, asked to intervene in his capacity as attorney for the Cook County Board by Board President George W. Dunne—a Daley ally.

Daley's intervention, however, came over the strenuous objection of several board members, including Martin Tuchow, a major Byrne supporter. Tuchow said a board committee had instructed Daley not to join the suit, but rather to file a separate one. Dunne said the board had no business telling Daley what to do.

Calling it "a political gimmick on the state's attorney's part," Tuchow said he was considering hiring an outside law firm to represent the board. He added, "The state's attorney will have plenty of problems with the County Board henceforth."

On Tuesday, Illinois Attorney General Neil F. Hartigan refused to defend Thompson in the same suit, prompting Thompson to retain outside counsel. Also joining that suit as a plaintiff Wednesday was the Illinois Hospital Association, representing 270 hospitals in the state.

Attorneys for both the city and the state's attorney came to Circuit Judge Albert S. Porter's courtroom with what court observers said were unusually detailed complaints. If they had been denied permission to intervene in the Legal Assistance suit, this would have enabled them immediately to file separate lawsuits.

In further sparring at the County Board Wednesday, Dunne brought in an outside firm to sue fellow members over their decision to lower the number of votes it takes to override his veto. The 17-member board voted Monday to override Dunne's veto of a measure allowing only 11 members to override a veto instead of the current 14.

When the move was first proposed, Dunne had said he would not oppose it, then reversed his position. Tuchow, who has spear-headed a move to strip some of Dunne's powers, called the suit "obviously political" and said the board probably would retain outside counsel.

Also Wednesday, it was learned that Daley's office would challenge Peoples Gas, claiming it has been illegally collecting $1.75 million a month from its customers to pay Amoco Oil Co. for fuel the utility won't receive.

Daley's lawyers were to go before the Commerce Commission Thursday to ask it to order Peoples Gas to refund $36 million collected during the last year and to prevent the company from charging customers for the $83 million balance. That same request was made Wednesday by Hartigan's office.

Peoples Gas officials said the $99 million payment to Amoco was necessary to avoid a legal suit and higher charges for customers for not taking $270 million worth of naphtha. The settlement with Amoco will cost the average customer $1.02 over four years.

Continued from Page 4

Daley's the best hope

When death finally took the mayor's office away from one Richard Daley in 1976 after 21 years, it was impossible to imagine a set of circumstances under which this newspaper would recommend that the people give it back to a second Richard Daley.

Unfortunately, such circumstances are upon us. The prospect of four more years of James Longyear's roller-coaster administration or of getting on board the polarizing campaign of Rep. Harold Washington leaves The Tribune with no alternative but to endorse the election of "Hizzoner's" number one son, Richard Michael Daley, in the Pob. 22 Democratic primary.

With all due respect to Republicans, any thought of a true two-party contest for mayor in the general election remains for the time being only a daydream. So the voters' decision in the Democratic primary this year may determine what this city will be a decade from now—a world-class metropolis with a shining future or a decaying relic with pride only in its past.

The difficulty of the task facing the next mayor of Chicago, or for that matter any of the nation's big cities, may well explain why qualified candidates are not lined up seeking the job. Of those who do want it, Mr. Daley, who cares? Besides, there was something exciting and fun about this huge city being steered by this tiny woman so undaunted and willing to speak her mind.

But infatuation with such imagery is folly. The fact is that with her behind the wheel this city has careened from one crisis to another, making the choice of the night U-turns at high speed and colliding with itself in the process. In the last four years, instability and disbelief have become the watchwords of the city government. For much of her administration, employment at the highest levels of city government was a revolving door, with highly paid advisers moving in and out with her moods, without adequate opportunity to perform, without adequate explanation of how they had failed.

Contrary to the campaign rhetoric, including Mr. Daley's, Mrs. Byrne is not solely responsible for the financial frailty of this city. From a fiscal standpoint, the Chicago she inherited was a shaky house of cards built by the first Richard Daley and his successor Michael Bilandic, and the years of recession since 1979 have been tough winds to resist. In fairness to her, she has done a reasonable job of staving off collapse.

But her efforts have been nothing more than patchwork, and the challenge facing the next mayor is well beyond the capabilities Jane Byrne has demonstrated so far.

If anything she has proven in the last four years is more style than substance, a mayor preoccupied with the political power of the office who sees it mainly as a means of enhancing her personal image. She has proven most adept at raising obscene amounts of campaign funds, unprecedented in the history of local politics in this country, and most clumsy at wielding the power of the mayor's office to reward cronies and punish enemies.

In doing so her "feisty" reputation has become that of a combative and unpredictable bully, who will have things her way or not at all. And the result is serious concern at home and across the nation about whether Chicago is still a good place to live and do business.

Her idea of spirit and togetherness is the counsel of husband Jay McMullen, ace fundraiser Charlie Swibel and a neverending Roman holiday of bread and circuses in the street, with her name pasted on every available wall. These tactics have backfired recently with the festivals being boycotted by the city's burgeoning black population and the boycott spawning a move for black political independence, which is the only real reason Congressman Washington is in the mayor's race.

All in all, to borrow part of one of the mayor's favorite terms, this administration has been a Chaosfest in which this city has overindulged.

In calling for an end to it, this newspaper is not under the illusion that either of her two opponents is a Moses or a choirboy. Like her they are both products of a political machine hardly representative of what is good and great about politics. Frankly, it is hard to work up enthusiasm for or antagonism toward either.

Mr. Washington is a bright, articulate man who represents quite well the hopes and aspirations of an important and neglected segment of the community. And having a black mayor this year or four years from now is nothing for this city to fear or run away from. But Mr. Washington is a candidate literally forced into this race by circumstances, who sees state income taxes and more federal handouts as a way to make life better for the city's minorities. He preaches against divisiveness but calls his opponents "racists" and claims he can see it in their souls. He preaches good management but can't seem to organize his campaign or explain adequately why he couldn't remember to pay his own income taxes, an "accident" for which he was convicted in federal court.

As for Mr. Daley, the best he has to offer is hope that alone makes him unique among the candidates. He seems to have matured a great deal since he carried water for his father and the machine in the state legislature. He has done a fine job as state's attorney and he does not pretend to have all the answers to the city's problems.

It may be stretching hope a little to expect him not to be as political and patronage-minded as the next guy. After all, he is Irish, from the 11th Ward and his name is Daley. But so far he has surrounded himself with bright, respectable advisers and promised at least to eschew the kind of secretive, behind-the-door decisionmaking that characterized his father's reign at City Hall.

Perhaps most important, Mr. Daley has a reputation to uphold. His family has a tradition of love for and dedication to this city, its people and its future. His father was a man of substance and stability, who wanted a great deal to business, labor and elected officials at all levels of government. If young Richard just lives up to that part of the tradition, he's the best bet for this city in the primary.
DALEY gives voters a choice, not an echo

POLITICIANS LIKE to encourage myths about themselves to make them appear bigger than life. Conversely, they diligently try to plant myths about their opponents they hope will adorn them with clay feet.

That clearly is an objective of the campaign of Mayor Jane Byrne is waging for re-election, a strategy designed to attribute to State's Atty. Richard M. Daley unavory motivation for his candidacy that will turn off voters.

That's why it is often being repeated, as the Feb. 22 primary election rhetoric heats up, that Daley considers himself the heir apparent to the job his late father held for more than 20 years.

There is no evidence to support that charge as it is leveled by some participants on television political round-table shows. Quite the contrary.

Any fool should know that Daley would have been far better off reaching an accommodation with Mayor Byrne than engaging her and the Chicago Democratic organization in a head-on collision that could cost him far more than a political career.

Nevertheless, the myth persists. And it is a tough one for Daley to dispute because it invokes personal thoughts not privy to outsiders. You have to take his word. Or believe what you want.

Nobody in his right mind thinks Daley should be mayor merely because his father was. Daley doesn't think so. Neither do a majority of voters.

DALEY IS RUNNING for the Democratic mayoral nomination because he believes Byrne has grossly mismanaged the city and because a lot of people who share that view asked him to run.

Business leaders, some labor leaders, politicians, former city officials and liberals disenchanted with the mayor.

These people believe a primary should not be a simple exercise where the incumbent strolls back into office with no opposition and voters being offered no alternatives. That is why Harold Washington has emerged as an alternative in response to demands by black citizens and some whites.

Actually, it would be tragic for Chicago if Mayor Byrne faced no contest. Daley's father, the late Mayor Richard J. Daley, should have faced more contests, too.

It is not, never was and never will be in the best interests of the city for mayoral elections to be a breeze. Incumbents should be held to confront substantial challenges.

Otherwise, such races become no race and offer voters no choice. Just as bad, they fail to motivate incumbents to do better once they are confident of power.

THAT'S ALSO WHY even Mayor Byrne's most ardent supporters should be grateful that Daley and Washington have entered the field so that their candidate will be compelled to put forward her best foot.

Chicago has rarely had the luxury of three serious Democratic primary challengers in recent decades. No alternatives were offered in the primaries of 1969, 1967 and 1963, allowing Mayor Daley to comfortably roll over Republican opposition.

In 1971, former Ald. William Singer offered himself to voters in a confrontation with the longtime incumbent. Two years later, after Daley's death, three serious candidates bucked the organization's choice, Mayor (now former mayor) Michael Bilandic. In 1979, Jane Byrne became a successful alternative to Bilandic.

Thus, everyone genuinely concerned about Chicago's future should be elated to have choices offered that were denied in too many other years.

And that should provide all the more reason for putting to rest the myth that Richard M. Daley is trying to collect a birthright. Nothing could be further from the truth.

DALEY IS IN the campaign, like Washington, to offer an alternative to the administration that has managed or mishandled the city's affairs for nearly four years. His candidacy was not born of a delusion that the office belongs to him. He'll have to fight for it. And he'll have to convince enough voters that he is the best candidate for the job.

Deciding to run probably was not an easy decision. Here was Daley, son of the man whose name had been most closely associated with the Chicago Democratic organization, saying he was willing to risk all by standing up against the same machine.

Chicago is not a town where politicians stick their necks precipitously to risk retribution. Daley knows Mayor Byrne will spend every nickel of her $3 million war chest to defeat him, if necessary.

HE KNOWS what the Democratic machine could do to his private law practice if he departs the prosecutor's office and represents a threat to the Byrne administration. An easier and safer route would have been to do nothing and bide his time.

So give the guy some credit for intellectual integrity before swallowing that myth.

I'm glad that Daley and Washington are challenging Mayor Byrne. They had an obligation to do so in light of their perception of how she has managed the city.

That's called democracy. It is how the Republic is supposed to work. And mythology should play no role in the discussion of issues that will shape this city for the next four years.
The Daley 'name': It may not help but it certainly can't hurt

By Steve Neal

WHEN TED Kennedy was making his first bid for the U.S. Senate in 1962, his Democratic primary opponent jabbed a forefinger in his face and sneered, 'If your name was Edward Moore, your candidacy would be a joke.'

There was some truth to the charge, for Kennedy was running for the job his brother was the kid brother of the president of the United States. But few people paid much attention to his great complaint because the man making the allegation was Edward McCormack, nephew of the speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. And Kennedy breezed to an easy election victory.

It is a political tradition. Ever since John Quincy Adams, the son of America's second president, was elected to the presidency on the strength of his father's name, voters have looked to the scions of well-known families for high public office.

In challenging Mayor Jane Byrne for his father's old job in the Feb. 22 Democratic primary State's Atty. Richard Daley is seeking to carry on the family name. At Daley's headquarters last week, aides were passing out campaign buttons with photographs of the late Mayor Richard J. Daley and Richard M., with the slogan 'Like Father, Like Son.'

WHILE DALEY acknowledges that his name is a formidable asset, he insists that he is running on his own and seldom mentions his father in his campaign appearances.

"We're trying to be sensitive to that," says Bill Daley, the candidate's brother and campaign manager. "I think the name is a big plus in certain areas; you can't deny that. But Daley noted that with blacks, liberals and other groups that were at odds with his father, it makes it harder for you to get off square one with those people.

The late Mayor, political historian and author of 'The Making of the President' series, adds, 'I think the Daley name is a plus. It certainly is an inherited advantage. Of course, if the candidate screws up, he is on his own.'

Shortly before launching his successful 1970 campaign for the U.S. Senate, Adlai Stevenson III sought the advice of Mayor Daley. 'Don't change your name,' the mayor counseled.

Stevenson, the son and namesake of the former Illinois governor and two-time Democratic presidential nominee, took the advice and won the election against the mediocre Republican incumbent Ralph Tyler Smith. Last November, Stevenson sought to win his father's old job and was edged by Gov. James Thompson in the closest race in Illinois history.

STEPHEN HESS of the Brookings Institution, author of "America's Political Dynasties," says, "The family name is a mixed blessing. It is usually a legacy worth one step up the political ladder. But at some point fairly soon the person is going to be on his own and establish his own reputation."

Historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. once observed, "As a democracy, the U.S. ought to be able to dispense with dynastic families." And, in the 1982 elections, the aspiring sons of the nation's best-known politicians were rejected by the voters.

In California, Rep. Barry Goldwater Jr., son of 1964 GOP presidential nominee and Maureen Reagan, daughter of President Reagan, were also-rans in the Senate primary. In Massachusetts, former Lt. Gov. Thomas O'Neill III, son of House Speaker Tip O'Neill, lost out in his bid for the governorship.

In Tennessee, Cindy Baker, daughter of Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, was trounced in a congressional race by the son of former Tennessee governor. In Ohio, Seth Taft, grandson of President William Howard Taft, was upset in a Republican gubernatorial primary.

And, in Wisconsin, Terry Kohler, the son and grandson of former Wisconsin governors, were beaten in his try for the same office.

PATRICK CADDELL, a Washington pollster who was a top adviser to former President Carter and is now assisting Rep. Harold Washington in Chicago's Democratic mayoral primary, says: "The voters can make a distinction between members of prominent families. Famous names don't have the same carryover effect that they did 30 or 40 years ago. Whatever the voters feel about the late Mayor Daley, which I'm sure is very positive, won't necessarily carry over for his son."

Maybe not. But Richard Daley isn't the only prominent Chicago Democrat who has capitalized on his family name. Back in the 1980s, Carter Harrison II, the son of a former Chicago mayor, won the first of his five terms as mayor of Chicago.

In Illinois Atty. Gen. Neil Hartigan and Ald. Edward Burke all rose to power as the sons of influential members of the Democratic organization.

Even so, Daley is represented by a great many politicians because of his name and a feeling that things have come too easily in his political career. Cook County Democratic Chairman Edward Vrdolyak, a Byrne stalwart, has said that Daley is offering the city's voters little more than his father's name.

In some cases, suggests pollster George Gallup Jr., that may be enough. Gallup contends that there is still 'magic' in famous political names. "Americans place a lot of initial importance on being known," says Gallup, himself the son of a prominent political name, who is now running the family business.
Sis Daley proud of son and sure father would be

By Steve Neal

BY HER OWN admission, Eleanor "Sis" Daley is campaigning harder for her son Rich in his mayoral bid than she ever did for her late husband, Mayor Richard J. Daley.

Despite the fact that State's Atty. Richard M. Daley has been viewed as the heir apparent since the mayor's death, Mrs. Daley insists, "I had no idea he was running until he declared."

"My children were young when my husband was a candidate," she said. "The old Mrs. Daley, my job was to take care of the children."

Now that they are grown, however, Mrs. Daley is taking a much more public role in her legendary family's political efforts. Nearly every day, she is attending coffees in neighborhood campaign offices and making her pitch before senior citizen groups, most of whom remember her husband with affection.

"I'M DELIGHTED to be here to say hello," she told a husky audience at 5036 N. Sheridan Rd. "If I had an hour or two, I'd start talking about my son. I'm very proud of him. He has been a wonderful senator and a good state's attorney. And I'm sure he'll be a fine mayor."

After her remarks, Mrs. Daley personally greeted everyone in the hall, signing autographs, and warmly embracing old Daley stalwarts.

"Please call 10 of your friends and ask them to vote for Richard," she told them.

For the first time, she is appearing in a television commercial. In the 30-second spot, which began airing last week, Mrs. Daley stands before a group of family portraits in the living room of her S. Lows Avenue home, saying, "That's Rich," she says. "He's the eldest. I'm very proud of him. I'm sure that if his father was alive, he'd be very proud of him. He'll be a professional mayor of Chicago and a good one."

IN AN INTERVIEW, Mrs. Daley suggested that there were some parallels between her son's challenge to Mayor Jane Byrne in the Feb. 22 Democratic primary and her husband's successful race against Mayor Martin H. Kennelly in 1955.

"There were three candidates, then, too," she noted, "and it was a tough campaign. But all campaigns are tough."

Mrs. Daley said that she doesn't get upset when her son is under attack from political opponents because their allegations "are not true."

At the same time, she is reluctant to criticize Byrne, who served in the Daley administration as consumer sales commissioner and cochairman of the Cook County Democratic Party. "She did her job well as consumer affairs commissioner," Mrs. Daley says. "Personally, I never visited her at her house. And she never visited mine. But we saw each other often at civic functions and were friendly in that way."

Mrs. Daley says that she is working on a book about her 40-year marriage to the late mayor. The book will be based on the family's private papers and scrapbooks which have been closed to other Daley biographers.

ALTHOUGH she is known as "Sis" Daley, the late mayor referred privately to her as "Ma." When they met in 1929, she was Eleanor Guilfoyle, an attractive young secretary at the Martin-Senour Paint Co. Seven years later, they were married. Throughout her husband's political career, she was his confidant and silent partner.

"For the beginning, I said 'no' to the lunches and functions," she says. "It was important that one of us was home with the children. And we never let politics overtake our lives."

Mrs. Daley says that she has been genuinely touched during her 1983 campaign appearances when people go up to her and reminisce about her husband's era at City Hall.

"So many people talk about the good things he did for the city—and they speak as if they knew him personally," she says.

EVEN THOUGH it has been more than six years since his death, Mrs. Daley says, "I don't think a day goes by when we don't have a sightseeing bus go by the house. Sometimes people come up to the door."

But not just anyone can drop in on Mrs. Daley. The Chicago Police Department still provides her with round-the-clock security. "It's for the safety of the neighborhood," she says.

"If hard work will do it, Rich will win the election," she predicts. Reclaiming the mayor's office for the Daley clan "isn't important to me," Mrs. Daley says. "It's important to my son."

Daley ads now a family affair

By Basil Talbott Jr.

and Brian J. Kelly

With a Mozart piano concerto playing softly, Maggie Daley and Eleanor Daley began appearing on television commercials Wednesday on behalf of husband and son—State's Attorney Richard M. Daley.

In one ad, Daley's wife is seen under soft lights talking about her husband. Mozart's Concerto No. 21, familiar from the movie "Elvira Madigan," is heard in the background.

"He's a wonderful husband and he's a terrific father," Maggie Daley says. "He finds it very easy to get along with people. He forgives easily. . . He doesn't carry grudges. . . ."

"Richard wants to be mayor because he feels he can make a difference," she continues. "I think he's very upset about the direction the city is going in now."

IN ANOTHER AD, the mayoral contender's mother is seen in her living room pointing in the corner of a large display of family pictures.

"That's Rich; he's the eldest," Eleanor Daley says. "I'm very proud of him. I'm sure that if his father was alive he'd be very proud of him. . . . He'll be a professional mayor of the City of Chicago and a good one."

At that point, the camera turns to a large photo of Mayor Richard J. Daley standing next to Richard M. Daley.

"I think you will see a face familiar to you—ours. And we're both from the Daley family. . . ."
The political dynasty hoax

By Kathleen Whalen Fitzgerald

Recent times have witnessed the ascending into the public forum of those who claim offices formerly held by their fathers. Unashamedly, they have looked the body politic in the eyes and claimed their rightful inheritance, asking only for votes to make their claims legitimate.

State’s Atty. Richard M. Daley is campaigning for the office of mayor of Chicago, a position held by his father for 21 years. Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson III lost his bid for the governorship of Illinois, a position held by his late father from 1948-52. Both Richard Daley and Adlai Stevenson were named after their fathers.

Richard J. Daley and Adlai E. Stevenson II (Phase I Politicians) have become legends in our time. While each differs greatly, they share certain commonalities that contribute to the broad space they now occupy in the public consciousness.

Phase I Politicians compulsively, obsessively seek public office. On some level within themselves, they desperately seek to win so as to fulfill a deep and perhaps disturbing psychological need to control life forces within a given political sphere. Mayor Daley, rooted and circumscribed in a small Chicago neighborhood, cleverly and insatiably wheeled and dealt himself to complete control of the city, for to him Chicago was the ultimate political arena. Gov. Stevenson, while sometimes appearing diffident or reluctant, won the 1948 gubernatorial election by the largest margin in the history of the state. He unequivocally communicated to the voters that he wanted that office.

Phase II Politicians (Richie and Adlai III) do not possess that same gaping need for raw power as did their predecessors. Richie Daley grew up in the shadows of City Hall. As a state senator, he wrote about his father, the mayor, ... he was a great fellow. Learning directly from him was an education in itself, an experience that taught me to respect every person’s opinion and realize the important quality that each person has in the political system with his cherished vote.” Richie learned early that, in Chicago, patronage means jobs and jobs mean “that cherished vote.”

Young Adlai was likewise socialized in politics at an early age. He watched his father govern Illinois, campaign for the presidency twice and lead the United States delegation to the United Nations under two presidents.

Political life and political power are not something Phase II Politicians would ever be able to hunger after. Their sharing in the political bounty of their predecessors precluded, by definition, their hungering for their own political bounty at the same obsessive depths.

Phase II Politicians appear tenuous approaching the pinnacles of power and seem to emit subliminal messages that say, “Please don’t elect me! Please don’t elect me!” Richie Daley, skittering away from reporters and then giggling when caught, speaks loudly of his apprehension of power and of being in the public light. Adlai, demanding the voters of Illinois to read his 300-page report on revising state government, rather than going after Gov. Jim Thompson for his careless acceptance of money and antiques, had a fool-proof way to assure himself of defeat.

Phase I Politicians appear unsnconscious, as if to look at themselves would draw energy from the real business at hand. Phase II Politicians have so internalized the fact that they have been looked upon long and so hard that when they speak, part of their minds slips away and they communicate the fact that they are also watching themselves, monitoring their own gestures and hearing their own words with a third ear. They have been in the public eye since they were small. Everyone has seen pictures of the Daleys on their way to Mass with Richie and the boys in their new haircuts. Everyone has seen photos of the Stevensons on the farm in Libertyville, Adlai standing near his father.

Phase I Politicians not only embody their offices, but they grow to symbolize the values and cultural stratification they represent. Phase II Politicians have become caricatures of that very symmetry.

Adlai II, the Princeton intellectual, the gentleman farmer, equally at ease in Springfield as at the UN, on the campaign trail and with heads-of-state; his son has been called a “wimp.”

Richard J. Daley became a symbol of mastery of the urban jungle. Under him, Chicago became the city that worked. Richard J. Daley was Hizzoner, Da Mare, Himself, Boss; his son is Richie, a born-again Reppie with Oxford-cloth, button-down shirt who still lives in Bridgeport, whose mother’s presence with him in public is a reminder that he is still “The Son,” not quite a man in his own right.

The identification of Mayor Daley and Gov. Stevenson with their offices was so pervasive that even years after their deaths there seems to be a rightness about their sons aspiring to their offices.

Perhaps there is, lurking deep within the psyche of the American people, a need for a dynasty, for a royal family. Perhaps a royal family would signal to us that the family really is a stable institution, despite the fact that one out of every two American marriages ends in divorce. Perhaps we need to watch our Richies and Adlai IHs as they have grown from small boys, right in front of our eyes, and now they can take their father’s place just as Prince Charles (no longer Charlie) will do someday.

However, the touchstone of American political process is the basic assumption that we have no dynasties. We have a free, open political forum that anyone can ascend and ask to be elected. The dynasty syndrome we are now experiencing is not in the best interest of the people, nor of the dynasty. The dynasts, the Phase II Politicians, are not necessarily lesser men than their predecessors. Perhaps they are greater, for their needs are not so great; they do not have to control, they do not have to hold power over the lives of others.

But the dynasts take up space on a ticket that may better go to someone who deeply wants and needs the office. Because they feel obligated, to their predecessors’ constituencies, to their family name, to their own ideals or promises, they are not left doing the jobs they are better suited for. Richie Daley seems ideally suited for the state’s attorney job; Adlai III appears singularly content in his legal work and happy with his life on his farm.

F. Scott Fitzgerald wrote, “Show me a hero and I will write you a tragedy.” While Phase I Politicians are not quite heroes, their lives have become legends. The futile, anxious striving of Richie Daley to be a mayor like his father and Adlai III striving to be a governor like his father play out on the American political scene as a tragedy, a contemporary tragic farce where no one wins and everyone loses.

Kathleen Whalen Fitzgerald is a Chicago-area novelist. Her latest book is entitled “Brass: June Byrne and the Pursuit of Power.”
CHICAGO—I disagree with your editorial "Daley's the best hope" and the manipulative means by which you disparaged Harold Washington.

Examine this sentence: "He preaches against divisiveness but calls his opponents "racists" and claims he can see it in their souls."

Not only does this perpetuate the racial stereotype of black leaders as "preachers," but it unfairly suggests that Washington himself is divisive—as does your description of his campaign as "polarizing."

It is not Washington who is divisive—there is nothing in his public statements or record to indicate anything but the opposite; it is condescension and a willingness to prey upon the racial unrest of the public which is truly divisive.

George E. Curran III

CHICAGO—I believe your editorial endorsing Richard Daley for mayor gave Jane Byrne short shrift.

I certainly could understand the suspicion and disenchantment of The Tribune with Mayor Byrne because of the shenanigans that occurred early in her term. However, those ups and downs are in the past, and she shows signs of being a responsible and forward-thinking Chicago leader.

I have watched her these last four years, and I would like to share this thought with you and your readers: Do not underestimate the lady.

Lillian Johnson

CHICAGO—After watching the mayoral debates on television, I have to admit that I am very impressed with Richard Daley. He handles himself beautifully.

With all the boosing and hissing going on at the second debate, he was the only one calm enough to tell the audience to restrain themselves. This proves that he can handle himself under pressure.

I also thought your editorial endorsing Daley was very good. He does have the name, to live up to, and he has done an excellent job as state's attorney.

Our vote goes to The Tribune for the endorsement and to Richard Daley as our new young mayor of Chicago.

Johnny Franz

ROBBINS—The Tribune's endorsement of Richard Daley was summed up in the one sentence which read: "...he is Irish, from the 11th Ward and his name is Daley."

After all, in the United States we don't vote for candidates on the basis of their qualifications but on race and rhetoric.

Constance R. Dougherty

We invite our readers to share their ideas in these columns. Please write us at Voices of the people, Chicago Tribune, Chicago, Ill. 60611. Include your name and address. The more concise the letter, the less we will have to edit it to fit our space.

CHICAGO—Your editorial endorsing the election of Richard Daley in the Feb. 22 primary should be required reading for all Chicago voters, particularly those who become confused at the sheer volume of words unleashed during the campaigns.

I think you have made me a believer. However, your comments about Chicago becoming a "world-class metropolis" confuse me—"I thought Chicago was a world-class city. The out-of-towners gawking in the Loop seem to think so."

George Boyd

CHICAGO—I was disappointed with your characterization of Rep. Harold Washington's candidacy as one of racial polarization in your recent editorial endorsing Richard Daley. If anyone has played the game of racial politics it is Mayor Jane Byrne with her questionable appointments to the Chicago Housing Authority and the board of education.

Implicit in your editorial's position is the assumption that a black mayor cannot govern fairly over whites but will only serve black interests. Yet the ability of a white mayor to deal fairly with blacks is rarely questioned. Such a double standard must be rejected.

I submit that Washington has the character and integrity to be the mayor for all the people in this city. Daley's objective is to restore the power in the hands of the few. The Tribune's endorsement is not surprising since it is part of that select group which would share the power with Daley in the mayor's office.

Mark E. Christensen

CHICAGO—Much has been said about the democratic mayoral debate of Jan. 18 but very little has been said about a specific proposal brought up by one of the candidates.

Richard Daley deserves praise for suggesting a program educating the public on energy conservation on a year-long basis for the purpose of dealing with the high cost of utilities.

Ironically, it is the elderly and the poor who are least informed about energy conservation and are in the greatest need of information that can help cut their expenses.

Let's face it. The utility companies are not about to cut their rates, so it is up to the city to see to it that the people can cope with the rising cost of living.

Again, Daley should be applauded for his sensitive attitude on this matter.

Marion Garrigan

GALESBURG, I11.—Your editorial endorsing Richard Daley in the Democratic mayoral primary was narrow-minded in its perception of the alternatives. There is no law obligating members of the media to endorse candidates seeking public office.

By endorsing the lesser of evils time and again, the media are only helping to instill mediocrity in all levels of government. If there is not a candidate truly worthy of your support, then why not just say so? The public has nothing to gain by your taking the fashionable approach.

Jorge Ovalle
Black Chicago Votes
Mayor Byrne Acts to Mend Relations
Strained Over Three and a Half Years

BY NATHANIEL SHEPPARD JR.
Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Jan. 11 — In an apparent effort to improve her standing among blacks here, Mayor Jane M. Byrne has appointed a black lawyer to the board of the Chicago Housing Authority and ordered the dismantling of iron gates that have helped keep adjacent black and white neighborhoods segregated.

Analysts say the Mayor’s standing among blacks has seriously eroded in the last three years as a result of appointments and other actions that have seemed to ignore the importance of Chicago’s 41 percent black population.

Black dissatisfaction with Mrs. Byrne boiled over last summer after she sought to unseat a black member of the City Council who refused to support the Mayor’s housing measures. The two school nominees, who were subsequently confirmed by the City Council, opposed many of the board’s desegregation plans.

In the summer, Mayor Byrne also appointed 40 percent of the housing board, which had had three blacks and two whites. Ms. Byrne, by filling two new seats with two black members. This action led to a call for a black boycott of ChicagoFest, the centerpiece of a popular string of summer festivals sponsored by the Mayor. It also contributed to the decision by Harold Washington, a black Congressman, to run for Mayor in the primary Feb. 22.

Large Voter Registration Drive

Attendance and receipts at ChicagoFest were down appreciably from the previous year and the Mayor’s voter registration efforts that accompanied the boycott, signed up 125,000 to 200,000 new black voters.

The election board has no records on voters by race. However, the Chicago Urban League conducts a canvass periodically. According to this civil rights organization, the number of black voters stands at 600,000 as a result of the registration effort.

The normal turnout for mayoral primaries here is 500,000, but in the election for Governor, more than 20 percent. Over 15,000 black voters turned out in the November election, a turnout of 50 percent in earlier years.

The Mayor’s appointment of Earl L. Neal, who is black, to the housing board in July, 1979, was viewed by some as the first of several actions she is likely to take to shore up her sagging support among the city’s blacks, whose votes in April four years ago gave her the margin of victory over Mayor Michael A. Bilandic.

Member Offered to Step Down

Mr. Neal gives blacks a majority on the seven-member housing board. He replaces Angelina Caruso, who is white and whose selection last July was one of the appointments that tilted the board to majority white. The house for Mr. Neal was created when the Mayor accepted Miss Caruso’s offer to step down at the Mayor’s request.

Blacks believe they should control the housing authority and school system because in each case the majority of the population involved is black. Of the housing authority’s 144,000 tenants, 85 percent are black. Of the 436,000 students in the public schools here, 69.7 percent are black, 20.4 percent are Hispanic and 16.3 percent are white. Both agencies have been major repositories of patronage jobs and appointments, and City Hall has been reluctant to give these up. The school budget, for example, is more than $1 billion, rivaling that of city government itself.

Mr. Neal’s appointment came on the same day that the Mayor announced that she had ordered work crews to dismantle iron gates around schools in two South Side communities in the highly political

11th Ward: Fuller Park, which is predominantly black, and Canaryville, which is white.

She Sees Inappropriate Symbol

Alides to the Mayor said she believed that the gates, in place since the 1960’s, were an inappropriate symbol for the city. The Mayor was quoted as saying that gates separating other communities would also be dismantled, but aides could not identify these.

Mayor Byrne, addressing black audiences at two churches, said on Sunday, “I have heard it said that Mayor Byrne has written off the black community, and I have come here to tell you it isn’t so.” She then asserted that she had kept promises she had made to appoint more blacks to policy positions.

Until recent years Chicago was rigidly segregated and operated like dozens of small ethnic towns sharing a central downtown. Today, several communities in the city are well integrated but there remain neighborhoods, white and black, where nonresidents are subject to attack if they try to pass through.

One such neighborhood is Bridgeport, southwest of downtown, which was the home of two former mayors, Richard P. Daley, and Mr. Bilandic, and of Richard A. Daley, Mayor Daley’s son, who also is challenging Mayor Byrne for her job.

Although there have been no recent polls to indicate the Mayor’s current standing among blacks, the feeling of many students of politics is that she has done too much damage to her reputation to turn sentiment around by primary time.

Black activists say that while she makes public efforts to impress blacks, the Mayor may be belittling efforts that appear designed to oppress them. As an example, they cite a recent remapping of wards.

A new ward map approved by the Byrne-controlled City Council was ruled unconstitutional on the ground it violated the Federal Voting Rights Act.
The following is the second of three articles appearing in the Chicago Defender on the three mayoral candidates. Next Saturday, the Defender will highlight State's Attorney Richard Daley.

by Henry Locke

"Jobs, education, housing, economic development, mass transportation and the delivery of health services will be my top priorities if I'm elected mayor of Chicago," said Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ist) in a recent interview.

Predicting that he would win the hotly-contested Democratic primary election on Feb. 22, defeating incumbent Mayor Jane Byrne and State's Attorney Richard Daley, Washington said: "I will win, because I'll get 80 percent of the Black vote, with my opponents splitting the remaining 20 percent.

and Byrne's predictions that she will get more than 50 percent of the Black vote?

Washington: The mayor will not get 50 percent of the Black vote, not even in a million light years. She only received about 65 percent of the Black vote in the last election, when most Black leaders were supporting her candidacy. On Daley's claims of being endorsed by 150

(continued on page 10)
Washington outlines mayoral priorities

(continued from page 1)

Black ministers, the information I have is that many of the people at that meeting were not ministers and several others who were there said they did not endorse Daley.

**Defender:** Do you think the debate with your opponents was a shot in the arm for your candidacy? How do you think you fared against the other two Democratic contenders?

**Washington:** On a scale of one to ten, I scored a good six. I used to be a house painter and I always knew when I had missed a spot, even though others may not have noticed it. That's the way the debate was: I missed a few good points, but I'll make up for it in the next debates.

**Defender:** Have you written off the 11th Ward — commonly known as “Daley Country” — to your opponents, or are you taking your campaign citywide?

**Washington:** I haven't written off any section of the city. You see, the next mayor must represent all of Chicago's residents, and a candidate can't afford to forget any section of the city. I have some support from the 11th Ward, also known as Bridgeport. I have a strong following from teachers and some parents in that area.

**Defender:** Besides your anticipated strong support from the Black community, do you have any strongholds in the white community?

**Washington:** I will get strong support from the 42nd Ward on the North Side, where there is a strong white constituency which I worked with for years. I also expect strong support from white college students and senior citizens, along with the 21st and 25th wards. I expect to get strong support from the Hispanics, where a strong Black/Hispanic coalition has been formed. I probably will get a larger Hispanic vote than any Black mayoral candidate has ever received in the nation. I also will get strong support from labor, the teachers' union and some from the business community.

**Defender:** In some cities, after a Black was elected mayor, those municipalities went downhill. Do you have any strategy to get Chicago's business sector to support your candidacy so that the same thing will not happen here?

**Washington:** On the business community, I have very little support from that area at this time. But I expect a break in that dike after the debates. One reason why they probably haven't thrown their support to my candidacy, maybe, is because they are not sure who is going to win. But the debates will demonstrate that I'm the best candidate.

On the question of why some other cities with Black mayors went downhill, the record will show that those cities were drying before the Black chief executive was elected. The downhill slide had nothing to do with a Black being elected mayor. In cities like Gary and Detroit, those areas were primarily dependent on one industry. Gary was depending on the steel industry, which died. Detroit was supported by the automobile industry, which is in a downward slide. In Newark, New Jersey, the politicians had stolen all the money before Kenneth Gibson was elected mayor. So a dying city has nothing to do with the color of the mayor.

**Defender:** How many Black aldermen and committeemen are committed to support your election bid?

**Washington:** Nine of the 15 Black aldermen have endorsed my candidacy, along with six committeemen. However, the committeemen who are supporting me are among the nine aldermen who have endorsed me.

**Defender:** Do you have competent and knowledgeable Black people who understand the problems of Chicago in mind for your cabinet? If so, will you identify them?

**Washington:** At this time, we are conducting a talent search to find the most competent and knowledgeable people to serve in my cabinet. I don't want to identify them at this time. But they are people who are aware of the problems here and know how to initiate positive changes.

**Defender:** According to public reports, you have been unable to raise enough money to properly finance your campaign. Do you think this has hurt your candidacy?

**Washington:** It's true that we have been unable to raise a campaign war chest comparable to the mayor's $10 million campaign fund or even to Daley's — whatever the amount he has raised. Lack of money has somewhat curtailed our campaign time schedule. But if we can raise $1.5 million — about twice the amount we have now — we will be able to do everything we need to do. You see, I have been fighting with a short stick for so long that I know how to win with a short stick.

**Defender:** Do you have any long-range solutions or programs to solve the economic problems here — short of raising taxes?

**Washington:** First, I will cut out all the fat (unnecessary jobs) in the budget as a way to close the expected $75 million budget shortfall next year in order to balance the budget. It also will be necessary to find an additional form of revenue.

Locally, there is no money to be had, short of a revolution. So the city will have to look to the state for bailout money, because there probably will not be an increase in federal dollars until November or December.

**Defender:** Last week, you were quoted as calling for a special prosecutor to investigate vote fraud charges and for removal of State's Attorney Daley from the probe, saying the 'feds were guarding the chicken coop.' Do you still feel the same way?

**Washington:** Vote fraud has been the style here. If an election is stealable, it will be stolen. In the past, in tight elections, it increased the chances for people who try to steal the election. Because Daley is a candidate, I believe an independent person or group should be appointed to guard against voting fraud and to assure residents of a fair election.

**Defender:** Do you believe the 3,800 jobs that were created by the mayor were a political ploy to get votes? Further, do you believe many of the people who found jobs will support her in her election bid?

**Washington:** Certainly, the jobs program was a political ploy.
THE WASHINGTON DIFFERENCE

by Curtis Black

Harold Washington is in a unique position to raise the level of debate in this election, because he is a rare animal: a Chicago politician with political convictions.

"Politics" in Chicago means controlling jobs and contracts. Jane Byrne has a level of political sophistication that allows her to support Teddy Kennedy for president and then turn around and give aid and comfort to Ronald Reagan. Who knows what kind of mayor Richie Daley would be? He says he is against taxes and waste. He says he is for good government.

We know what kind of mayor Harold Washington will be because we know exactly what he stands for.

Washington has established a record which shows unwavering commitment to a more democratic society and to a government which actually serves the people. He has put his political life on the line for that commitment. In the state legislature he was an outspoken and respected proponent of civil rights. His work in Congress has been unfailingly on target: as floor manager for the Voting Rights Act extension; as an eloquent critic of Reaganomics and advocate of the worthy Congressional Black Caucus budget; as a spokesman for a democratic and humane foreign policy, from El Salvador to South Africa.

While in Congress Washington has remained active in the community, taking stands on issues ranging from the CHA to cable television, and meeting with the police commissioners last year to inquire about the department’s handling of a number of brutality cases. He has organized his district with citizen taskforces on health, education, housing, taxes, and other issues, bringing together the best talent of the community to make valuable contributions to public dialogue. His congressional district office has won high marks from Crain’s Chicago Business for responsiveness and efficiency.

Washington has gathered in this campaign an array of the brightest, most dedicated leaders of the city’s community movement. The media seems to have missed this point: the leaders have gotten good at pressuring politicians; the business elite and party machinery are used to having their way. The consummate politician, Washington has a reputation as a skillful legislator, adept at effective compromise between opposing parties. In Springfield he forged bipartisan coalitions which passed a ceiling on consumer interest rates and set quotas for state contracts to minority and small businesses. He knows how to play the game. He lacks administrative experience, but has a lifetime of government experience in both legislative and executive branches, at the city, state, and federal levels.

The press has made an issue of Harold Washington’s personal integrity, while highly questionable activities in Daley’s past have not been dragged out, and Byrne’s campaign promises to sever City Hall links to the mob have not been proven in court. Washington has responded with candor and honesty, never denying his mistakes.

It is most remarkable. Washington has never lied to the press or people, and has never been accused of violating the public trust for his own enrichment. Both Byrne and Daley have. Yet it is Washington’s character which is in question.

Both Byrne and Daley became “independents” in order to save their political skins, when they had been temporarily cast off by the faction of the Machine in power.

Lu Palmer, Alan Cranston and Harold Washington.

Washington jeopardized his political career in order to stand up for principles. He stood up to the Machine, risking all, surviving and now even threatening its hammerlock on Chicago’s political life.

His courage must seem crazy to the two chameleons running against him. But it has inspired many ordinary people, many who had become disillusioned, people who are not looking for a job or a handout but for justice.
Washington bill: It's a gas

Harold Washington has owed more than $800 to the gas company for more than two years and the company wants its money, a lawyer for People's Gas said Wednesday.

Washington has failed to show up in court on the matter three times after receiving summonses to do so, the lawyer said, and has declined to fully pay the bill even though a court has entered a judgment against him.

Reached for comment, Washington, a Democratic candidate for mayor, said: "That matter has long been in dispute and is now in adjustment with the gas company with Leon Davis."

I asked Washington about refusing to show up in court after being summoned to do so.

"I don't recall ever being served or told to show up in court," Washington said.

The lawyer for the gas company, Norman Wexler, said, however, that his documents show that Washington was served as recently as four weeks ago.

"He was served at 8:25 a.m. on Dec. 28, 1982, at his home at 5300 S. South Shore Dr.," Wexler said. "He was told to appear in court on Jan. 12, 1983. He did not appear."

Leon Davis, an executive with the gas company, said: "Mr. Washington has talked to me about this matter. His statement that the matter is in dispute and is in adjustment is accurate. It has been in litigation a long time."

Davis is a black former School Board member who was dumped by Jane Byrne in favor of a white. At that time, Washington joined other black officeholders in a statement expressing "sorrow and dismay" over the dumping.

Davis would not say Wednesday how his discussions with Washington on the disputed bill were proceeding. But the lawyers for the gas company are going full steam ahead.

A new court date has been set for Feb. 1 in the courtroom of Judge Carl McCormack in the Cook County Circuit Court's 1st Municipal District.

"We want our money," Wexler said. "We have no ax to grind."

THE BILL, for a now-defunct Washington political office at 6301 S. Wentworth, is for $800.18 and extends from Feb. 1, 1980, to Dec. 11, 1980, after which time the gas was voluntarily shut off.

Adding court costs and subtracting a $50 payment which was made in July, 1981, the gas company is demanding $840.62 from Washington, a U.S. representative from Chicago's 1st District.

In his current mayoral campaign, Washington has advocated a tax increase on the invested capital of utilities and a freeze on utility bill increases. He has had past legal problems, including a conviction for not filing income taxes.

Wexler said there was no political motivation to the suit, which was first filed in June, 1981, before Washington became a candidate for mayor.

"If it is paid tomorrow, it will be fine with us," Wexler said. "But we want it to be paid. And considering a congressman's salary, we expect it to be paid."

Washington, whose congressional salary is $69,761.50 a year, said, "If it is proved that I owe the amount stated, then I will obviously pay it."

The history of the case, according to Wexler, is as follows: In April, 1981, Peoples Gas forwarded its claim against Washington to the law firm of Wexler and Heller, the firm that handles commercial litigation for the utility.

TWO MONTHS LATER, a lawsuit against Washington was filed and a summons was issued to Washington at his home.

Washington did not appear in court and a default judgment was entered by the court. This meant, in effect, that the court was ordering Washington to pay the bill.

Following this, a citation to discover Washington's assets was served on somebody in the Washington home in July, 1981.

That month, $50 was paid on the account. But at the citation hearing on Aug. 18, 1981, Washington again did not appear.

A rule to show cause was issued by the court. The purpose of this order was to inform Washington that if he did not show up in court, he would be found in contempt.
Citywide educators back Washington

A predominantly white, citywide coalition of faculty and administrators at six major Chicago universities have endorsed U.S. Rep. Harold Washington for mayor, saying he will "bring to Chicago an open and accessible administration."

The coalition, with a membership of some 125, called Washington "an independent political leader...who will best represent the diversities in the city." Jim Block, a professor of politics at DePaul University said the coalition is "95 percent white and represents educators from the University of Chicago, Loyola, the Circle campus of the University of Illinois, Roosevelt and Northwestern.

"As members of the white community," Block told the Chicago Defender, "we organized the coalition of individual faculty groups for Washington, to try and convey the message that he has a citywide candidacy."

Block said the is focusing mainly on the North Side, Northwest Side and Southwest Side "to emphasize that message. Washington, according to the group's brochure, "alone among the candidates, is an indicant of statesmanship and stature from communities throughout the city." The educators said they believe that Washington "will bring to Chicago, for the first time, an open and accessible administration and institute a tradition of public accountability long overdue in Chicago politics."

Of the other two mayoral contenders—Mayor Byrne and State's attorney Richard M. Daley—the coalition declared: "Do we wish to have (Pres.) Reagan's favorite mayor for four more years giving aid and comfort to these devastating national policies? Can Richard Daley provide a powerful voice for humane national policies. Indeed, carry any national message at all?"

The educators praised Washington for working "unflaggingly to put together a broad coalition of whites, Hispanics, Blacks, community and citizens groups, academics, and others who are working to restore the city's prosperity and commitment to every citizen."

Block said the group's brochure is expected to be reprinted and included in Washington's campaign literature.
Rep. Washington wins cheers on Southwest Side

By Barry Cronin

Jesters and boos greeted Rep. Harold Washington Sunday as he took his mayoral campaign into the unfriendly territory of the predominantly white Marquette Park neighborhood.

But by the time he left the Southwest Side, Washington, though he might not have won many votes, received cheers, handshakes and maybe even a little respect from members of the crowd.

About 2,200 people jammed St. Gall Church's social center, 5511 S. Sawyer, to hear Washington and, before him, State's Attorney Richard M. Daley make brief speeches and answer questions.

Mayor Byrne was invited but didn't attend, according to officials of the Southwest Neighborhood Federation, which sponsored the event.

"Why did I bother to come here today?" Washington asked the restive crowd eager to head home to watch the Super Bowl.

"My answer to you is the same as I gave at a Bridgeport meeting last week: I think everybody in the city should have the right to see their next mayor. I'll be a mayor for the boomers and the naysayers and those who would oppose me as well. That's the kind of fellow I am."

Just about an hour earlier, Washington had told a gathering of black followers at the Greater Whitestone Baptist Church, 3819 W. Ogden, that he would attend the candidates' forum in Marquette Park.

Washington wins cheers on S.W. Side

Continued from Page 4

Marquette Park despite the recommendation of some of his advisers.

"There are some people in my campaign structure who say 'Why do you want to go over there? You aren't going to get five votes,'" he said.

"I say, 'That might be true. But I have an extra hour, so I'm going to go over there. They have a right to see their next mayor,'" Washington said.

Actually, the busy candidate temporarily canceled the appointment and had lunch at Greater Whitestone with supporters. But when an aide phoned from Marquette Park urging him to attend the meeting, Washington headed for his car.

"I will go over there," he told his black audience before departing, "and in a very gentlemanly fashion tell them to put down their swords because their swords haven't worked, and now's the time to put down their suspicion because it hasn't served anything.

"And now's the time to stop trying to divide our community because it doesn't work. Now's the time to start thinking about human qualities rather than racial differences. That's what I'm going to tell them," he said.
Washington blasts Byrne’s No. 10 spot on ballot

By Harry Golden Jr.

U.S. Rep. Harold Washington on Thursday protested the No. 10 ballot spot given to Mayor Byrne in the Feb. 22 mayoral primary and asked the Circuit Court to order a new ballot.

Washington won first position on the ballot among the Democratic mayoral candidates in a lottery in December, but a sample ballot was printed so that his name appears in the No. 9 position in the punch-card voting system.

Byrne got the No. 10 position and, as a result, the benefit of money and energy devoted to a “Punch 10” slogan drive conducted by the Cook County Democratic Party to promote a straight-ticket vote in the general election last Nov. 2.

Lawyers for Washington said state law requires an inch of space between the heading “Democratic Primary Ballot” and the words “For Mayor.”

A sample ballot leaves only % of an inch between the two phrases.

In an interview, Election Board Chairman Michael E. Lavelle said the ballot was lawful because “For Mayor” falls within an inch as measured from the bottom of those words to the bottom of the heading. He said Byrne got the No. 10 position purely by chance.

Washington’s lawyers, in a complaint filed Thursday, asked the court to give the congressman the No. 10 spot, which would fall to him if all the lettering moved down % of an inch, or to move all candidates so that none would get No. 10.

Thomas P. Coffey, a legal adviser to Washington, said Lavelle refused on Thursday to rearrange the ballot.

Robert Weisbord, of the Washington Lawyers Committee, said Lavelle and other members of the board were aware of the advantage of the No. 10 spot.

Meanwhile, three aldermanic candidates were restored to the Feb. 22 ballot in Circuit Court appeals of Election Board rulings. They are Roy P. Oliver (6th Ward), Nevonia Gilliard Jr. (21st) and George L. Lawson (37th). Their nominating petitions were voided on technicalities.

Four more Election Board appeals are pending, and one controversial case, the 29th Ward candidacy of Iola McGowan, is slated for a hearing in Appellate Court at 10 a.m. Friday.

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**DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY BALLOT**

**FOR MAYOR**
(Vote for one)

- **HAROLD WASHINGTON**
- **JANE M. BYRNE**
- **FRANK R. RANALLO**
- **RICHARD M. DALEY**
- **SHEILA JONES**
- **WILLIAM R. MARKOWSKI**
A racial blunder by Illinois NOW

TRIBUNE, 1/16/85

Vernon Jarrett

Byrne campaign is scaring whites

EAI / TRIB 1/30/83

Vernon Jarrett

"On behalf of the political action committee of the Chicago Urban League and the National Organization for Women (NOW), I am pleased to announce our endorsement of Jane M. Byrne for mayor of the City of Chicago."

That statement made recently by Karen Weltsch, chairman of the NOW political action committee, cut like a blunt knife in some sectors of Chicago's independent movement, particularly among some of the black women who have consistently supported the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) movement in Illinois and throughout the country.

Among those hurt most were former State Rep. Monte Faith Wright, who once served as a lobbyist for ERA at the state legislature in Springfield, and Addie Wyatt, a nationally recognized black labor leader. They just couldn't see NOW alienating itself from the black community in such a crude fashion.

Stewart was not6 virulently in her criticism of NOW's endorsement of Byrne. She appeared to be more disappointed and embarrassed than angered.

"If Mayor Byrne had presented during her administration an outstanding record in support of equality for women in city government, I could have understood the NOW endorsement," she said. "But apparently the statement by Karen Weltsch can be viewed as hardly more than just another political payoff for Byrne's assumed support of the ERA in Springfield."

Stewart pointed out that while the regular Democratic machine may have chosen to support ERA in Springfield, political patroons have often been employees of the city of Chicago who disgraceful."

Stewart is not alone in her assessment of the status of women in Chicago's government. The inferior position of women here is so bad that the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) criticized sex discrimination in the city's流动 hiring practices.

That study showed that while 80 percent of the city's male employees earned more than $2,000 annually, 80 percent of the female employees earned less than $3,000. That study also showed that while 75 percent of the city's male employees were represented by unions and earned the prevailing wage, only 10 percent of the women had similar incomes.

I am not at all surprised at the recent conduct of the NOW leadership in Illinois. That organization appears to be just another single-issue political movement with a one-track mind. While it may appear liberal on the surface, I don't believe its concern is genuine about anybody or anything but ERA.

The fact that Mayor Byrne deliberately insulted the black voters of Illinois in a gross display of racial opportunism in her appointments to the school board and the Chicago Housing Authority board during their racially tense moments during the last two years means nothing to NOW.

At the same time maybe we shouldn't be too disappointed in Weltsch's announcement of Jan. 12, wherein she praised the mayor's support of ERA. It should be realized that in 1978 women supporters of ERA showed how crude they could be politically when they dashed in racial politics in the state legislature.

The NOW leadership took the liberty to assume that it had the votes of all the black representatives without giving the Illinois Legislative Black Caucus the courtesy of a simple phone call. Illinois NOW did not bother to seek the support of caucus members as it had done with the white legislators.

But that's not the worst of it: Members of the Illinois NOW also permitted Democratic Party leader Michael J. Madigan to use the ERA campaign as a leverag to circumvent the black caucus from choosing its own representative in Springfield.

Caucus members had supported the ERA in its initial run, which failed in the legislature. However, James G. Taylor, then a state representative and machine strut, had voted against ERA. But Madigan was pushing Taylor as assistant party leader against the wishes of the caucus.

The Illinois NOW members cared less about black self-determination, as evidenced in their willingness to go along with Madigan and name Taylor as the co-sponsor of the bill, against black wishes.

Several of the caucus members were offended by NOW's dabbling into the caucus' fight with Madigan and elected to remain silent when the ERA reached the House floor. "Four Black Republicans: Support Integration, Support ERA" said a Negro newspaper.

Organization Democrats merely voted "present," and they were bunched up with only Republican holdout, Rep. Charles E. Gaines, who had been a longtime supporter of ERA. One of the required 15 votes needed to make Illinois the 35th state to ratify ERA as the 27th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Of course, the ERA sponsors, including State Rep. Alton J. Griesam of Skokie, placed the blame for the defeat of the measure on the five black holdouts. The ERA movement, including the Illinois NOW members, also placed the blame on blacks.

They chose to ignore the black legislators, and they added insult to injury assuming that black lawmakers would not be anguished by this political snub.

It is evident to me that the Illinois NOW members easily could change their acronym from NOW to NOW, meaning the National Organization for White Women. Maybe the Weltsch announcement came at a good time. There was no condemnation of the limits of Illinois black. Color it white.

This is an open letter to mayoral candidates Richard M. Daley and Harold Washington. I shall go directly to the disturbing situation at hand.

I urge both of you not to fan the flames of the racial war that is being provoked by some supporters of Mayor Jane M. Byrne.

A variety of sources have informed me that the word is being spread in white communities that "if you are really white and want to stop a black man from becoming mayor, you must forget about Daley and close ranks behind Byrne."

That kind of propaganda began shortly after the first mayoral debate and subsequent opinion polls which showed Byrne with a considerable lead over Daley. One poll showed Daley trailing Washington noticeably.

Now, I haven't heard Mayor Byrne tell her army of patronage workers to stir up contempt for blacks as an election scheme. But there are Byrne workers spreading the word.

In the 1960 state's attorney race, Byrne hurriedly tried to turn the black voters against Daley in order to help incumbent Republican Bernard Carey win re-election. Her opportunism caused her to commit a gross error.

Shortly before that November election, Byrne promised that she would present evidence to prove that then State Sen. Daley had used his contacts in the Building Department to keep black out of the 8th Ward. Daley denied the charge and asked Byrne to prove her accusations.

Byrne responded by filing the press that she had tapped evidence and would produce witnesses on the Mountain Park Housing Authority election. One perspective witness, who, according to Byrne, had been a victim of 8th Ward black contractors, was named Howard Rybkin.

Rybkin was in such a hurry to stir up black resentment that she didn't take the time to check the race of Rybkin, who turned out to be white. A few months later, Byrne was using racial feelings again. This time she was playing whites against blacks. She dumped two highly regarded blacks from the school board and replaced them with white women from those very North and West Side communities where Daley had won over her army of precinct captains who had worked for Carey.

In one tension-provoking stroke she reduced black representation on the school board from 25 percent to 12 percent at a moment when the black percentage of the city's public school enrollment had climbed to 61 percent.

Worse still, she ordered her black functionaries in the City Council to vote approval—even though she didn't need their votes. Several balked, but most scratched their heads and shuffled along.

Then came the case of Charles Swibel, boss of the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) and Byrne's chief fundraiser. Byrne defied morality, logic, good politics and human concern in order to keep Swibel in control.

Only the threat of the loss of federal funds finally lead to Swibel's exit. But a spiteful Mayor Byrne again thumbed her nose at the harmless demand of blacks for greater representation on a board that governs public housing which is more than 85 percent black occupied.

My present strategy also includes the infiltration of the site of black voter registration on Jan. 25, I have learned. Blow up the figures, boys. Scare the daylights out of white voters.

"The barbwire, white Americans, the blacks are going to take over Chicago. Only St. John of Arc can save us." That's the message.

I urge Daley and Washington to stick to their principles for the good of the future of Chicago and not retaliate. This city has enough problems without more racial animosity generated from City Hall.
D. MOBILIZATION
Washington rally largest of campaign

By Brian J. Kelly

Supporters of Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.) packed the cavernous University of Illinois Pavilion Sunday for a chanting, cheering rally that was the largest of the mayoral campaign.

The overflow crowd that filled the 11,000-capacity arena on the Near West Side heard strong oratory for the candidate from a procession of local and national figures, culminating with Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), the only announced Democratic presidential contender.

The rally sought to bring together the coalition that Washington hopes to ride to victory, including Hispanics, poor whites, labor and what one speaker called "thoughtful whites." The crowd, though, was overwhelmingly black, and the only speaker who could be said to come from a traditional, white, liberal background was Cranston.

The session had much of the flavor of the Regular Democrats’ big gatherings back in the days of Mayor Richard J. Daley, although the music was provided by Curtis Mayfield and the Barrett Sisters rather than the Shannon Rovers.

Washington entered to an ovation several minutes long as hundreds of balloons floated down from the ceiling. Then he sat for almost two hours as time was taken up in the reading of names of dignitaries attending. Almost everyone on the stage got a chance for a brief speech.

In addition to a variety of local black political leaders, 235 black ministers presented a petition signed by men who have endorsed Mayor Byrne or State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley, for the Democratic mayoral nomination are “splinter groups.”

The Rev. Jorge Morales pledged Hispanic support and was backed by a former New York City mayoral candidate, Herman Badillo, who said a black-Hispanic caucus was working in that city.

Several members of the Congressional Black Caucus brought a message from other cities. The crowd booted when Rep. Mervyn M. Dymally (D-Calif.) said that in Tom Bradley’s narrow loss in last November’s California gubernatorial election, 72,000 blacks in Los Angeles didn’t vote.

“Harold Washington is a man who understands that hungry.

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Continued from Page 3

people can't eat MX missiles," said Rep. Ronald, Dellums (D-Calif.) in praising Washington's consistent opposition in Congress to higher defense spending.

Rep. John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.) pledged that the appearance of the black congressmen "is not just cosmetic. As many of us who can will be here every day we can from now until Feb. 21."

Cranston's speech, flaccid in comparison with some of the more forceful orators who preceded him, dwelled on the anti-Reagan theme. "Washington knows that it is not enough to have civil rights if you don't have a job."

He made many references to Bradley and tried to dispel uncertainty that if Washington won, he would have a hard time governing. "Some people say businessmen won't work with Washington but that's what they said about Tom Bradley and it never happened," Cranston said.

Washington picked up the theme: "These national figures are here because they realize that the next 15 days of this campaign are the first 15 days of the campaign to replace Ronald Reagan."

He again accused Byrne of turning the Board of Education and the Chicago Housing Authority into "a racial battleground." Then he said he had made one other pledge but before he could finish his sentence, the crowd anticipated his words and broke into a chant:

"Fire Brzezek! Fire Brzezek!"

Washington has said repeatedly that, if elected, he would ask for Police Supt. Richard J. Brzezek's immediate resigna-
tion. Sunday's crowd, goaded by several references by earlier speakers to "police brutality," obviously agreed.

Turning out for Washington

Greeting an estimated crowd of 15,000 Sunday at a rally for mayoral candidate U.S. Rep. Harold Washington are, from left, the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, Operation PUSH president; U.S. Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), who has endorsed Washington; the candidate; and U.S. Rep. Augustus Savage (D-Ill.). The event was held at the University of Illinois Pavilion, at Racine and Harrison. (Defender Photo by John Gunn.)

Shown is a portion of the estimated 15,000 persons who attended a rally Sunday for mayoral candidate U.S. Rep. Harold Washington at the University of Illinois Pavilion at Racine and Harrison. Numerous political, religious and civic leaders and entertainers highlighted the huge event. (Defender Photo by John Gunn)
Thousands attend Washington rally

Senator Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) joins Congressman Washington at Sunday's rally, held on campus of the University of Illinois, Circle campus, to lend his support.

Dignitaries crowd podium as Rev. Henry O. Hardy, pastor of Cosmopolitan Community Church, gives invocation to start gigantic rally for Harold Washington, candidate for the mayoral nomination in the Feb. 22 Democratic primary.
THE BLACK CHURCH SUPPORTS HAROLD WASHINGTON FOR MAYOR!!!

The Black Church which stands firmly in the tradition of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (and not that splinter group which backs the "Daley Regime" who opposed Dr. King)...

The Black Church which stands firmly in the Afro-Christian tradition of Richard Allen, George Lile, Henry Highland Garnett, and Henry McNeal Turner—a tradition of liberation and self-determination (and not that other splinter group which rolls over and plays dead in the face of insult after insult to the Black community from the "Byrne Regime")...

The Black Church which stands on the shoulders of those African slaves who sang "Before I'd be a slave, I'd be buried in my grave; and go home to my God and be free!"...

The same Black Church which celebrates the role of its heroes and heroines during Black History month proudly supports Congressman Harold Washington, one of its sons, in his candidacy for Mayor of the City of Chicago.

Unashamedly Black and unapologetically Christian, we — the undersigned 252 Black Ministers of the Chicago Metropolitan Area — put our full personal support behind Congressman Washington in his mayoral bid; and we urge our congregations to do the same for the following reasons:

1. Congressman Washington offers the only real alternative to "Machine Politics: or "business as usual" in this mayoral election. His 30 years of legislative experience makes him the most qualified candidate in the race.

2. Congressman Washington is the only candidate who can bring stability to our government, who can unify the various ethnic constituencies of Chicago (Black, Brown, Red, Yellow and White), and who can put an end to the polarization which threatens to destroy us.

3. Congressman Washington who has historically been endorsed by the Sun-Times, Tribune & Defender has an outstanding record both in the State legislature and in the Congress of this country on his stands against programs and policies which are harmful to people of all races. His voting record demonstrates that he has been consistently FOR quality education, FOR full employment, FOR ERA, and FOR truth and honesty in government.

4. Congressman Washington's platform is the only platform which promises a city Cabinet comprised of the best qualified persons — regardless of their race, sex or religion — in policy-making positions. We know what the Byrne Cabinet looks like, and we remember (all too painfully) what the Daley Cabinets have looked like. NOW is the time for STRONG ALTERNATIVE LEADERSHIP!

We are publicly going on record in support of this great leader and we urge ALL of Chicago to think seriously and to join this growing network of supporters. We have said to him and we say to our constituencies that he not only has our full support, our prayers, and our combined resources; he also has our promise that if he fails to live up to his platform on integrity, we will be the first to condemn him and to work for his removal.

We — as pastors of the Black Church — are not looking for "political favors" or plums from the patronage orchard. We are looking for justice, liberation and integrity in a highly pluralistic society. As long as the Congressman — soon to be MAYOR — stands for these principles, we stand 100% with him.

We urge YOU — especially in this month of Black Liberation — to do the same. On February 22nd punch 9 for freedom. Vote for Harold Washington as Mayor of Chicago and "Let us march on...."
“Til Victory Is Won!!”

The Ministers listed below are affiliated with the following denominations:

- United Methodist Church
- The Lutheran Church
- Community Church
- African Methodist Episcopal Church
- The Presbyterian Church
- Christian Reformed Church
- Catholic Church
- African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
- Reformed Church
- Baptist Church
- United Church of Christ
- Advent Christian Church
- Christian Methodist Episcopal Church

Church of God

Ministers Who Endorse Harold Washington

Odie Anderson
Essie Alexander
Marvin Alexander
Barbara Allen
Paul Ayers
Kathleen Allen
Andrew Allen
N. Andrew Allen, Sr.
Marvin Banks
Walter Butts
Georges L. Blackwell
George Boler
Robert Burns
Sylvester Brinson, III
Earl Brooks
Fred Brooks
Ariola Bailey
Wille Barrow
Charles Butler
Curtis Brook
Eugene Burrage
August Brown
James Eason
S.T. Brown
Ariford Butler
Marvin Brooks
Joseph Brown
Norval Brown
Gerald Bradford
Gessell Barry, Jr.
F. Bellman

Brandt Brown
Arthur Bodley
Simon Bodley
Kenneth Brigham
D.L. Blakely
William H. Bentley
C.B. Burns
George Cummings
Major Coleman
Wilfred Cornwell
Edward Chew
Darryl Chew
George Clements
Terence Clidere
J. Clodshott
Frederick Cole II
William E. Clay
D.A. Cushman
Steven Camp
James Cotton
Clarence Carr
Stirling Cary
James G. Conner
L.K. Curry
Vesta Dixon
P.O. Dixon
Wilson T. Daniel
W.B. Daugherty
A.J. Dunlap
Sidney Draper
W.D. Davis
Elmore Erving
Clay Evans

Emanuel Erving
Clara Epps
Leon Edwards
William F. Fristoe, Sr.
William F. Fristoe, Jr.
Roosevelt Foster
W.H. Foster
John Ferguson
Donald Fairley
Hugh Fleming, Jr.
C.E. Ferguson
Basil Fisk
Betty Jane Greer
William H. Griffin
Harry R. Gibson, Jr.
Arthur Griffin
C.J. Jarrett Grady
Eugene L. Gibson, Sr.
Marty Gools
Russell Gilmore
Eugene B. Green
Larry Hopkins
R.H. Harris
J.H. Harvey
George Henderson
Cornelius Harvey
William Hillman
Philip A. Harley
Thomas Henry
Clarence L. Hilliard
Johnny Henderson
J. Howard

Ferdinand Hargrett
Cornelius Hayes
Willie S. Harrison
William C. Henderson
Henry Harts
John Henderson
Willis Harris
Ralph G. Hanley
Alvin J. Hatcher
Philip Hillard
Gregory Ingram
William Ivy
Aaron Johnson
Ralph Daniel Jarrett
Paul L. Jackson
S.L. Jenkins, Jr.
Henry Jenkins
Frank Jackson
John C. Jackson, Jr.
A.P. Jackson
Joseph Jones
William Jenkins, Sr.
C.W. Jones

Walter B. Johnson
William Jenkins, Jr.

Mark Jones
Darryl Jackson
Charles W. Jordan
Willie Jerrison
Carl Kerard
Jonathan Keith
H. Bernard King
Elmer Lindsey
Abraham Linnear
Landis Lane
Charles Love
James Lawson
Jeannie Leavitt
Raymond Legg
Lloyd C. Lindo
E.M. Lassiter
Christine B. Leake
Robert D. Meyers
Alfred May
Emuel McNair
Donald Matthews
John W. Moore
Warren J. Myers
Myron F. McCray
James Mack
Linton Marks, Jr.
Charles Murray
Clifford Manns
Willie McCary
John McGroder
Odell Mhoon
Nelson Marion
R.L. Miller

Gordon Marshall
Michael Miller
Joseph Massey
B. Herbert Martin
Wade Newsome
Joseph Napper, Sr.
Cedell Newsome
Wilfred Olney
James Overton
Frazier Odum
Thomas Oliver
Donald Parker
Reece Price
Florescu Porter
John Porter
Donald Person
John Parker
Sylvia Prater
Walter Parks
Brenda Williams Piper
J.D. Rogers
George Ridick
Eddie Robinson
Wayne Robinson
Charles Shelby Rogers
Foster Robinson
Ralph Rainey
Edgar Rawlings
Wilson Reman
Harlinda Richardson
James Rodgers
Michael Rose
Wilfred Reid
Al Sampson
White Smith

Julius J. Smith
Andrew Seals
J. Smylie
S.F. Simpson
Addison Sheldon
Dwight Sheidley
Richard Shetton
Larry Sanders
Kenneth Smith
Larry Sharp
R.T. Smith
Donald Sharp
Hazelia Savage
Leonard Sharbon
Clifton Smith
Albert Shreve
Woodrow Tyler
Claude Treadway
Jesse Taylor
Stephen Thorton
P.W. Thompson
Jarvis Thomas
Edward Turner
Walter E. Turner
Walter P. Turner
J.L. Turner
John Taylor
Leroy Taylor
Eddie Thompson, Jr.
Charles Thomas
Oliver L. Trimmer
Larry Trotter
Julius Trimmer

Wille Upshur
Mahm Upchurch
William J. Vance
William Watts
H.L. Williams
Robbie Wade
J.C. Weathers
Charles B. Williams, Jr.
A.J. Weaver
Nelson Willis
Donald Wright Guest
Jacob Williams, Jr.
Telfon F. Williams
Jeremiah A. Wright
Bessie Whitten
Claude Wyatt
Marvin Williams
W.J. Williams
Antone Williams
C.L. White
Napoleon Wardlaw
George Walker
Karl Wilson
I.W. Williams
R. Williams
Walter L. Wilson
Henry Young
Alexander Yulie
Leroy Yates
WASHINGTON: Lost Jobs

Byrne’s fault

Washington, D.C. — Mayor Byrne’s administration is under fire for not addressing the job loss issue. Byrne has been criticized for not doing enough to help the unemployed.

Byrne’s record of inaction has led to a decrease in public support for the mayor. Many residents are questioning Byrne’s ability to lead the city during this difficult economic period.

The opposition to Byrne’s administration has grown, with some calling for his resignation. Byrne has denied the charges and has vowed to continue his efforts to create jobs in the city.

The issue of job loss is a major concern for Washingtonians, and the administration’s failure to address it has led to a loss of confidence in Byrne’s leadership. The city is facing a stark reality of high unemployment rates, and Byrne’s administration is facing increasing pressure to take action.

Byrne has promised to work with private sector partners to create new job opportunities, but many are questioning whether this will be enough to address the city’s job loss crisis.

The Washington Job Loss Task Force, led by Mayor Byrne, has been formed to address the issue. The task force will work with businesses and job creators to identify ways to boost employment in the city.

Despite the efforts of the task force, many are still questioning Byrne’s ability to make a difference. The job loss issue remains a top priority for Washingtonians, and Byrne will have to demonstrate concrete action to regain the public’s trust.
Colleagues give Washington good marks

This is the second of three articles detailing the public records of the major Democratic candidates for mayor.

By Ellen Warren
Sun-Times Bureau

WASHINGTON—"I don't want to see him elected," the politician says candidly, talking about Rep. Harold Washington's battle to become mayor of Chicago.

That politician is not a Jane Byrne operative nor a Rich Daley booster, and he has no ax to grind in the upcoming Chicago mayoral election.

Rather, he is Rep. Don Edwards of California, a Democrat who—selfishly, he admits—wants to keep Washington in Washington to help him fight the important civil rights battles that continue to loom here.

Edwards is chairman of the House Judiciary Committee's influential subcommittee on civil and constitutional rights, starting place for much of the nation's important civil rights legislation and involving some of the most controversial topics facing Congress.

Harold Washington serves on that panel and Don Edwards says, "I don't want to lose him."

That's high praise for the Chicago Democrat, who began his second term last month.

Edwards: "He was my right hand" in last summer's passage of the extension of the Voting Rights Act.

Edwards, a liberal who shares many of the black South Sider's positions, says Washington "made a major contribution—more so than any other congressman. I don't know how I could have gotten along without him" in the fiery voting rights fight.

"He just has nothing but guts," Edwards concludes.

"He's independent, has some gumption," says a Democratic congressional staffer who has seen Washington in action on a different committee.

This staff member observes, however, that, "the problem with Washington is the "big city malady" that prompts many urban members of Congress often to neglect their congressional work because they kind of get preoccupied with the politics of the city."

This was true of Washington, the staffer says, even before he decided to run for mayor.

Indeed, Washington's attendance record for roll call votes is among the poorest in the Illinois delegation—20th of 34 during 1982—worse than any incumbent except Chicago Democrat Gus Savage, whose poor record is legendary.

"I know that when he's there [attending congressional meetings] he can be very good. He's willing to be tough and tough-minded," says a seasoned liberal Democrat and close congressional observer who also knew Washington when he served in the Illinois Legislature.

As a member of the Illinois House (1965-76) and Senate (1977-80), Washington received high marks as an independent-minded but pragmatic Democrat who supported the Machine when he could but would break with it when the Machine supported positions he viewed as anti-black or not helpful to his black constituency.

This respected liberal Democratic observer says, "I would rate him and Paul Simon—a downstate liberal Democratic congressman who also previously served in the statehouse) as the most articulate of the Illinois delegation."

"They both of Washington, "I worked with him in the state Legislature. There, clearly, he was regarded as one of the heavyweights—a substantial legislator. Here he is relatively new and you don't move into that role automatically."

Edwards: "He's regarded as a substantial legislator."

A conservative who watched Washington during the prolonged voting rights hearings accuses him of "race baiting. . . He did tend to put some things in racial terms. . . . If you're not with us, you're against us." When confronting some Southern white witnesses who appeared before the subcommittee during the debate, "I would hate to see him leave," adds that observer, not a member of Congress.

"I think he's an asset—if he could control what I think is that kind of polarizing rhetoric."

A conservative Republican congressman who has served with Washington and rarely agrees with him, says, "He has an extremely fine mind, as quick a study as there is, articulate as hell. He's tough as hell."

"But it's a tragedy of some proportions that he lacks the character equal to his talents," the Republican adds, a reference to Washington's failure to file income tax returns in the 1960s and his suspension from the bar by the Illinois Supreme Court after a Chicago Bar Association investigation of charges he took money for legal work he never performed.

"To go with power, you want some character," he notes, adding, "I don't see him identified with any legislation."

It had all the flavor of a civil rights movement rally of the 60s. The overflow, enthusiastic crowd that filled the cavernous University of Illinois Pavilion at an "All Chicago" rally for mayoral candidate Harold Washington was deep testament to the fervor in the Black community around his candidacy.

Amazed white commentators admitted that it was the biggest political rally either of the three mayoral contenders has held. I have no doubt that Congressman Washington can become Mayor Washington if, within the next two weeks, his operation evolves from a campaign to a movement.

Black people are turned on by movements, not campaigns.

But there are still a lot of Blacks who haven't caught fire because they haven't been reached. This week the Congressman is scheduled to begin his series of TV and radio commercials. These must and should be augmented by a stepped-up effort to get into the bowels of the community.

Nearly every predominantly Black high school in the city will be conducting Black History programs which should be capitalized on by representatives of Washington aggressively seeking out speaking opportunities. Last week I spoke at Collins High School on the West Side on the subject of "Blacks and the U.S. Constitution." I decided to use the opportunity to discuss the history of the struggle for the right to vote. 
Washington bids for Byrne's anti-Daley votes

By Brian J. Kelly

The Chicago mayoral campaign took on the intricate geometry of a billiard game Wednesday as it became clear each candidate is trying to play the opposition off against the other.

The mayor's race

Washington, who plans in the final days to seek what he feels are anti-Richard M. Daley votes that have attached themselves to Mayor Byrne.

"We think there are about 20 percent of black voters who will go for Byrne because they perceive Richie Daley as a racist and don't want to see him in office," said William Zimmerman, Washington's media adviser.

"What we plan to concentrate on is convincing them that we can win and if they vote for Byrne against Daley, they're throwing a vote away," he said.

Zimmerman added that much of Washington's remaining campaign time as well as his radio commercials will try to make that case. His final week of television commercials—a moderate $107,000 worth—will focus strictly on Byrne.

Consistent with that idea, Washington spent the day in mostly black areas and canceled three North Side appearances in the evening for what his staff said was "personal business." In one of his sparser campaign days, he visited four West Side high schools and a health-care group including doctors at Cook County Hospital.

At a West Side apartment complex, he told a black audience that a "rumor" that Byrne is making headway with black women was "clearly untrue based on our own straw polls. . . . She's saying she's getting a substantial number of black female voters, which is not true."

Byrne supporters, though not the mayor herself, have been pushing the idea on the predominantly white Northwest and Southwest sides that the race is a two-way contest between Byrne and Washington and that a vote for Daley is illogical. Former Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie, a Republican supporter of Byrne, has sent out letters saying the choice is between Byrne and Washington.

Byrne's advisors say she will be spending much of her time on the North and Northwest sides, trying to consolidate support where she feels she is strongest. However, she also has gone on the attack against Daley and continued to ignore Washington.

Daley has made the fewest shifts in his campaign strategy, continuing to make numerous appearances across the city to project the image that he is staying on the course set long ago. Daley has decided his best defense against the argument that a vote for him is a vote for Washington is his own precinct workers.

Wednesday evening, he spoke at a rally for about 200 workers from the West Side 24th, 27th, 28th, 29th and 37th wards. He also got an enthusiastic reception from another 200 precinct captains of the 22nd Ward organization, run by Daley backer Ald. Frank D. Stemberg.

In another effort to argue that Daley is a strong contender, his campaign was willing to release two phone polls indicating his support has increased in the home stretch even though he still appears to be in second place.

Also contributing to this story were Pat Wingert and Lynn Sweet.

Perspective

Fear of post-election theft

Leanita McCain

In the past, Chicago has been a city that has seen a lot of post-election theft. This time around, the city is on high alert with the possibility of a recount and a possible runoff election.

In the past, there have been instances where candidates have filed complaints with the police and the Board of Elections, claiming that votes were tampered with. These cases have been investigated and, in some instances, the results of the election have been overturned.

This year, there is a heightened sense of awareness with the possibility of a recount and a possible runoff election. The city has taken steps to ensure that the election process is transparent and free of any potential for fraud.

The city has established a system where voters can report any issues they encounter during the voting process. These reports are then reviewed by the Board of Elections, which is made up of non-partisan members.

If a recount is necessary, the city has put in place procedures to ensure that the process is conducted appropriately. This includes having audited ballots and having a neutral party conduct the recount.

The city has also taken steps to ensure that the voting equipment is secure and that there is a chain of custody for the ballots. This includes having security guards present during election day and having the ballots inventoried before and after the election.

As a result of these precautions, there is a strong sense of confidence in the election process. If issues arise, they will be handled appropriately and transparently.

In conclusion, the city of Chicago has taken steps to ensure that the election process is transparent and free of any potential for fraud. With a heightened sense of awareness and the establishment of procedures to handle any potential issues, there is a strong sense of confidence in the election process.
Washington hits mayor's role in posh complex

Continued from Page 5

Distributing election literature near 60th and Loomis, Washington charged that 16th Ward Committeeman James Taylor, a Byrne ally, was responsible for intimidating him and Langford's supporters.

"The ward represents in this city the worst possible experience for black people," Washington said. "You're not getting leadership you're entitled to and you have not had it since Jim Taylor's been here."

He urged his campaign workers to be "visible out there in the street" on Election Day.

Washington, arm in arm with Langford and followed by their sign-holding and chanting supporters, then walked several blocks in an impromptu parade.

Residents of the 6200 blocks of S. Bishop and S. Laflin stood on stoops and steps of their houses and came to doors and windows to show support for the candidates.

The crowd of about 200 then turned onto 63rd St. to stage an informal rally at the Englewood terminal.

In other campaigning events:

- Washington traveled to Northwestern Illinois University on the North Side where he told students "we have won the election" and "we can keep her [Byrne] from stealing it." That was a reference to his campaign's fear of the possibility of vote fraud in Tuesday's primary.
- The candidate went to a Westinghouse plant at 41st and Pulaski where he met with workers who fear the plant may close. There, Washington pledged to try to "stem the exodus" of industry from the city.

In his attack on the Presidential Towers project, Washington said such federally backed financing should be used to develop low- and moderate-income housing, not luxury residential units.

Washington attacked the city's priorities for federally assisted housing while standing on the site of Presidential Towers, a 2,346-unit, upper-income rental complex planned for the Near West Side.

Last week, it was announced that developers of the project had received a $158.9 million mortgage insurance commitment from the Federal Housing Administration.

Washington rips mayor for role in posh complex

By Lynn Sweet

Mayoral candidate Harold Washington on Thursday challenged the priorities of Mayor Byrne in backing the building of Presidential Towers and lashed out against what he said was intimidation of his workers.

The congressman started the day campaigning at Madison and Clinton, the site of the proposed giant residential complex to be built with federally backed financing granted at Byrne's urging.

In the evening, while Washington campaigned in the 16th Ward on the city's South Side, buses stopped, cars honked and passengers hung out of L windows at the Englewood rapid transit terminal as his supporters swarmed into the street.

Joined by 16th Ward aldermanic candidate Anna Langford, Washington told his backers not to be "intimidated." Last Friday, a city employee was arrested and charged with pulling a gun on two of Washington's campaign workers, who were

Turn to Page 46
By Thom Shanker

MAYOR JANE Byrne opened the final two weeks of the primary campaign Monday with accusations that her two major opponents have failed to raise any substantive issues, opting instead for a strategy of personal attacks.


Her television campaign commercials also echo this theme. "They have not analyzed my 10-year plan," Byrne said to the West Side Professional and Business Women's Association meeting in 4603 W. Gladys Ave. "I come to hear my opponents talk about jobs, a balanced budget. They would rather talk about the money in my [campaign] fund."

After meeting with residents of West Point Plaza, 300 S. Damen Ave., Byrne said that Washington's jobs proposal was redundant because of legislation already under debate in Congress.

She said that Daley's campaign, which stresses qualities of leadership, management and stability, lacks substance. Byrne also maintains that she has lowered taxes.

Despite the deficits she said were inherited by her administration, Byrne said, "Did the trains stop? No. Did the buses stop? No. Did the schools open? Yes. If my opponents want to continue on these personal issues, I welcome it. Because I know that city government is running well."

By Enid Vadquez

State's Atty. Richard Daley appeared in Pilsen Sunday to answer questions on community economic development.

Daley addressed approximately 50 persons at Providence of God church, 717 18th st., at the invitation of the Chicago Workshop for Economic Development.

Mayor Jane Byrne and Cong. Harold Washington were also invited, but Washington was unable to attend and Byrne sent a representative.

All three Democratic mayoral candidates received 10 written questions in advance from CWED.

Daley said he would have community organizations work with City hall on an economic development task force.

He said that the increasing numbers of failing small businesses has hurt neighborhoods, and that the city "has no investment commission to benefit small community businesses."

Daley also said that "Byrne's plans consist of planting trees and facelifts for storefronts. I believe a job development-corporation will have a lasting effect on the city."

A good job development program doesn't involve having thousands of people stand in lines in the cold," he added, referring to the 1-week jobs recently created by Byrne, for which job seekers had two days to apply.

Both Byrne's representative and Daley spoke of training as an important aspect of economic development.

Daley said businesses were fleeing to downtown areas because they were not finding skilled job applicants.

"How would you like to go through 23 applications to get one (person hired)?" he asked. "That's why businesses are leaving downtown."

Subhi Alchablai, acting commissioner of the city's Economic Development Commission, said there is a "mismatch between the skills of Chicago residents and the skills needed."

He said the city helped 760 adults and 720 students last year in a training program.

Alchablai said, "We're training blue-collar workers not to be white-collar workers but to do blue-collar work that requires computer training, for jobs such as truck dispatchers, warehouse clerks and inventory."

Washington told CWED he would submit written responses to their questions this week.

CWED staff coordinator Doug Gillis did not want to comment on the results of the presentations until the group is able to meet formally and come to a conclusion. This is expected next Wednesday.

However, he did say that "Daley responded very well and positively to our questions."

Gillis said that while community groups have had input into City Hall during Byrne's term, that it was "limited and selective."

He said that Byrne's Neighborhood Planning Board, appointed in December, has three major flaws. Members are appointed by the mayor and therefore lack independence they could have by being elected; the board lacks resources needed to make effective policy decisions, and it lacks real power.

"To what extent can they challenge or veto city proposals?" he wondered.

Gillis said the city's $700,000 on the Melanphy study of neighborhood business districts "to find answers that community groups could have told them."

"It was a waste of time to tell you something you already know," Gillis said. "There were no substantial breakthroughs."

CWED is a non-profit coalition of 20 community organizations, and is expanding statewide.
Byrne’s mercurial record of feats, fests

This is the first of three articles detailing the public records of the major Democratic candidates for mayor.

By Harry Golden Jr.

Mayor Byrne’s administration mixes grand new public works and executive shakeups, tax increases and civic celebrations.

Byrne’s style of governance is perhaps as noteworthy as its substance, with such gestures as a 21-day stay in the crime-ridden Cabrini-Green housing development and appointments that switch the racial composition of public commissions.

But Byrne has braved strikes and recession and past financial crises (that were never as grave as she had claimed) to lay a broad new tax base for delivering city services with 41,000 employees, repairing infrastructure and starting projects such as a $1 billion expansion of O’Hare Airport.

After three years in which she brought in $400 million annually in new city taxes and fees, Byrne balanced her 1983 budget at $1.5 billion, with a $30 million rollback in real-estate and business taxes.

Byrne said she views “straightening out city finances” and her 1983 capacity to offer expanded garbage collection and ambulance service, in the face of the recession, as her greatest accomplishments.

The mayor said she’s proud, too, that she expanded ChicagoFest, started other entertainments such as Taste of Chicago and Loop Alive and about 10 music festivals in the neighborhoods, all in the spirit.

Turn to Page...
Byrne's chums are bus-y

Wheeler dealing

Copyright, 1963, Chicago Sun-Times

This column has learned that top members of the Byrne administration secretly were involved in efforts to buy the Continental Air Transport Co., which has an exclusive city contract to provide bus service at O'Hare Airport.

The decision to sell Continental was made only after city officials warned the bus company that its contract would not be renewed, sources at the bus firm said.

Losing the contract would have forced Continental to close down, since the O'Hare routes are its primary business.

However, only 12 days after the company was sold last Dec. 15, the City Council hastily granted a 15-year extension on Continental's contract.

"We had no choice—sell Continental or lose the city contract and fold up," said an official of Continental's parent company, Checker Motors, who asked to remain anonymous.

"WE WERE TOLD that there was no way we'd ever get the contract extended unless we found a buyer.

"That came to us straight from Charlie Swibel."

Swibel is Byrne's chief fund-raiser and political operative.

When questioned by this column, William Griffin, former deputy mayor and now Mayor Byrne's campaign manager, admitted that he was involved last year in efforts to obtain financing for the purchase of Continental.

But he denied that he ever intended to have a financial interest in the company.

He admitted that he once wrote a letter seeking financing from banks—in which he named Michael I. Brady, another major figure in the Byrne administration, as one of the three "principals" in a company trying to buy Continental.

Griffin and Brady are partners in a public relations and consulting firm. And Griffin is a member of the RTA board, while Brady is a member of the CTA board.

ACCORDING TO SOURCES, the events leading to the sale of Continental began in mid-1963, when Continental decided to ask the City Council to grant an extension of its contract, which was to end on Dec. 31, 1982.

The City Council Finance Committee heard testimony and recommended that the extension be granted.

But as months passed, and the Council didn't act on the committee's recommendations, officials of the Checker Motor Co. asked city officials about the delay.

That was when Swibel told them that the extension never would be granted and that they would be wise to seek a buyer, a Checker Motors official says.

Meanwhile, a new corporation called the MMB Co. had been formed with the stated purpose of buying Continental.

Its officers were listed in state records as Thomas Meagher, president of Continental, and John McCarthy, vice president. Although they were the ranking corporate officers of Continental, neither man was an owner.

They began seeking financial backing to buy the company. And on June 1, 1982, Griffin wrote this letter:

"The MMB Corporation seeks financing for the purchase of Continental Air Transport Corporation from Checker Motors Corporation. Under terms of an agreement between the partners, MMB Corporation is purchasing all of Continental's rolling stock, leased buses, good will and contract with the City of Chicago, including corporate name, for the price of $4.4 million.

"The principals of MMB Corporation are:

"Thomas Meagher, president of Continental Air Transport.
"John McCarthy, vice president of Continental Air Transport.
"Michael I. Brady, partner, Brady Griffin & Associates Inc.

"These gentlemen are available at your convenience to discuss in detail the financing needs, the company's current position and their plans for improving its operations and profits. Please contact me to arrange a meeting."
ROYKO

WHEN HE WAS ASKED about his relationship with MMB, Griffin at first said:

"Meagher is a friend of mine, and so we did some consulting work for him when he was seeking an extension of the contract in 1981. We helped in his public relations and in preparing his testimony for the City Council.

"We were paid a $3,000 fee. That's all. There were no promises of anything, no future stock options. I couldn't have an interest in it, anyway, because I'm on the RTA board.

"And that's all there was to it."

But when confronted with the letter in which he named his partner Brady as a "principal" in the MMR company—written the year after he did his "consulting work"—Griffin became flustered.

"Uh, well, Brady thought of investing in it," Griffin finally said. "But he was not a principal of MMB."

Then why did you name him as a principal?

"BECAUSE HE WAS thinking of investing in it. But he didn't. That was quickly scuttled."

W asn't it poor judgment to identify Brady — a member of the CTA board — as a potential purchaser of a private bus company?

"Yes," Griffin said, "I think you're right about that."

Griffin also denied that Swibel ever was involved in the negotiations for the sale of Continental.

"Swibel didn't have any part of it," Griffin said.

But he again became flustered when it was pointed out that in 1981 he sent a letter to a Checker Motors attorney in which he wrote:

"As per instructions from Chuck Swibel, I am providing you with the Continental Air Transport Inc. balance sheet as of March 31, 1981."

At first, Griffin said he didn't remember.

Chicago Sun-Times, Wednesday, February 16, 1983

Royko: Byrne chums are bus-y

Continued from Page 2
mentioning Swibel in a letter. But then he said:

"I think that he [the Checker attorney] had run into Swibel and asked him to have me send him that balance sheet."

Why didn't the attorney just ask you to send him the balance sheet?

"Uh, I'm not... uh, I guess he just ran into Swibel and decided to ask him."

Swibel was not available to comment on this matter. Mayor Byrne reportedly has told him to go to Florida and stay there until after Tuesday's primary. And Brady refused to return my phone calls.

BUT THE NAME of a Swibel friend and business associate surfaced in the Continental deal—Theodore Tannebaum, a Chicago attorney and investor.

Sources at Checker Motors say that Tannebaum had considered being one of the major investors in MMB.

And Dan Pierce, an attorney to whom Meagher referred questions, said: "Mr. Tannebaum expressed an interest in being one of the purchasers. But that interest is no longer there. Negotiations broke down with Tannebaum last month."

But when he was asked about it, Tannebaum denied that he ever planned to invest in MMB or that he ever had heard of any of the people involved.

"I don't know what you're talking about," he told me.

"You must have the wrong Tannebaum."

He also denied knowing Swibel. "I've read about him. You've never talked to him."

"WELL, WE HAVE lunch in the same place sometimes and I've said hello."

However, within an hour after my conversation with Tannebaum, Pierce phoned and said: "I don't know what's going on, but Tannebaum is on the phone to Meagher and he's upset. He wants to know why we're telling you anything about him."

The sale of Continental to the MMB Co. will not be final until it is approved by the Illinois Commerce Commission, which is to hold a hearing this week.

The Commerce Commission is expected to ask about the ownership of MMB.

Only two days before the hearings were to begin, MMB filed a list of investors with the commission. The list included Meagher, McCarthy and five attorneys.

The names of Swibel, Brady and Griffin were not on the list.
Firms with city deals heavy Byrne donors

By Thomas Burton and Harlan Draeger

At least 48 percent of the city's business—more than $600 million in contracts for everything from bolts to bridges—has been awarded to Mayor Byrne's campaign donors during the last three years.

A Sun-Times study of all new contracts during that period identified 237 Byrne contributors profiting from virtually every aspect of city spending.

Their contracts ranged from a $17,743 insect-control program at ChicagoFest to a $3.5 million project for construction of the Columbus Drive bridge.

Most of the work was awarded on bids. There were scores of no-bid contracts for consultants, engineers, and other "professional services" that also appear on the list.

Since Jan. 1, 1980, when Byrne began his first full year in office, political donors have received at least $601,401,000 in city business.

The 237 businesses, groups, and individuals dealing with the city poured $588,150 into the mayor's political fund, according to a report filed as late as last week.

The close relationship between City Hall spending and the record $10 million raised for Byrne's re-election bid is no secret. Indeed, the correlation between political gifts and city expenditures is a Chicago tradition.

Before the Sun-Times study, however, the scope of city business with donors to Byrne and previous mayors had not been documented. Sources of campaign money carry special significance now because Chicago is witnessing the most expensive local election in U.S. history.

Even so, the $601 million in contracts traced to political donors is just part of the story. The figure is highly conservative because it covers only firms contributing to the mayor in their own name or through well-known officers. Company officials frequently donate as individuals.

Firms receiving direct dollar payments from the city do not account for the bulk of the mayor's huge political fund. Even larger amounts were contributed by real estate developers, bond underwriters and many others who can profit indirectly from favorable City Hall actions.

For example, Bear Stearns & Co., which contributed $16,000 to Byrne, recently was named to the lucrative position of managing underwriter on a $180 million city water-sewer bond issue. Bear Stearns is one of several investment houses that gave heavily to Byrne and hope to profit from an estimated $500 million in future bond sales to expand O'Hare Airport.

The review of three years of contract awards furnishes a revealing insight into who receives $3.3 billion worth of City Hall outlays during that period.

In many city departments, one feature that stands out is a tight concentration of spending among a handful of contractors. This is particularly true in the building and construction industries. Even among these contractors, the role of Byrne's campaign donors is distinctive.

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Firms with city deals are heavy Byrne donors

Continued from Page 4 and suppliers. This pattern also predates Byrne's arrival in office, and has persisted despite state requirements for bids.

Year after year, certain firms operate almost as sole suppliers to one city department or another. Able Fire & Safety Equipment Inc. is a leading example. In three years ending last month, the firm dominated the city's $22.4 million Fire Department contract, purchasing with 41 contracts valued at nearly $5 million. It has given $8,000 to Byrne.

With some notable exceptions, holders of large contracts tend to be large donors to the Byrne campaign.

Leading the parade of firms obtaining city business during the last three years was Paschen Contractors Inc. It won 22 contracts valued at nearly $65 million, including construction of the Columbus Drive bridge and straightening the Lake Shore Drive S-curve. Byrne reported $17,520,000 in contributions from Paschen plus another $5,000 from its joint ventures.

In some areas of city spending, the share of business flowing to campaign donors is extremely high. City purchasing reports show $6.2 million in new demolition contracts in the last three years. Nearly 79 percent of this went to eight Byrne contributors who gave her $28,150.

One of the mayor's largest single sources of campaign money is Builders Chicago Corp., which has given her $37,600. In the last three years, city records list 23 new contract awards to the firm, valued at nearly $2.9 million.

That case illustrates how the city can grant favors to contributors even when contracts are let through bidding. Last year, the company charged the normal retail price for overhead door parts because the company asked for and got faster service in seeking bids on a repair contract. A federal grand jury is looking for possible fraud.

Firms that staged the last three ChicagoFests were another rich source of campaign cash for the mayor. $2,174,071 in the last three years gave her $14,700.

No comparable array of direct government outlays can be attached to Byrne's major rivals in Tuesday's mayoral primary, State's Attorney Richard M. Daley and U.S. Rep. Harold Washington. Despite all their efforts, Byrne heads a huge municipal operation that spends well over $1 million a day on outside services, equipment and materials. By contrast, the lion's share of Daley's budget as county prosecutor goes for staff salaries.

Bloomberg has charged that Daley has spent $400,000 on consultants and received big gifts from lawyers dealing with his office. However, no Daley consulting contracts were specified by the Byrne camp.

A Daley campaign aide identified four such contracts with a total value of more than $37,000, in addition to an unspecified amount of farmed-out legal work. One $40,000 contract went to Heffner & Associates to computerize records. Dynamic Concepts Ltd. won a $30,000 contract to help obtain federal and state grants. A third contract of $5,768 went to Banis & Kienzer for routine audits. Ernest & Whinney received $4,481 for an audit. None of the firms was listed as a Daley donor.

Daley reports raising roughly $2.7 million for the mayor's race after winning up in debt from his 1980 campaign for state's attorney.

The Daley donors are a broad mix—refugees from the Byrne administration, longtime Daley family loyalists and allies of such backers as County Assessor Thomas J. Hynes and County Board Chairman George W. Dunne.

Businessmen who opposed some of Byrne's policies have boosted Daley's kitty. For example, $7,700 was contributed by the Hyatt hotel chain and the Pullman family that controls it. Hyatt was unhappy with her for a competing hotel in the North Loop project.

Daley's list of contributors, while composed primarily of individuals, also contains a few numbers of companies with a keen interest in possible future contracts.

Washington, with no contracts to dispense, is running on much leaner finances. His campaign office reports nearly $500,000 in contributions and loans.
Byrne tells big streets program

By Sarah Snyder and Pat Wingert

Mayor Byrne announced plans for a major street-resurfacing program Monday, but city officials acknowledged that her goal of opening part of the CTA's O'Hare rapid-transit extension before the Feb. 22 mayoral primary won't be met.

The officials added, however, that Byrne will announce the projected opening date for three of the new stations Thursday while taking an inspection ride from the Jefferson Park rapid-transit station to the new River Rd. station.

Byrne announced the $316 million resurfacing program, which will be paid for mainly with federal funds diverted from the project for a Crosstown expressway. She also said the "largest annual street-resurfacing and reconstruction program in the city's history" will double what was done last year.

Public-works officials said the new federal gasoline-tax increase greatly accelerated the rate at which Chicago will receive the Crosstown money.

The funds, about $1 billion, became available in 1979 when the city abandoned plans to build an expressway through the Far West Side.

This year the city will resurface 86 miles of local streets and 121 miles of arterial streets. Last year's program involved 60 miles of residential and 40 miles of arterial streets, said Ron Johnson, director of highway programming for the Public Works Department.

In a press conference in the Eckhart Park Fieldhouse, 1330 W. Chicago, Byrne was unfazed by questions suggesting political motives behind the announcement.

Asked whether there was any coincidence in the timing, Byrne asked, "When did we announce this [her similar 1982 program] last year?" Told it was in April, she smiled and said, "No, there's no coincidence."

The $316 million includes $22 million in city funds from the motor-fuel tax to go with $294 million in federal funds. About three-fourths of the federal money represents diverted Crosstown money.

Meanwhile, city officials said that despite around-the-clock workdays and intense pressure from the mayor's office, the CTA's new Harlem, Cumberland and River Rd. stations will not be open to the public before the mayoral primary.

City and CTA officials earlier had said the $137 million project would be completed by mid-February. Byrne is expected to announce during her ride Thursday that the first three stations will open in two to four weeks. The last station at O'Hare Airport is expected to open this summer.
How Byrne got to mug ‘Santa’

EVERY SO OFTEN, someone in public service gets a bellyful of influence peddling and talks about the wheeling and dealing that passes for good government in this town.

Former Sen. Adlai Stevenson did so recently when he disclosed an attempt by City Hall power broker Charles Swibel to buy his endorsement of Mayor Jane Byrne’s re-election bid with a promise of funds for his gubernatorial campaign last fall.

Now, Joseph L. Mahran is willing to tell taxpayers how County Democratic Chairman Edward Vrdolyak sought to persuade school board members to buy a $10 million building the mayor later told them they couldn’t afford as a free gift.

Mahran is the Board of Education’s chief financial officer. He was recruited from out of state in 1980 to restore order to the school system’s chaotic finances. As such, he has been privy to some of the behind-the-scenes machinations that have injected political interference into the board’s relationships with City Hall.

THE FACT THAT Vrdolyak, who also doubles as 10th Ward alderman, wrote a letter to board members isn’t news. That already has been published.

What is news, though, is the insight Mahran provides in detailing for citizens the conflicting moves within the Byrne camp that have resulted in tax dollars being wasted at a rate of $220,000 a month.

That is the amount the school board is paying in rent because Mayor Byrne threw a monkey wrench into the proceedings by ultimately grabbing the building, the former Kraft Inc. offices, as a free gift for City Hall. And that deprived the schools of a readily available place in which to house its headquarters staff.

INSTEAD OF MOVING its staff almost immediately into the Kraft Building, the board was forced to extend its LaSalle Street lease until next June at a cost of $220,000 a month until the Pershing Road site is renovated.

It could be argued, I suppose, that since city government received the building rather than the school board, the taxpayers benefited anyway. But that isn’t exactly the way things worked out. Because of Byrne’s shenanigans, the board is paying $220,000 a month in rent it shouldn’t have had to spend.

Byrne, 30-second phenom

If Mayor Byrne wins the primary election, it will be the television voters who pick her over. They are voters who have been wooed and won by 30-second TV commercials. A television victory has implications for a city that has elected officials by door-to-door precinct work.

Much has been said about the mendacity of Byrne’s commercials. They contain partial truths, exaggerations and misstatements. Still, they must be aired unchanged. Federal policy prohibits stations from editing political ads. By inundating us with clever TV ads, Byrne has given Chicago her second snow job.

There is no doubt that Byrne’s strength in the polls can be traced to the ads. Her advisers concede she was behind 30 percentage points in summer when her consultant, David Sawyer, arrived from New York to devise a TV strategy. There has been very little substantial change in city government since summer.

Why have the commercials worked so well if they are misleading? The reason is that the form of political discourse has changed with television. A century ago the Lincoln-Douglas debates went on for hours. By the 1940s, people got their politics glued to a radio listening to a fireside chat. Today television’s 30-second politics dominates voters’ minds.

Television commercials are made for the distracted, impatient mind. They work by repetition instead of logical argument. Byrne’s top spots were on the air an average of 65 to 70 times. Sawyer concedes a 30-second spot must be seen three or four times before it registers.

A newspaper reader must turn to Page 2 to read Mike Royko. TV spots are made to intrude on viewers leaving Archie Bunker to get a beer. A woman who claimed TV ads don’t work was asked by a Federal Communications Commission what toothpaste she used. “Crest,” she replied, “so I don’t have to brush twice a day.”

Making effective commercials is an art and Sawyer is a master. His Byrne ads, especially the early ones, were fascinating minidramas and unfolded like episodes in a novel. Voters were captivated by the new character Sawyer and Byrne created. One theme he strung through the ads—Byrne rescued us from fiscal disaster—is untrue, but it is imbedded in the electorate’s mind.

The see-saw Good Jane—Bad Jane was replaced with Steady Jane. Husband Jay was sent off, and Sawyer introduced Widow Jane (whose first husband was killed) and Mother Jane (who like many black women was left alone to raise a baby). The many faces of Jane was a good show.

One implication of 30-second politics is that it raids slogans. President Reagan spews stubborn slogans that make no ripples in thought. Useful public policy can’t be formulated by exchanging catch words. Another problem is that 30-second politics is costly. If Byrne wins, the lesson is: A mayor may do anything if only she can raise enough bucks to import a media artist to create a new TV image.

After his dozen TV ads, Gov. Thompson was confident he would win. He found that TV voters were fickle. If precinct politics still thrives in Chicago, Byrne may be surprised by the TV electorate.
Byrne is leading: Vrdolyak

By Basil Talbott Jr.
Sun-Times Political Editor

Cook County Democratic Chairman Edward R. Vrdolyak Tuesday tried to convince reporters that Mayor Byrne was ahead in his own polls, while revealing that he had borrowed $200,000 for his campaign.

Vrdolyak, 10th Ward committeeman and alderman and a Byrne supporter, called reporters in for a briefing session at the Darmack Hotel to say that she was 10 points ahead in the Democratic mayoral primary race. He declined to provide backup figures.

Vrdolyak's briefing session was seen as an attempt to counter operatives in other major Democratic campaigns who have been leaking polls showing their candidates ahead.

Asked about the accuracy of a televised report that his figures showed Byrne would garner 430,000 votes in the primary next Tuesday, compared with 330,000 for State's Attorney Richard M. Daley and 320,000 for Rep. Harold Washington, Vrdolyak said the figures were "in the ballpark" if the turnout is that high.

His prediction of victory, Vrdolyak said, was based on more than "just polls."

In addition, he said he relied on experience gained from 15 years of working in election campaigns and what ward committeemen were telling him after canvassing voters in their neighborhoods.

Declaring "we're in a war," Vrdolyak said he wouldn't rule out borrowing additional money for the mayor's campaign.

He disclosed that $200,000 was borrowed from Amalgamated Trust & Savings Bank in addition to the previously announced $250,000 borrowed from other banks.

Vrdolyak also said that mayoral adviser Charles R. Swibel, who has been vacationing in Florida, is back in town and that the two planned to meet over lunch.

The claim of front-running status for Byrne comes amidst growing belief in all three camps that voter perception of who is favored to win is a crucial factor in the race.

Operatives in all campaigns have been lobbying reporters for more than a week, seeking to have their poll used or trying to cast doubt on rival polls. Some workers have tried to plant items on poll results.

If a candidate is seen with a good chance to win, it will buoy his workers' spirits. Some strategists contend that a front-running candidate is more likely to garner votes on election day.

A few of the candidate surveys are straw polls — in which workers collect paper ballots on street corners — while others are telephone polls, supposedly conducted by the scientific rules of statistics.

The poll results given the Sun-Times by Byrne's staff show the mayor keeping his lead, with Daley in second place. Late last month, Bill Griffin, of the mayor's campaign, said her poll showed Daley was out of the race and there was a two-way contest between Byrne and Washington.

Dick Dresner, the mayor's pollster, said Monday that a poll taken last week showed the situation had changed. Dresner said the poll of 700 people showed Byrne with 39 percent of the vote, Daley with 29 percent and Washington with 23. He said there is a 5 percent margin of error.

Both the Daley and Washington camps strenuously objected.
Picked on because I'm female: Byrne

By Sarah Snyder

Mayor Byrne openly appealed for the women's vote Thursday with a new campaign theme: She is being picked on because she is a woman.

At a boisterous Thursday night rally of more than 500 black women on the Far South Side sponsored by Women for Mayor Byrne, Byrne sought sympathy for recent "attacks" on her.

"Woman to woman," Byrne told the crowd at the Hummingbird Supper Club, 8620 S. Ashland, "if it wasn't for being a woman, I don't think they would have gotten that personal."

Byrne did not explain what criticisms she was referring to.

Earlier, Byrne paid special attention to the women in her audience at the Park Shore East senior citizen apartments, 6250 S. Harper.

"I certainly think it's wonderful to see these gentlemen here, but ladies: If you had two men every night goin' at you, you'd know it's a real tough race," Byrne declared, to sympathetic chuckles.

Byrne started using the woman theme in several appearances Wednesday where the press was not invited, including one at Felician College for women where she said how "tough" it is to "have two men bootin' your head every day."

The mayor kicked off a day of campaigning Thursday by announcing the opening on Sunday, Feb. 27, of the first three stations of the CTA's O'Hare rapid transit extension.

The Harlem, Cumberland and River Rd. stations will open at 2:21 a.m. on the 27th, when the first train leaves the Jefferson Park station northbound.

The final station, at O'Hare, is scheduled to open this summer.

Byrne had hoped to open the first three stations before next Tuesday's primary, and workers on the $197 million project were under intense pressure from the mayor's office to complete them.

MAYOR BYRNE talks to reporters at the CTA's new River Rd. rapid transit station Thursday. (Sun-Times Photo by Keith Hale)

After an inspection ride on the line and press conference at the new River Rd. station, Byrne dashed to more than a dozen coffees and receptions on the South Side. It was her first full day wooing black voters in more than a week.

At the Park Shore East gathering of about 120 black seniors, she stressed her rehabilitation plans for the East 63rd Turn to Page 22

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Byrne: picked on because I'm female

Continued from Page 5

St. area and praised Leon Finney, executive director of The Woodlawn Organization, who introduced her.

The mayor abruptly canceled an appearance at Richard Daley College, 7500 S. Pulaski. Told she would not appear, the more than 300 students and faculty waiting in the auditorium cheered, waving Daley posters.

The CTA also is changing several bus routes to accommodate the new line.

Until the final O'Hare station is completed, the No. 40 O'Hare bus, which now runs from Jefferson Park to the airport, will operate 24 hours a day between the River Rd. station and O'Hare.

Other changes are:

- The No. 52 (Baylor Park) will be rerouted and will have stops at the River Rd. station by buying Park 72nd Ave. Lawrence and River Rd. both ends.
- The No. 53 (River Rd. Lawrence) will be rerouted by buying Park 72nd Ave. Lawrence and River Rd. both ends.
- The No. 54 (Ridgeland) will be rerouted by buying Park 72nd Ave. Lawrence and River Rd. both ends.
- The No. 55 (Walsh) will be rerouted by buying Park 72nd Ave. Lawrence and River Rd. both ends.
- The No. 56 (South Park) will be rerouted by buying Park 72nd Ave. Lawrence and River Rd. both ends.
- The No. 57 (Jefferson) will be rerouted by buying Park 72nd Ave. Lawrence and River Rd. both ends.
- The No. 58 (Woodlawn) will be rerouted by buying Park 72nd Ave. Lawrence and River Rd. both ends.
- The No. 59 (Davis) will be rerouted by buying Park 72nd Ave. Lawrence and River Rd. both ends.
- The No. 60 (Davis) will be rerouted by buying Park 72nd Ave. Lawrence and River Rd. both ends.
- The No. 61 (Hogan) will be rerouted by buying Park 72nd Ave. Lawrence and River Rd. both ends.
- The No. 62 (Hogan) will be rerouted by buying Park 72nd Ave. Lawrence and River Rd. both ends.
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Byrne has been good for city 2D-21

By Ira J. Bach

I have read with increasing dismay the press’ many listings of the failures and problems of Mayor Byrne’s administration. No attempt whatsoever has been made to list its many achievements. As the mayor’s director of city development during the last two years I have watched dozens of important projects developed and implemented. Among these accomplishments, which are significant and real, are the following:

In the area of transportation, the city has seen the rehabilitation of the Loop elevated and subway; completion of the CTA rapid transit extension to O’Hare and of the engineering phase of the Southwest Side extension to Midway; announcement of improvements to the 63d Street “L” in tandem with shopping and housing redevelopment; agreement on the O’Hare master plan and initiation of the Lake Shore Drive S-curve relocation.

In economic development, there has been the creation of the Department of Economic Development (DED) and the High Technology Task Force; the securing of AMGen, the first biogenetics plant outside of California or Massachusetts, and the removal of sales tax on steel products shipped out of state, permitting construction on U.S. Steel’s rail mill and the recalling of 150 workers (hopefully going up to 1,000 by late 1984).

In the North Loop the first bid was accepted from Libra Corp., groundbreaking is scheduled on the transportation center, two office/retail proposals are in hand and landmarks were designated, including the Chicago, Selwyn and Harris theater. The Chicago Options Exchange, Midwest Stock Exchange, Board of Trade and Mercantile Exchange were developed. The feasibility study for expansion of McCormick Place was completed, and agreement was reached with Rouse Co. to begin redevelopment of Navy Pier.

Above all is the securing of the World’s Fair, which will add 575 acres to the lakefront, 34,000 jobs, $750 million in revenues, and attract 53 million visitors. And let’s not overlook Goldblatt’s, which will become the new central library.

The area of community development boasts a $1 million energy conservation program, including distribution of weatherization kits to 20,000 persons, plus these ongoing improvements—105 miles of street reconstruction, 191 miles in resurfacing, 130 miles of sewer construction.

Looking to the future, this administration has completed the Chicago 1992 Comprehensive plan, initiated 11 Neighborhood Planning District advisory boards and developed a River Corridor Project, Chicago Dock and Canal property guidelines and a central area plan to be completed in March.

Intergovernmental cooperation under the Byrne administration has been enhanced by the O’Hare Advisory Committee, which includes 17 suburban mayors, exchange on water and regional transportation issues and collaboration with state agencies on economic development.

These achievements are substantial and growing. They contribute to the continued diversification of Chicago as a place in which to invest and live.

Do you have a Point of View on the news, on topical issues, on life? We will consider typed manuscripts of 500 words. Send them to Point of View, Chicago Tribune, 443 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60611. Include your daytime phone number.

Byrne defends three political allies

By Tim Franklin

MAYOR JANE BYRNE Friday defended three close political allies she said have been unfairly criticized in recent days.

They are William Griffin, her campaign manager; Michael Brady, Griffin’s business partner and a former state aide; and Charles Swibel, one of the mayor’s closest advisers.

All three have been accused of being involved—directly or indirectly—in the recent sale of Continental Air Transport Co., which holds a city franchise to shuttle passengers from downtown Chicago to O’Hare International Airport.

“The people all stated to me that they have no involvement in this,” the mayor told a press conference in City Hall. She said the accusations were “the result of politics” during the last week of the mayoral primary campaign.

GRIFFIN, BRADY and Swibel are not listed among the group of investors that bought Continental in December for $4 million from Checker Motors Corp. of Kalamazoo, Mich. The buyers are headed by Thomas Meagher, a longtime Checker employee who served as Continental’s president.

Reminded that the U.S. attorney’s office is looking into the Continental sale and possible city pressure to force it, the mayor said she welcomes the probe and will cooperate with federal investigators.

“We certainly don’t condone anything that would be wrong,” the mayor said. “All of our records are open to the U.S. attorney’s office.”

State’s Attorney Edward M. Daley, one of Byrne’s opponents in Tuesday’s primary, said Thursday that his office also will investigate the sale to determine if there was any conflict of interest in the activities of Brady and Griffin.

CONTROVERSY has developed over reports that Griffin and Brady explored the idea of becoming part owners of Continental while serving as Byrne appointees on public transit boards.

Griffin, who denied ever considering buying into Continental, served on the Regional Transportation Authority board which has a contract for suburban bus service with the company. Brady is a member of the Chicago Transit Authority board.

Griffin, who has been described as talking for himself and his partner, Brady, repeated Friday that Brady at one time considered joining the group buying Continental but lacked the money.

Additional controversy has arisen over accusations that Swibel warned Checker that the city would take away Continental’s lucrative routes if Checker continued to own it.

Wayne Hannah Jr., the lawyer for Checker who negotiated the sale, said that such warnings were issued, but by Meagher, not Swibel.

GRIFFIN HAS SAID he believes the mayor opposed Checker’s ownership of Continental because Checker also controls Chicago’s two biggest cab companies and thus held a virtual monopoly on public transportation to O’Hare.

In the press conference, Byrne announced the signing of a new 35-year airport use agreement with six major airlines.

Byrne said the agreement joins the city and the airlines in a new financing system for O’Hare operations, as well as an $850 million capital development program to be carried out at no cost to taxpayers. The airlines are American, Delta, Northwest, Orient, Trans World, United and U.S. Air.

Race for City Hall

By Tim Franklin

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GRIFFIN HAS SAID he believes the mayor opposed Checker’s ownership of Continental because Checker also controls Chicago’s two biggest cab companies and thus held a virtual monopoly on public transportation to O’Hare.

In the press conference, Byrne announced the signing of a new 35-year airport use agreement with six major airlines.

Byrne said the agreement joins the city and the airlines in a new financing system for O’Hare operations, as well as an $850 million capital development program to be carried out at no cost to taxpayers. The airlines are American, Delta, Northwest, Orient, Trans World, United and U.S. Air.
Byrne's pocketbook politics

If the Democratic primary has proved one thing, it's that the road to the mayor's office is not paved with good intentions. It is paved with gold, millions of dollars worth, flung upon the table in a spending orgy that is an embarrassment to our political system.

Never before in the history of municipal elections have so few spent so much in quest of so little—the power of a mayor's office. And when the voters go to the polls Tuesday, they should ask themselves "why?"

The only answer lies in the pocketbook politics of Jane Byrne and her band of coin collectors who obviously believe that everything in Chicago, even the votes of its citizens, is for sale.

In the last four years the mayor has raised and spent more than $8 million in an effort to legitimate her incumbency, which in fact is an unfortunate political accident brought on by a blizzard and the absentmindedness of Michael Bilandic. And in the last few months she has beaten her opponents and this city over the head with a bag of money until she turned this primary campaign into an advertising liar's contest where distortion is the price of admission.

What she has done in the process is further corrupt the politics of a city known for corrupt politics and to turn this particular election into a referendum on the morality of governing.

Jane Byrne's campaign—from her demure, dignified and stoic public self to the glossy portrait of the City of Chicago and its fiscal health under her leadership—is a fraud of the first order. If she had been as good a mayor as the honey voice of a David Sawyer commercial suggests, not only would she have no opposition, she would already have ascended into mayoral heaven, or wherever it is they send a municipal saint who is also a genius and statesman.

Unfortunately, her buy-and-sell job has been carried out with an efficiency never seen in her mayor's office. And her persistence in rewriting history and repainting her own image has so provoked her opponents and their supporters, including some elements of the media, that they too have trouble discerning fact from fiction.

The result has been a street brawl with Richard Daley, son of the former mayor, who has been struggling to raise enough money to match the mayor's television spending as his supporters try to plant pro-Daley or anti-Byrne stories in the media. Meanwhile Congressman Harold Washington, outgunned and underfunded, has been forced to rely more and more on the race issue in hopes of motivating his largely black constituency.

The great danger in all this is that the real issue in this election—the kind of local government Chicago will have in the next four years—may have been lost in a storm of mudslinging, innuendo and media manipulation.

Voters should not base their decision Tuesday on whether Jane Byrne is being treated unfairly because she is a woman. Or whether Richard Daley is just like his father or actually represents, as some seem to contend, the second coming. Nor should they care whether Harold Washington is black or whether it is time for the city's minorities to make a statement of political independence.

What really matters is how best to ensure that Chicago frees itself from under the money and muscle politics represented by Jane Byrne, Charles Swibel, Edward Vrdolyak and all the rest who have muzzled up or knuckled under to them in the last four years.

 Patronage, tough politics and hard fought elections are a way of life in Chicago. And that is as it should be. It is part of our landscape and the heart of our tradition. But the money-grubbing and arm-twisting that have marked the Byrne administration go far beyond the tradition that they make all the caricatures of Chicago politics seem like exercises in understatement.

From day one, this crowd has acted like kids taking over a candy store, the new rich loose on a spending spree in which the bills never come due and no one has to answer to anybody. Charge after charge of backroom dealing, consulting fee handouts and outright incompetence have been ignored completely or answered only with stammers, indignant looks, lies evasions or baldfaced lies.

The list of businessmen subjected to constant shakedowns for campaign contributions, of citizens being rewarded and punished on the basis of their support for the mayor, of political cronies and friends of cronies being handed the city's tax dollars, is as long as it should ever get.

Tuesday, the people have a chance to end all that. And under the circumstances, the best way to do it is vote for Richard Daley, who clearly offers the best hope for reform. Harold Washington is bright and articulate. But his proposals for solving the city's financial problems depend on the ridiculous idea that bundles of cash will come in from Washington and Springfield. Better representation for minorities is top priority on the Chicago agenda. But if a vote for Washington only ensures four more years of the Byrne administration, his showing will be a hollow victory indeed.

Under the circumstances, Daley appears far better equipped to deal with the urgent problems facing Chicago and its people. He has run the state's attorney's office well and been able to attract and hold bright, professional advisers. At this point in his young political life, he has a good record of public service, a family tradition of concern for the welfare of Chicago and a realistic approach to local government. And most important he has not botched the opportunity to prove that he is a man of his word and that he can handle the power of public office.
Byrne, who won with a blizzard, battles Daley-Washington storm

The Associated Press

CHICAGO — When Jane Byrne entered the 1979 mayoral race, political veterans laughed.
Incumbent Michael A. Bilandic was backed by the political machine. But Byrne won, with a little help from a blizzard that paralyzed the city and left the Bilandic administration buried in criticism of its handling of the storm.
Now it is Byrne who has the perks of a powerful office, former enemies who are now cronies and an enormous political war chest — $10 million raised since 1979.
But she faces tough opposition from Cook County prosecutor Richard M. Daley and U.S. Rep. Harold Washington, as well as critics' charges that her administration has been a four-year reign of chaos.
"I've made some mistakes, some big ones, but I've learned," she says in a political commercial. She points to vanishing red ink, and notes that Chicago has been selected to host the 1992 World's Fair.
It's all part of an image-building campaign that critics say has smoothed the mayor's rough edges and concealed combative nature beneath a veneer of calm. Her supporters counter by saying that four years in power have seasoned her.

The mayor's job approval stood at 48 percent in a Gallup poll published Saturday. That's down from a peak of 55 percent a month ago, but still an improvement over the 40 percent rating she recorded last fall.

When Rich Daley was a teen-ager, he was pretty much like any other kid on the De LaSalle High School basketball team — except for one thing. His nickname was "Mayor."
Everyone just assumed he would one day run for the City Hall job his father held for 21 years.
The 40-year-old Daley, known familiarly to friends and foes alike as "Richie," has unveiled a platform that takes in jobs programs, limits on campaign spending and open bidding on city contracts.
"I'm a little bit shy," admits the soft-spoken Daley, who has been taking speech lessons. "I'm not a glad-hander. I'm kind of quiet."
In some ways, Daley is much like his father. He still lives in the family neighborhood of Bridgeport and goes to Mass regularly. He jealously guards his private life.
His family has not escaped tragedy. His 2-year-old son, Kevin, who suffered from spina bifida, died in 1981.

When mourning his loss, Daley plunged deeper into Chicago's non-stop political wars.
"He hasn't been called mayor in a long time," said his press secretary, Bob Benjamin. "But we think he soon will be."

An old woman outside a meeting hall told Harold Washington, "You certainly do know how to talk."
That's what most Chicagoans have been noticing about the two-term congressman — that and one other thing.
If elected, the 60-year-old lawmaker would become Chicago's first black mayor. He could lay a fair claim to being the most powerful black politician in America.
Washington is hoping a split among white voters backing Byrne and Daley will combine with a big turnout in the predominantly black South and West Sides to enable him to win.
"I don't want to hear people tell me a black man can't run this town," he thundered in a storefront church. "I don't want to hear people tell me business is going to leave. Because they're telling me something about themselves, brings tears to my eyes."

A Northwestern University law school graduate, Washington started political life as a Democratic machine precinct captain. He served in the Illinois General Assembly for 12 years. He rode anti-machine fervor into the 1st District U.S. House seat in 1980.
He spent 30 days in the Cook County Jail in 1974 after pleading no contest to charges that he failed to file tax returns for five years. But Washington's 92 percent victory margin last fall indicated his South Side constituents didn't care.
Washington's platform includes promises of better schools, beefed-up police protection and street and bridge repairs.
Adlai charge of cash offer stirs flap

By Brian J. Kelly and Basil Talbott Jr.


Stevenson dropped Swibel's name while endorsing Daley, declaring that the Byrne confidant offered him "a substantial sum of money" for his 1982 gubernatorial campaign. Swibel demanded an endorsement of Byrne in return, Stevenson said.

Swibel could not be reached for comment. But Cook County Democratic Chairman Edward R. Vrdolyak defended him and called Stevenson "a liar," "a phony" and "a cheap-shot guy."

A source close to the Byrne campaign said Vrdolyak conferred with Byrne aides before making his attack, which the aides hoped would blunt the effect of Stevenson's endorsement.

Byrne sidestepped the controversy and referred all questions to Vrdolyak, who went on live television with a harsh statement.

Stevenson's remarks about Swibel were apparently inadvertent, as one Daley aide noted that he expected the press conference to center on state and city finances.

At the conference with Daley, Stevenson recounted his conversation with Swibel. "I said I would not make such a commitment, I am not influenced by money," he said.

"In all my years in politics, I have never been offered money on those terms. People know better."

Stevenson's campaign treasurer, attorney Milton Fisher, said he did not think Swibel used a specific dollar figure. He said the meeting took place at a Sept. 24, 1981, cocktail party celebrating the 100th anniversary of the law firm of Mayer Brown & Platt, where both Fisher and Stevenson are partners.

VRDOLYAK SAID HE talked to Swibel in Florida and Swibel denied making the offer. "I know Chuck Swibel and I believe him," Vrdolyak said.

Stevenson noted that neither Byrne nor Vrdolyak had asked for similar commitments. He said he was grateful to them for an eventual large contribution that came with "no strings attached."

Vrdolyak, visibly angry, said at a press conference that he had asked Stevenson to endorse Byrne last Friday.

"He said he would rather stay out of the race," Vrdolyak read from a prepared statement. "He would give it some thought and get back to me. He didn't. Adlai, in my neighborhood they would have a lot of words for a cheap-shot guy like you, but right now phony suits you best."

"We didn't buy his endorsement, nor would we pay his price. Apparently, someone else has," Vrdolyak said. He refused to explain the remark.

He did, however, produce a letter dated Jan. 14 from Stevenson to Byrne, which said that $46,000 was still due on the party's campaign pledge. In a phrase which Vrdolyak suggested was a tacit indication that an endorsement was contingent on the money, Stevenson wrote, "I would be more grateful [for the money] in view of your own campaign requirements."

Fisher said there was nothing implied by the letter, but conceded, "it should have been phrased differently."

IN ENDORSING DALEY, Stevenson said voters faced a choice between "excellence and stability in government... or Chicago continues as a kind of backwater best known for its sordid politics."

Stevenson said the mayor was "spending more than the governor, more than John F. Kennedy spent to be elected president. "In America today elections can be bought. Truth can be lost, the big lie can win."

Then he referred to Thompson's "slick, expensive television ads that told us the state was in strong financial shape," and said now, after the election, Illinois was facing a tax hike.

In other campaign news Monday, U.S. Rep. Harold Washington called for the resignation of City Colleges Chancellor Oscar E. Shabat, assailing him for last week's shutdown of the Loretto Adult Education Center and the Woodlawn Prep School. He accused Shabat of a lack of sensitivity to the plights of area residents and Hispanics.

Shabat said it was "absolutely untrue that we moved the Loretto program to Kennedy-King because we wanted to get away from the Woodlawn area."

He said the Loretto facility had 16 fire code violations, some major.

Byrne made several brief campaign stops, lunching with Polish community leaders on the Northwest Side, then stopping at two West Side senior citizen centers.
Byrne shifts tactics, attacks Daley spending

Says $400,000 sought for consultants’ fees

By David Axelrod
and Thom Shanker

MAYOR JANE BYRNE, who has come under fire from State’s Atty. Richard Daley for hiring outside consultants and allowing the city budget to balloon, launched similar charges against Daley in a speech late Tuesday.

Departing from her strategy of ignoring her opponents, Byrne accused Daley of requesting $400,000 in consulting contracts for the state's attorney's office since the first of the year.

Moreover, she said the budget for the state’s attorney’s office has increased 42 percent under Daley's administration.

“My opponents have gone a little bit too far on some of their so-called facts,” said Byrne, in telling 14th Ward Democratic workers why she has taken the offensive in the closing days of the campaign.

Daley’s spokesman acknowledged that his budget has grown from $22.5 million to $26.9 million because of expansion and absorbing several programs that the federal government discontinued.

“OUR BUDGET WENT up under 20 percent during the last two years,” said Frank Kruesi, an aide to Daley. “During that same period, the budget for Mayor Byrne’s law department went up 41 percent.

“And in his entire tenure as state’s attorney, there has been less than $100,000 spent on consulting contracts.”

Despite Byrne’s apparent change of strategy and the fact that the Cook County Democratic organization has borrowed another $250,000 to boost her candidacy,

State’s Atty. Richard Daley and his wife, Maggie, accompany presidential hopeful Walter Mondale at the Palmer House Tuesday where Mondale pledged his support to Daley’s mayoral bid.

Burke and Bernie Carey would beat me. So I’m not too concerned about his predictions.”

FORMER MAYOR Michael Bilandic was upset by Byrne, and Burke and Carey were Daley’s unsuccessful primary and general election opponents in the race for state’s attorney.

Vrdolyak also predicted that Byrne would receive, more than 50 percent of the city’s black vote. But Washington said later that the chairman’s prediction was “way off” and signaled panic among Byrne supporters.

“It’s deliberately off. Designedly off. I think they’re panicky,” Washington said. “We’re winning. We may get close to 50 percent of the vote... I doubt if the mayor will get 10 percent of the black vote.”

Despite his expressed confidence, Vrdolyak’s organization borrowed more money for the mayor’s campaign last week, bringing its total contribution to $450,000 in recent weeks. The mayor has raised nearly $10 million in political contributions since 1973 and began the race with a $4 million campaign chest.

BUT VRDOLYAK Insisted that the organization’s last-minute aid was not a sign of trouble.

“We like to help out our candidates, that’s all,” he said. “It does not mean she is out of money.”

Vrdolyak also defended his own prolific fundraising, acknowledging that he has raised more than $1 million for his political coffers since mid-1980.

“I have spent about every dime of that money,” said Vrdolyak, who is running for re-election in 10th Ward alderman. ‘But it’s not just for the 10th Ward. I’ve made contributions to every major candidate, statewide and countywide, and I’ve helped out other ward organizations.”

Vrdolyak also distributed a letter from a Delaware firm that he said is negotiating to purchase the shuttered Wisconsin Steel plant in his ward.

A LAWYER FOR OTS Development Corp, told Vrdolyak in the letter that it has made a tentative offer of $7.5 million for the plant. If it completes the negotiations, the company will re-employ 2,000 steelworkers within two years, according to the firm.
Daley cites increase of convictions

The number of persons convicted of felony drug offenses in Cook County increased 25.1 percent in 1981 over 1980 while the number of prison sentences handed down for drug crimes went up 29.7 percent, according to figures from the state court system.

The increases were for the most part due to tougher drug prosecution policies implemented by the Narcotics Unit of the State's Attorney's Office, which was formed by Richard Daley in 1981. The Unit only became fully operational in late spring of that year and 1982 increases in both felony drug convictions and sentences should be considerably higher, Daley said.

"The Narcotics Unit has been making rapid progress in its task of taking drug dealers off the streets of Cook County. The drug dealer is the most dangerous person in society, because of the threat he poses to children and teens, and because of the thousands of burglaries, robberies and other crimes that can be traced to drug abuse," Daley said.

Figures released by the Administrative Office of the Illinois Courts, the statistical arm of the Illinois Supreme Court, show that in 1980, 2,374 persons were convicted of felony drug offenses (delivery and possession of higher amounts of controlled substances). The 1981 figure was 2,970, a 25.1 percent increase.

Similarly, 791 persons were sentenced to prison for terms of up to 30 years for drug offenses in 1981, a 29.7 percent increase over the 1980 figure of 610.

Even greater increases were registered in the number of persons, both adult and juveniles, who successfully completed the State's Attorney's Office's First-Time Offenders Program. A program open to all persons with no previous drug abuse record who are charged with possession only of a small amount of drugs.

Successful completion of the program requires attendance at five three-hour weekend drug abuse education programs conducted by professional counselors.
Out of boss' shadow, Daley projects solid image

By Brian J. Kelly

Richard M. Daley, who made his political debut as the rumpled, 28-year-old son of the boss of Chicago, has emerged with a record that fits him like a well-tailored suit.

From a ragged start in Springfield as one of the boys from Chicago, Daley now presents himself as a legislator with a record of accomplishment in social reform and as a hard-nosed prosecutor who kept his promises to get tough on crime. It is an image that has faced little challenge from his mayoral opponents.

Daley's first elective office, mandated by his father, the late Mayor Richard J. Daley, was as a delegate to the state Constitutional Convention in 1970. Two years later he was elected to the state Senate when his father asked the incumbent to retire.

Some of those who served with him describe the early years as uneventful. He was hardworking, kept to himself and voted the way the Chicago Democrats voted—which meant against such things as election reform and for patronage.

"From the day he arrived, everybody knew he was the mayor's son," said Sen. Terry L. Bruce (D-Orland). "I don't think he could have spoken out if he wanted to because his every move was perceived as a signal from the mayor."

In 1975, Daley took a higher public profile when he became chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee. The Chicago Machine was at war with Dan Walker, the state's reform governor, and Daley was a frontline officer. He beat down numerous reform bills in such areas as consumer rights—often simply because they carried the name of a legislator out of favor with Chicago.

It is from this period that Daley's current critics draw most of their ammunition, though supporters contend that it is unfair to reach conclusions about his political beliefs from those votes.

"There was a lot of internal politics going on at that time," said Frank Kruesi, then a legislative staffer and now a top Daley campaign aide.

The one area where Daley makes no qualifications—and where he has faced repeated criticism from some women's groups—is in his votes to restrict abortion.

"His record is consistent on that and it reflects his personal views," Kruesi said. "We just don't think it has anything to do with a mayoral campaign."

Then came Dec. 20, 1976, and the death of Mayor Daley. The considerable shadow was gone and the son was suddenly on his own. The younger Daley proved an effective legislator as he pushed through bills on nursing-home and mental health reform.

The mayor's race

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Daley projects strong image

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form that won him grudging respect and finally alliances with Springfield liberals.

In the summer of 1979 he took the lead on an issue that, for the first time, put him squarely opposite the mayor of Chicago. The Democrats had passed a long-sought bill to phase out the sales tax on food and medicine. Gov. Thompson vetoed it.

Daley led the fight to override the veto but was stymied as Mayor Byrne helped Thompson marshal the votes to hold him off. "That was the day Daley stepped from the ranks," said Doug Whitley of the Taxpayers Federation of Illinois.

Two months later, in November, 1979, Daley announced he would run for state's attorney of Cook County. He ran an issue-oriented campaign, keeping his promises simple and, it turned out, attainable.

In juvenile crime and narcotics and gang prosecutions, the numbers show strong gains no matter how they're figured. Daley also has been active in tax collection, opposing utility increases and hiring minorities and women to staff his office.

The main criticism coming from judges and defense attorneys is that Daley's prosecutors have been almost fanatical about taking to trial many cases that would have been plea-bargained before. The effect, said one lawyer, is to "clog up the court call with small-time dope dealers."

Part of that pressure may ease after the election. A Daley fear has been that with such a sensitive office to run, one of his subordinates might make a wrong decision that could result in damaging headlines.

Contributing to this story were Rosalind Rossi and Charles N. Wheeler III.
Daley to probe sale of O’Hare bus company

By Basil Talbott Jr.
Sun-Times Political Editor

State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley said Thursday his office will investigate sale of the bus company serving O’Hare Airport while William Griffin contended news reports of the controversy were orchestrated by a Daley aide.

Daley also suggested that mayoral campaign manager Griffin and two other Byrne advisers reportedly involved in dealings over the sale—Michael I. Brady and Charles R. Swibel—quit their government posts.

Meanwhile, the head of the Chicago bus drivers’ union said Griffin and Brady should be ousted from their seats on the RTA and CTA boards, respectively. Swibel is a member of the library board.

And House Democrats in Springfield blocked a Republican call for a legislative investigation.

Daley, running against Byrne in Tuesday’s Democratic mayoral primary, said he will remove himself from his office’s investigation. It will be headed by Jeffrey Kent, head of special prosecutions, in cooperation with the

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Daley to probe sale of O’Hare bus company

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U.S. attorney’s office.

The federal investigation was announced Wednesday after Sun-Times columnist Mike Royko disclosed the bus company was sold under pressure from Swibel and that Brady sought financing to buy into it with Griffin’s help.

Griffin contended Royko’s column and criticism flowing from it were orchestrated by consultant Phil Krone, a Daley adviser who he said has a profit motive. Krone worked for the concern that sold the bus company and counseled a union that has called for Griffin’s resignation, Griffin said.

“Serious allegations” have been made about the sale of Continental Air Transport Co. and the extension of a lucrative city contract for O’Hare bus service, Daley said in an interview for WMAQ-AM’s “Chicago News Conference.” The program will be aired at 9 p.m. Sunday.

Daley said Brady and Griffin as transit agency board members acted improperly by getting involved with a private competitor in the transportation field.

Singling out Griffin, Brady and Swibel as Byrne’s worst appointments, Daley indicated if he is elected he would try to force them out of their board posts.

John M. Weatherspoon, president of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, said, “When we find that Griffin and Brady are more concerned with their own business deals than operating mass transit effectively, it’s time for them to go.”

Byrne has denied knowledge of her advisers’ involvement in the affair and denounced the Sun-Times for “personal, vitriolic” attacks.

In Wednesday’s Sun-Times, Royko wrote that Swibel pressured Continental to sell out or sacrifice its exclusive city contract at O’Hare.

Royko added that Griffin and Brady sought bank financing for Brady to buy into the firm, although neither man now is listed as an owner of MMB Inc. MMB bought Continental from Checker Motor Co. in December shortly before the City Council extended the O’Hare bus contract to Continental.

Griffin said the column and Weatherspoon’s attack were orchestrated by Krone, who wants to reimpose “the illegal and immoral Checker monopoly on transportation” in Chicago. Griffin said Krone worked for Checker and is a paid adviser to Weatherspoon.

Since Checker, a Michigan firm, also owns Chicago’s two biggest taxicab companies, it dominated transit to O’Hare, Griffin explained.

“It is an effort by Krone to assure that the Daley family gets the insurance business from Checker and that the company is able to sell its [cab] medallions and jalousies at $20,000 apiece—something this administration wouldn’t permit.”

Krone couldn’t be reached for comment. William Daley said Krone is a campaign adviser but he knew nothing about Griffin’s allegations.

In Springfield, the GOP effort to launch an immediate investigation was defeated on a 50-45 vote.

Assistant Minority Leader Jack Davis (R-New Lenox) said Royko’s allegations involve “what looks to be extortion on its face.”

Noting that the sale of Continental to a group of investors faces approval by the Illinois Commerce Commission, he said, “these allegations must be cleared up before” the panel acts.

Also contributing to this story was Charles N. Wheeler Ill.
4,500 hear Daley hit Byrne ads
By Douglas Frantz

STATE'S ATTY. Richard Daley kicked off the final weekend of the Democratic mayoral race Friday night by urging the largest, most enthusiastic crowd of his campaign not to be sidetracked by television commercials or polls.

About 4,500 partisans filled the historic Medinah Temple at 600 N. Wabash Ave. for an old-fashioned Chicago political rally. They waved hundreds of placards and chanted, "Daley, Daley, Daley!"

Greeted with an ear-splitting ovation, a grinning Daley responded by promising, "For the next three days, we're going to remind the people of the city of what has happened for four long years of broken promises. The mayor's word is no good."

He accused Mayor Jane Byrne and her advisers of trying to buy votes with television commercials and sell the city to campaign contributors. "As long as I am mayor, this city never again will be offered for sale," Daley said.

WARNING HIS supporters to ignore polls, some of which have shown him trailing, Daley said: "I believe that the people of Chicago will show that polls and computers will not dictate their choice about who will serve in public office."

Daley's attack on Byrne's television campaign, which has become a prominent weapon in his arsenal, took on a humorous touch when a six-member dance company performed on stage to the tune of "New York, New York." The number was dedicated to David Sawyer, Byrne's media adviser from New York.

After Daley finished his speech, he and his wife, Maggie, moved around the edge of the huge stage, shaking hands and waving.

The message from a Daley ally who was not present was similar to the one delivered by those who were there. "Damn the polls, full speed ahead," said a telegram from former U.S. Sen. Adlai Stevenson, who confounded the pollsters by turning what had been expected to be a one-sided defeat into a close contest in the gubernatorial election last Nov. 2.

A HOST OF familiar faces from the Daley camp preceded him to the stage.

Cook County Board President George Dunne received an ovation second only to Daley's, and he reacted by telling the crowd, "For the past 3½ months, the City of Chicago has been subjected to the biggest deception job that the advertising world has ever put together."

Daley spent most of the earlier part of the day campaigning on the city's Northwest Side, which is expected to be a pivotal arena in his confrontation with Byrne.

"I'm leading and I can feel it in my campaign," Daley said during a stop at a restaurant on North Lincoln Avenue, where his 47th Ward organizer predicted that Daley would carry the ward despite the efforts on behalf of Byrne by Democratic committeeman Edmund Kelly."
Daley stumps on key battleground

By Douglas Frantz

STATE'S ATTY. Richard Daley took his campaign for mayor Sunday to what for him is a crucial battleground, urging a huge rally of Northwest Side residents to turn out the vote for him in Tuesday's Democratic primary.

"Call a few more of your neighbors and friends and relatives and disregard the desperation of the mayor," Daley shouted to a noisy, overflow crowd of 3,500 at the White Eagle Restaurant in Niles.

"Get out there and work, work, work," echoed Eleanor "Sis" Daley, who shared the platform with her son; his wife, Maggie; and U.S. Rep. Daniel Rostenkowski (D., Ill.).

The appeal was repeated at several other stops as the state's attorney sought to gain a vital edge in Northwest Side neighborhoods.

DALEY SAID several times that he expects to win the primary, but a strong showing on the Northwest Side is essential if he is to do so.

The state's attorney expects to run strongest on his home turf, the Southwest Side, where his advisers say he may pile up an 80,000-vote margin over Mayor Jane Byrne. Byrne strategists say the margin will be half that figure.

But Daley must run nearly even with Byrne on the Northwest Side, because she is expected to pick up a bigger share of the black and North Side lakefront vote.

Daley campaign aides describe the Northwest Side as having been a "growth area" for them in recent days, and they say they now expect Daley to win some of the area's wards, such as the 45th, and run strongly in others, such as the 47th.

THE HOST at the White Eagle rally was Matthew Biesczac, one of only three Democratic committee men on the Northwest Side supporting Daley. Earlier Sunday, Thomas Lyons, the 45th Ward committee man, held a smaller rally for Daley.

"We have stayed on the issues and we knew where we were going and I'm proud of the race we have run," Daley said at Lyons' rally. "We're going to win, not for one group but for the people of the City of Chicago.

"After meeting with a group of Hispanic women, Daley ended his day on the Southwest Side, where he delivered the same message to a gathering of firefighters and a polka party.

In the neighborhoods where he and Byrne are going head-to-head for the vote, Daley contrasted himself to Byrne, portraying her as divisive while he strives for unity.

DALEY ALSO used every campaign stop Sunday to blast the mayor and her backers, saying she had injected race into the contest in the waning days. He accused Byrne of trying to frighten away his white supporters by portraying the contest as a two-way battle between the mayor and U.S. Rep. Harold Washington (D., Ill.), a black.

"There are three [major] candidates," Daley said. "There has always been three. What they [Byrne and her campaign aides] are trying to do is divide the people of the city."

The possibility that Daley's support on the key Northwest Side could be weakened by the racial issue has caused concern among the state's attorney's campaign strategists. Some believe a Daley victory may depend on the tactic's being ignored or on its creation of a pro-Daley backlash.
Editorial

No end to the Mayor’s friends

It seems there is no end to the friends and friends-of-friends of Mayor Jane Byrne. And, it seems to follow, there is no end to the friends and friends-of-friends of Mayor Byrne granted lucrative, useless city consulting contracts.

This, to borrow a phrase from the mayor, is the Byrne record she is proud to be running on.

Our sister newspaper, the Daily Southtown Economist, unearthed yet another useless “PR” consulting contract issued to a friend-of-a-friend of Mayor Byrne.

This one is for $35,800 and was issued—without public bidding—to Irma Claudio, president of Carlo/Claudio Associates Inc., 549 W. Randolph St., Chicago. The contract, awarded Sept. 1, 1982, is to improve the public relations of the Chicago Department of Health.

Claudio is a former employee of mayoral consultant William Griffin. Regular readers may recall that a similar—although much bigger—$98,000 contract had once been granted to the consulting firm of Brady, Griffin and Associates Inc. That contract was canceled four days after the Daily Southtown Economist questioned the need for such “public relations” when the department of health already had a $221,000, 10-man “PR” staff.

The cancellation came in May. So, or so it seems, the department of health suffered without outside “PR” help all through the summer. However, in September the mayor awarded the smaller contract to Claudio, who would have supervised the original $98,000 contract as an employee of Brady and Griffin.

We suspect, of course, that the mayor merely waited for the political smoke to clear before granting the new contract.

Have you ever wondered what a $35,800 consulting contract is or what service might be rendered under such a contract?

Well, here’s what you get for $35,800 of public relations advice:

The contract calls for three specific areas of public relations consulting.

They are:

● To “raise public awareness and understanding” of the Department of Health’s Infant Mortality Project. The objectives include “im-
proving the working relationship between the Department of Health and area hospitals," and improving "the public's understanding of the public's role in reducing infant mortality."

- To "encourage city residents to adopt healthful attitudes in behavior, develop the perception of the Department of Health as an organization aimed at maintaining health."
- To "support the commissioner's efforts to get the public to understand that they have a stake in maintaining their own health, and to have a better understanding of the Department of Health and its service capabilities."

Each of the above three objectives has a specific price tag, according to the contract.

The cost of raising the public's understanding of the city's infant mortality program is $3,000 to develop it, $4,000 for producing it, and $2,000 for executing the plan.

The cost of encouraging "healthful attitudes" among the city's residents is $6,000 for development of a plan, $5,000 for producing it, and $5,000 for execution of the plan.

The cost of getting the public to understand that they should care for their own health is $4,200 for development, $3,600 for the production, and $3,000 for executing the plan.

The contract is to expire on Sept. 1, 1983.

This contract is a clearcut waste of taxpayers money. It is ridiculous to even imagine that public health officials couldn't accomplish any one of the undefined, abstract objectives listed.

During Byrne's administration, the number of consulting contracts has multiplied like rabbits. Byrne, during the campaign, cites these contracts as if they were good for the city. She seems to believe that the fact that the total value of such contracts has jumped from $6 million to $40 million is a plus and something to be proud of.

One could only be proud if one wanted to secure the favor of the contractors and not those who are paying the bill through their taxes.
Ruth Love denies backing Byrne

by Chinta Strausberg

The question arose as a result of her WBEZ radio program titled "Dr. Love Reports", which aired Monday night, when a caller told of receiving Mayor Byrne's political literature that allegedly pictured Dr. Love and Byrne together "implying an endorsement."

When contacted, Dr. Love said, "I am not endorsing Mayor Byrne."

A Byrne aide said she was not aware of any literature picturing the two together and said, "I don't know if Love has endorsed anyone."

Another caller said that Byrne was responsible for bringing Dr. Love to Chicago, but Love hastily denied this.

The mayor's press secretary said, "Mayor Byrne may have talked about meeting a commitment back in 1979 that a Black would be named as general superintendent, but the process of selection is pretty well known."

But former board member, Leon Davis said, "I think it is improper for the superintendent of schools to endorse a political candidate or for that matter, the superintendent of police."

"Byrne is not responsible for bringing Dr. Love here, and I think the mayor is a desperate lady who is trying to get re-elected and is doing anything to get a vote. Yet, the more desperate she becomes...is becoming a turnoff to the public."

Davis added, "I don't think people want a mayor who allowed the police department to alter crime statistics and forced the police superintendent to make TV ads for her. I don't think the people want a mayor who forces the general superintendent to use the school system as a political tool, and I applaud Dr. Love for not doing this. I think the people are looking for a stable government."

Board terms for Davis and board member Michael Scott were not renewed by Mayor Byrne who ousted them in favor of two white women, who reportedly were against mandatory busing. According to Davis and Love, the Board of Education established a search committee to find a candidate for the general superintendent of schools. An Evanston search firm was also involved.

After comparative reviews of numerous resumes, the committee narrowed the choices to three Black candidates of which Dr. Love was one. Two applicants refused and Dr. Love entered into negotiations with the board on March 25, 1981 and signed a $120,000 contract.

At that time Dr. Angeline Caruso was acting general superintendent. When the board voted on the matter, Davis said that if Dr. Love was the mayor's choice, her supporters on the board did not indicate this. He added, "There was an attempt by some white board members to dismantle the whole process."
Our endorsement

Watch Jane run. Mayor Jane Byrne is running again. Our question is WHO RUNS JANE BYRNE?

We don’t know for sure, but we have a damn good idea.

States Attorney Richard M. Daley requested a conference with our Editorial Committee, so did Congressman Harold Washington.

We met with both of them and learned quite a lot.

However, Jane is still running and has not had an opportunity to stop by, nor have those who run Jane Byrne contacted us to ask if we might like to catch her.

Some months ago an Urban League survey said that among the daily newspapers in Chicago, we had less power with Blacks in Chicago than the other dailies.

We have never claimed that the Defender has power in the Black community. We do claim that the Defender does its homework and knows what’s going on in Chicago (both Black and white).

Therein lies our POWER, REAL POWER. We will always call the shots as we see them.

Mayor Byrne has announced and implemented a few programs we thought were good for Chicago, but her follow through has been zero.

WHY?

Some months ago, those who run Mayor Jane Byrne wanted to compromise the Defender for its Editorial support. During our 77 years in existence, the Defender’s endorsement has never been for sale, and it is not for sale now.

If Jane Byrne does not know what her bosses are doing, she ought to know now.

Jane, according to the polls, seems to be running ahead of all others. If she wins we hope she won’t be too tired to listen to a few competent Blacks for the best interest of Chicago.

States Attorney Richard M. Daley is also running hard for the Mayor’s office.

There is a little we can say about his record since he has been in the political arena.

He now boasts of his record as States Attorney in hiring Blacks. That’s fine, but over the years he has not championed the cause of all people in Chicago, especially Blacks.

Daley is a nice fellow and we hope he will grow as time moves on.

The other two candidates William R. Markowski and the other Black in the race for Mayor, Sheila Jones, haven’t even left the starting gate.

We endorse Harold Washington for Mayor of Chicago.

We endorse and recommend that you vote for Washington, not because he is Black, (he is Black), but we are convinced that he can bring this City of Chicago together.

In spite of his far record with IRS, etc., he’s much more of a man than some politicians we know who should be in jail. They just haven’t been caught yet.

His ability to understand all people, their needs and aspirations is a great asset that others could emulate.

While he plans to include qualified Blacks in his administration, his first priority is to surround himself with qualified persons who can help him run the second largest city in the country and bring credibility and sound financial stability to our city.

The white corporate community is not with Washington. We are certain, however, that when he becomes Mayor, or it will be convinced that he is an excellent administrator and equal to our State Comptroller Roland Burris, who happens to be Black.

Chicago has been called “The most segregated city in the nation.” Harold Washington can change that awful and damaging fact.

Congressman Harold Washington is running, with determination, a close race next to Jane. Vote for him and see him win.
WE’RE FOR HAROLD!

HERE’S WHY

There comes a time in every person’s life when they must stop what they are doing and take a long hard look at themselves. In full view, a person must stop to make an honest assessment of what is seen through clear sober eyes. There can be no frills, no excuses, no justifying . . . just an honest hard look at where they have been, where they are and where they think they are going.

Many things must be weighed. Valued judgments must be ascertained but above all else reality must be maintained. A person may lie to other people for many reasons, and under various circumstances but when a person’s lies to one’s self, they commit a cardinal injustice not only to themselves but to everyone else around them. In life there is always a day of reckoning.

For black people, that day of reckoning is here. The day that has been whispered and talked about for many generations, by Blacks across the country, has come and stands in full view for all to see. Today is assessment time for Black folks — the
moment that we as a race have so conveniently postponed for many years.

We, the editorial board of the Chicago Crusader Newspaper, have come face to face with reality. We stopped, looked into the mirror of yesterday, today and tomorrow. We made assessments. And we concluded, in all good consciousness, that this publication must give its support to CONGRESSMAN HAROLD WASHINGTON for MAYOR of the city of Chicago.

We endorse him not because his face is of a tawny brown but because he is the BEST and MOST qualified for the job. We endorse him because he is more experienced in governmental affairs and the most knowledgeable of all the candidates. We need not mention his oratorical gift and his commitment to the disenfranchised.

This country prides itself in the concept that if you study hard, work hard and become the best at what you do that you will have success in the palm of your hand. We are taught from birth that the road to a better life is to get educated, gain experience, be better than your competition and become "qualified." It is said that "only in America can every child aspire to become president." It is in this concept that we endorse Mr. Washington.

We too have heard the unfounded myth, designed to promote self-hate in Blacks, that if a Black becomes the chief executive of this city all neighborhood services will cease. Nothing could be further from the truth. Services in the Black and Latino communities are now lacking and insufficient. Already minority communities are the first to experience service cuts when the money runs out or a problem arises. A case in point is the blatant denial of services by the former Mayor Michael Bilandic. During the now-famous snow that swept the current Mayor, Jane Byrne, into office a problem arose about the CTA transporting citizens to and from their jobs. Bilandic weighed the situation and decided to let Blacks and other inner-city residents stand in the freezing cold waiting for buses and El trains that would never arrive. But he provided continuous transportation for other citizens and suburbanites. He had no problem in making a decision, based, not on the needs of all citizens, but only on the needs of HIS people. The decision was clear—minorities were secondary in priorities. The concept remains.

Other politicians, since the advent of wooing
We're for Harold...

(Continued from page 1)

votes, have always promised the poor, the needy, and the minority an IOU on the future. They come into the neighborhood, not as Greeks bearing gifts, but as a visitor coming to a dinner, bringing only an appetite. They eat and leave the host a loud belch. Those who do bring something to the meal with them, bring a dish that have the substance of a backbone. And only the poor knows just how filling neckbones may look on the surface. Mr. Washington cannot afford to be so careless — that is why we endorse him.

We remember too well the warning of recent candidate Adlai Stevenson who sought the Governor's seat. He was not believed. Two weeks after his defeat the public learned indeed that taxes must be raised. In fact, the Governor has asked that most taxes be doubled or dire consequences are ahead. Mr. Washington has claimed that new revenue must be raised to keep the city operating. He offered a fair, adequate, efficient and flexible plan. He said that the City budget must be reduced through elimination of waste and padding. We believe he speaks the truth. The other candidates claim that new revenues are unnecessary. Do we want a repeat of the governor's race? No, for that reason we endorse Mr. Washington.

Mr. Washington supports collective bargaining for all city employees, including those unionized workers who currently work under a "handshake" agreement. He proposes to establish a commission with union representation to review and recommend reform if the unionization of the current "unrepresented" city workers create financial problems.

Mr. Washington saw hidden problems with the World's Fair in 1993. He asked who would be displaced? He asked how many homes would be lost in the Black community? He asked who would get the jobs and money? For raising the issue we support him.

Mr. Washington has the skills and expertise to manage the office of Mayor. He has inroads into the federal government and access to many Congressmen. For this we endorse him.

We dismiss the charge of income tax evasion. The fact is that Mr. Washington did pay his taxes, he only failed to report to the government by filing an income tax return. He paid his debt. He spent some time locked up. His oversight should not follow him to his grave, especially since he made both physical and monetary restitution. He was man enough to admit he was wrong and set out to right that wrong. For that we support him.

The recent flap about owing Peoples Gas Company for a past due $800, seems like reaching for straws. Everyone in this city can testify to the rapid spiraling cost of utilities and we believe that there is not one medium income person in addition to poor people who don't owe a utility company. Again he settled his debt.

There are many other good reasons why Harold Washington will make a better mayor but space will not permit elaboration. However, we do suggest that our readers look at the facts, the figures and the records of all three candidates. Ask questions, research and attend some of the rallies and then make your choice in the voting booth on February 22.
Why we back Washington

"THIS TIME PUNCH NINE"—FOR MAYORAL CANDIDATE HAROLD WASHINGTON.

Our endorsement of Harold Washington probably comes as no surprise to anyone. However, we do feel that it is absolutely necessary that we lay out the reasons in calm and deliberate terms, out of respect for the opinions of those who agree or disagree with us.

We support Washington not simply because he’s Black (although we make no pretense of being squeamish on that point); we support him because he is indisputably the most qualified of the three candidates, something that not even the white media disputes but, nonetheless, engages in all kind of obfuscations and tortuous reasoning to buttress their editorial backing of Richard Daley.

We understand clearly why the white press chooses to support Daley and not Byrne; we also clearly understand why it chooses not to back the candidate most qualified for the job. Chicago did not earn its title as the most segregated city in the nation for nothing. Just as most whites were not ready or willing to make concessions in the South that many of them in their hearts knew were right,

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Why we back Harold Washington

white Chicagoans, for the most part, are yet unwilling to act on what many of them know is fair and forthright.

The palpable fear on the part of whites is that a Washington Administration would compel them to re-orient things too much, particularly their psychic vibrations vis-a-vis the Black community. At bottom, it is not, as some have proclaimed, a fear that Chicago would become, under a Black mayor, a boarded-up tumbleweed version of the Kalahari desert; no, most intelligent and thoughtful whites know that the deterioration of Urban America occurred under white, not Black, leadership; that the Black mayors, for the most part, have done admirable jobs under far more trying circumstances than their predecessors had to face. Anywhere you look—Los Angeles, Montgomery, Atlanta, Newark, Washington, Detroit, etc.—Black mayors have done as well or better than their white predecessors.

Even some Blacks are quick to point to Gary, Ind. as an example of what would happen if a Black became mayor of Chicago. Notwithstanding the fact that Gary was on an economic skid before Hatcher came to power in 1967, Gary is the exception, not the rule, for the cities administered by Blacks. It is quickly forgotten that Gary was known as “Sin City” under the leadership of white mayors, several of whom ended up in the slammer for all manner of skullduggery. By any fair measurement, Mayor Hatcher has done a credible job under the most difficult circumstances.

Unlike Gary, Detroit and some of the other cities with Black mayors, Chicago is not a one-industry town. Hence there is a sound industrial infrastructure that a seasoned, experienced and foresighted leader can build on.

We think that leader is Harold Washington. He is more qualified than his two opponents combined. Chicago cannot stand another four years of Mayor Byrne’s erratic and unstable leadership. In those things cosmetic-ChicagoFest, Taste of Chicago, Loop Alive, Folk Music Fest—Byrne has proven to be innovative and entertaining; in those things that strike us where we live and work—taxes, transportation, jobs, crime, providing a climate conducive to the development of businesses—Byrne’s has fallen far short.

And despite her claims to the contrary, minorities hold fewer city jobs relative to their percentage in the population than they did under Mayor Daley. During the 1970s, the proportion of Black and Hispanic Chicagoans jumped from 40 percent to 54 percent. But the proportion of minority employees is only 81 percent, according to figures filed by the city with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. There are 37,720 city employees. Of these, 26,044 are white, 10,144 are Black, and only 1,182 are Hispanic. Relative to Blacks, Byrne’s Administration has been marked by childish-like Indian giving: She initially increased the number of Blacks on the Board of Education then reduced it to three to make way for two foes of school busing (her recent appointment of a fourth Black to the board
Washington is the best hope

By Quentin Young

I have a great advantage over most other Chicagoans. As my congressman, Harold Washington served the 1st District with such skill and political excellence that when he announced for mayor in November I knew the city was in luck. Let me share the reasons for my enthusiasm and invite the thoughtful citizen to vote for him.

First, his opponents. They represent the best and the worst of the old politics of spoil and patronage.

The best is Richard Daley who, while he cannot be labeled guilty by parental association, does offer us nonetheless a little more than a dry-cleaned version of the patrid past. His vision of an uncorrupt party organization, no new taxes and a return to a golden past is a form of ancestor worship that denies the essential evil of the machine politics that spawned his father, Michael Bilandic and the incumbent boss.

But Jane Byrne is the worst, mainly because in 1979 she tapped into the public passion for something better and different and then went on to kill that dream. She rules us through Charles Swibel and Ed Vrdolyak, the very evil cabal she promised to banish. Her lavish media blitz flows from $10 million extorted from her ser-

Dr. Quentin Young is on Harold Washington's Citizens Committee.

Point of view

vile jobholders and those of wealth needing the favor of city government.

There is no aspect of that government, from public health services to public safety, that is not in disarray. Through it all, she has managed to divide and isolate the people to her political advantage, but to the civic peril of us all. She has, in sum, given venal opportunism a bad name.

But why Harold Washington?

Washington brings the longest and strongest record of achievement. His record demonstrates that rare combination of progressive social vision and hard practical bargaining.

His intelligence, wit and wisdom, so refreshingly demonstrated in the debates, are harmonious companions to his uncommon compassion and remarkable leadership. Clearly the man is a political healer for these morbid times.

That is already manifest in the effects attributable simply to his candidacy. He has stimulated a new record registration, with 200,000 citizens (black and white) entering the lists.

He has given the electorate the novel experience of a debate on the painful issues, diminishing thereby the purchased TV hype, so subversive to rational discourse.

And, not least, he has begun the emancipation of the black community from the soft thralldom of machine patronage domination, an immeasurable gain for everyone and a model for other sectors.

Paradoxically, the issue is not Harold Washington.

If he does not win, he is assured a bright career in Congress.

But if he does not win, Chicago loses. We lose a rare opportunity when the troubled times and the right man coincide. We lose a chance to bring antagonistic communities together.

This moment of history has placed Washington in the lead of a new alliance which obviously will win this time or next.

Washington's long public record on issues vital to labor, to the peace movement, to civil libertarians, to the elderly, to women is exemplary. In all of these efforts he has been a color blind.

I ask, will white voters from the various constituencies support Washington in the proportion he would enjoy if he were not black?

Do you have a Point of View on the news, on topical issues, or life? We will consider typed manuscripts of 600 words. Send them to Point of View, Chicago Tribune, 435 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60611. Include your daytime phone number.
EDITORIAL

Why we endorse Harold Washington

Shaped by a unique history and rich custom, the office of mayor of Chicago is a position of high symbolic importance. The person elected to that office has a heavy responsibility not only for managing city government, but also for leading the city's people from a troubled past into the uncertain future. Of all the candidates vying for the office, we unequivocally believe that only Harold Washington has the breadth of vision, the depth of experience and the strength of intellect to provide the leadership that Chicago needs.

For most of this century, the history of Chicago has been a leader not of citizens but of a crease-self-interested, self-perpetuating political faction, the Democratic Machine. Mayors have ruled for the good of the community, but often at the behest of those who had the power to make things happen. That kind of decision-making has left its mark on the city, and the public's distrust of its leaders has grown.

In recent years, the city has been undergoing a transformation. A new generation of leaders has emerged, and the public has begun to demand more from its elected officials. The challenge for the mayor is to create a government that is responsive to the needs of the people, not just to the interests of the political machine.

Harold Washington, the Democratic candidate, is a strong contender for the job. He has a proven record of standing up to the power of the Democratic Machine. He has served as a member of the city council and as a state senator, and he has demonstrated his ability to work effectively with others.

Washington is a candidate who understands the needs of the people and is committed to making Chicago a better place to live. He has a vision for the city that includes improving public schools, creating jobs, and making the city more accessible to all its residents.

We urge our readers to vote for Harold Washington, the candidate who has the vision, the experience, and the integrity to lead Chicago into a brighter future.
WHY SHOULD WE WAIT!

Harold Washington's candidacy represents the first time Blacks have had an opportunity to vote for a viable candidate, a candidate with strong moral fiber, leadership and ability. Harold Washington is Black. He represents the best alternative in this election, not just for Black Chicago, but for all Chicago.

Seventy Blacks have addressed Washington's candidacy with skepticism. "We're not ready for a Black mayor," they have said. This prevailing attitude is exactly the attitude which has kept Blacks from enjoying their rightful place in American society.

Why should we wait? If that attitude prevailed when Branch Rickey decided to try Jackie Robinson in the Big Leagues, Blacks may not be participating today. Had that attitude prevailed when this country endorsed school integration in the South, the Little Rock nine might not have had the courage to take the first step.

And had that attitude prevailed when Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., launched an economic boycott against the transit authority in Montgomery, Alabama, we might not have recognized a new spirit of unity.

Harold Washington's candidacy is a new beginning for Chicago, both Black and white, and a victory of the polls will go down in history as a united effort to rid the city once and for all of its imbalanced power.

The spirit Dr. King exhibited in Black America is being tested and we must not fail. The entire world is looking towards Chicago for a sign, a sign which could launch an unprecedented movement, not just for Black liberation, but for collective recognition that a man, despite his color, has the capability to run a city as effectively and efficiently as another.

Let us not let the spirit die. We must give it new life and we must do it now. We don't believe that Blacks won't vote for a qualified candidate because he's Black. Nor do we believe that whites won't vote for him for that same reason.

Harold Washington must win. We cannot afford to let this opportunity slip by.

 elect HAROLD WASHINGTON

sponsored by the Black Business Coalition to elect Harold Washington

EDITORIALS

We Endorse....

It is absolutely unreal not to acknowledge the effective programs Harold Washington has outlined for the people of Chicago. His statue as a man for all the residents stands heads over his opponents. He has brought to our city a fresh, unwavering, positive approach to many decaying and shelved problems that affect our minorities. Not once but many times we have heard him, unhearsed, raise issues with the policies this city has maintained for Blacks and Hispanics. Policies that have only led to continued alienation and deterioration in family structures because of racist housing practices, poor academic procedures for predominately Black and Hispanic schools and continued police brutality.

We are proud of Harold Washington. Proud because he is bigger in ideas and ideals than most officials. He is Black and has been a product of Black life in Chicago. He is not fooled by subterfuge and behind-the-scene deals to cut the minorities out. He knows politics. Harold Washington is not looking for glory, he's got a job and the headaches of being mayor of Chicago can't excite him, so he must be concerned for the betterment of the whole city and all the people.

Our endorsement of Harold Washington, we know, is just and right. Not because of nationality, but because we know he's the best qualified, best tempered for the position. We don't expect miracles from Harold. We don't expect the city to turn Black, as some whites would expect, but we do expect whatever he does, it's got to be better than anything we have seen in the past.

Three important issues have crept into the campaign from time to time and they should. The school board, the police commissioner, and the CHA.

Without doubt, each of these departments should be controlled by a Black. Black on Black crime is a major problem for the whole city. We feel a Black commissioner might provide an effective method toward the end to a serious problem. The CHA is 80 percent Black and it is pure stupidity for Blacks not to head this department. The school board must demand a more rigid and systematic process to ensure the more than 65 percent Black children receive a decent and adequate education. More Blacks to run the school board can institute this.

WEST SIDE JOURNAL 2-17-83

Harold Washington can relate far more effectively to these major domestic issues that, if not corrected, could destroy this city.

Other city business regarding money-contracts, construction, practically runs itself. One needs no special brilliance for these.

We therefore urge our citizens to make this election a memorable one and a rewarding one not only for minorities but for all Chicago. The nation's 2nd city cannot afford to pass this great opportunity to improve its stature. We know in your heart you want only the best for your community and your city. So it should be obvious to want Washington.

We feel Edward Allen is the only viable candidate to become alderman in the 27th Ward. His years of on-the-spot assessments in his area have made him a bona fide expert on the needs of the 27th ward. His experience is by far the most pronounced and his attitudes toward nonsense and the use of Black residents as pawns is well-known. Allen can demand action from City Hall and we believe he will.

We must go with William "Bill" Carothers as the man to continue to lead the 28th Ward. His longevity and ability to work off all name-callers and accusers shows he has the power to move mountains for the people of his ward. Carothers is part of a vast new 28th Ward development programs to bring housing, more contracts for his constituents and more jobs. He is a leader and should be retained.

We endorse William "Bill" Henry of the 24th Ward because of his proven ability to lead his organization. Henry has many years of political experience behind him and his precinct is still producing the largest percentage of voting Blacks on the Westside. We see Henry as a personable, easy to talk to alderman who works inside party lines to do and get the most for his ward.

In the 37th Ward, Frank Damato is the man with the strongest organization to do the most for all the people. The ward which is mixed in racial composition and needs an intact organization to see that its needs are taken care of. Damato runs an excellent operation and wants all his people to participate by working directly with him. We feel he is in the best suitable position to be the most effective for the ward.
No endorsement in mayor primary

Chicago’s mayoral race has produced great distress and puzzlement in our offices. Distress because business issues have played such a minor role in the campaign and puzzlement because we can’t figure out why.

Certainly, the state of the economy in Chicago and the city’s response to it are legitimate issues for the next mayor to address. In fact, however, the candidates have shown little creative thinking on the key issues that concern business in Chicago today: taxes, city services and management.

Jane Byrne. There is no doubt in our mind that Chicago’s business climate is worse today than it was four years ago due to Mayor Byrne’s tenure. The tax burden is heavier without a corresponding improvement in government services, and the image of Chicago elsewhere in the nation is an embarrassment and a disgrace. Our surveys of business sentiment tell us that a climate of fear—borne of the mayor’s oft-demonstrated vindictiveness and cupidity—has chilled the business community here. Further, despite business’ willingness to help city planning efforts, the Byrne administration has failed to tap those resources and indeed has alienated many.

To be sure, Mayor Byrne deserves credit for many municipal improvements, such as a stellar 10-year capital improvements program. But Mayor Byrne’s management record offers no assurance that even these few successes will continue beyond tomorrow. Perhaps most distressing is the mayor’s insistence that her problems of rapport, business climate and intimidation aren’t problems at all but figments of the media’s imagination—and she’ll trot out John Perkins and John Swearingen to prove it.

Richard M. Daley. Mr. Daley has put forth several programs that make up his platform for economic revitalization, but they are insubstantial planks indeed. Mr. Daley’s plan calls for “effective tools such as tax-increment financing . . . public improvements and flexible zoning” to stimulate commercial development outside of Downtown. Yet when pressed for specifics, the best he can summon are vague generalities, and the overall impression is that he neither has thought deeply about problems affecting small business owners nor asked their advice.

Harold Washington. An undistinguished legislative record in Springfield and Washington, D.C., foretells similar disappointment in City Hall. No original ideas of any stripe have come out of the Washington camp, and no recognition has been signaled that he and his advisers know what issues need addressing. Not only has Rep. Washington been unable to enlist white business support for his campaign, but after some early faltering attempts at communication, he gave up altogether—a strange strategy indeed for a man who says he wants to unite all races in Chicago.

Through four years of turmoil and mismanagement, Mayor Byrne has forfeited her claim to the loyalties of Chicago business. Harold Washington has yet to present a specific program of interest to business, and Richard Daley has suggested an incomplete program at best. With so little to differentiate among the candidates on key business issues, Crow’s Chicago Business makes no endorsement in the Democratic primary.
Business and mayoral race: 3 executives tell their favorites

Business Tribune Sunday, February 20, 1983

Edward Gardner

Edward G. Gardner, one of Chicago's most respected business managers, said: "Harold Washington was our choice because he's such a qualified person, not just because he is in a black person.

But Gardner believes it's time to recognize the needs and contributions of Chicago's minorities, which are fast becoming the majority.

"This is the first time I've gotten involved in the political arena," he said. "The death of this community can be determined by the participation of minorities, and there is no reason why they cannot participate in the process.

"Harold Washington is in tune with many of the crucial needs of the City of Chicago, according to Mr. Gardner, adding that 20 percent of the workforce among Chicago's minorities is unemployed. "It's a bad experience," Gardner said. "Washington is well aware that jobs are the key to jobs and that they are primary.

"It's not enough to have a downtown looking pretty and, behind that, a city in which people are unemployed that jobs are the key to jobs and that they are primary.

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Mayoral race

Continued from 1st Business Page

come from industry, but industry has left the inner city, leaving it no hope of building a community in the city.

POOR ONE THING, Gardner believes that, as mayor, he would be reconstructing an industrial era, especially since those whose expectations led to jobs in the city have also been expectations.

"They called our plant at 100 E. 26th St. and had a chance to see people, but I'm working with a 'Gardner' and not a 'Daley' in low-tech jobs. Gardner said, "They have not been given to the Mayor in Chicago.

"We've had academically trained black Americans who've been walking the streets, and it's the middle of Chicago's neighborhoods.

"We abandoned choice and concerned about Washington's proposal for higher education for the majority of the people. We have someone running the city who realizes how things should be, but who should properly be placed," he said. "The minority community is not concerned about tax increases, but to live, to have the city become a place for people, to have a place to work, properly be placed.

"As a businesswoman, I would be willing to make an estimate of what the city's worth, if I were working with a mayor who should properly be placed," he said.

"I have a sense of the future, particularly impressed by people like Dean Acheson, former chairman of Commodity Exchange 43rd St. (1953) who said that you don't see anywhere else. The people for picking up the city's problems, what is the federal government does and the state government does and the city's financial problem is 114,000 pounds, an apparent reference to Washington's plan, that the city's financial problem is 114,000 pounds.

"We have to help the city of Chicago, but I have a sense of the future, particularly impressed by people like Dean Acheson, former chairman of Commodity Exchange 43rd St. (1953) who said that you don't see anywhere else.

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Editorial Why Chicago needs Daley

On Tuesday, the people of Chicago have an opportunity to bring their city into the modern era of expert management and reliable, accountable government. Cities and towns around the country, including many in this state, made the leap years ago. Chicago's families and businesses can't afford to wait any longer; the old ways are too expensive, too unresponsive—and too corrupt.

Only one of the three major Democratic candidates for mayor has the record and the platform to assure this change: Richard M. Daley. We urge Chicago voters to mark their ballots for him, based on three factors:

1. Daley's career in public office shows steady, consistent growth and new promises kept.

After an undistinguished start in the state Senate, he developed into a legislator of substance, compassion and ability. He championed an array of progressive, good-government causes, worked hard and won. The transformation was gradual and profound; significantly, there has been no backsliding.

His campaign for Cook County state's attorney was refreshing, offering a wealth of new ideas and practical solutions to chronic problems. Wonder of wonders, Daley kept his promises. Under his leadership, there have been:

- Improvements in prosecution and conviction of juvenile crime, drug dealing and gang violence.
- Huge boosts in collection of delinquent taxes (including $26 million from Illinois Bell and $1 million from Charles Swibel, Mayor Byrne's political strongarm and star fund-raiser). Purses of delinquent child-support payments resulted in a 70 percent increase last year.
- Cooperative efforts with citizen task force on women's issues, gang crimes, drugs and victim assistance.
- Solid improvements in staff. Daley kept his pledge to hire qualified people, without regard to politics, race or gender. The number of minority assistant state's attorneys soared by almost 60 percent, and the number of women prosecutors and supervisors by 35 percent. We're particularly impressed with his ability to keep a top-quality staff and implement the ideas it produces.

2. Daley's agenda for Chicago is realistic, practical—and essential to good government.

His carefully detailed proposals and the good staff work they reflect give him a clear edge over Harold Washington, who has waged a quixotic campaign without much money, time or staff help. One set of Daley recommendations is aimed at improving services in such diverse fields as health care, crime protection, education, garbage pickup, housing rehab and business growth.

Another concentrates on cutting the cost of government. This has got to be the winner's first priority, since Mayor Byrne's 1983 budget creates a gap of about $90 million for 1984—without a single pay raise. Through a series of management reforms, employee attrition and cutbacks in Byrne's exorbitant consultant contracts, Daley expects to save $100 million to $125 million his first year in office.

His third set of proposals is aimed at building cooperative relationships with the suburbs and with Springfield. Every bus and rail commuter knows what happens when they deteriorate; Byrne's inept advisers lost the RTA-CTA state subsidy in 1979 and fumbled every attempt to get it back, one of the worst blots on her administration.

Finally, Daley's agenda addresses a grave and growing problem: the selling of city business and city favors in return for campaign contributions. The danger implicit in lavish campaign fund-raising and lavish campaign spending is a concern at all levels of government in this country, but we've never seen a more explicit, brutal demonstration of the problem than the one Byrne has staged in the last three years. The situation is worsening; new campaign disclosure statements document a link between city contracts and Byrne contributions that is so blatant all thoughtful people should fear for the future of Chicago if this administration gets another four years.

Daley's proposed remedy is simple, and routine practice in well-governed cities: open bidding on contracts and concessions, and an ordinance setting strict limits on campaign contributions from businesses and individuals.

3. Daley has established a reputation for reliability and integrity, reflected in his staff and advisers.

Formidable challenges await the winner: big budget shortfalls for City Hall, schools, public transit; critical decisions involving downtown renewal; long-festering racial and ethnic divisions; demands for better service—but cheaper government—from business and homeowners.

To cope, the mayor will need an expert staff selected because of ability, not because of this or that powerful committee man. Daley has done that as state's attorney, and—with his strong motivation to be a good mayor—we're confident he'll bring this philosophy into City Hall.

The mayor will need the advice and support of the best people in county and state government, not the likes of Charles Swibel, John D'Arco, Bill Griffin and Michael Brady. Daley, over the years, has forged ties to Assessor Thomas Hynes, Attorney General Neil Hartigan, state Sen. Dawn Netsch and a host of other good political, civic and business leaders. These are not just fleeting, campaign-oriented ties, and we expect they will continue.

Finally, the mayor will need the respect and confidence of Chicago's families and businesses. That requires reliable performance and promises kept—not vindictive and unpredictable actions, and sudden policy switches. Daley's words may not be the most articulate and artful you've heard in this campaign, but they carry a far more significant message: You can trust them.
Looking past the election

Winner will face tough challenge on funding for city, schools, CTA

By Harry Golden Jr.

The mayor of Chicago for the next four years must grapple with the enormous problems of public finance even as middle-class families despair.

However, the candidates' varying campaign stances, the primary for Tuesday's primary and the April 12 election will encounter, almost immediately, demands for leadership in maintaining a reasonable level of services in city government, the schools and public transit.

With declining federal aid, a backlog of inflationary pressures and a drop in the local revenues that reflect recession, the mayor must grapple with a number of issues and priorities for municipal operations and public works.

The Board of Education has a projected $500 million deficit for the fiscal year, the mayor must find a way to fund the budget for next September, without any tax increases, and must submit a financial plan to the state for approval. Mayor Daley, who appointed the board, will call the policy shots.

City government will have a revenue shortage of $90 million or so, and without any tax increases, as its draft a preliminary 1984 budget, due Aug. 1, and prepares for bargaining with the police and firemen's unions.

Chicago Transit Authority management forecasts a severe cash-flow problem by July 1 and warns of another fare increase or drastic service cutbacks if the General Assembly doesn't come up with a state subsidy.

While those issues are bubbling, Chicago's delegates to the General Assembly will look for the traditional major- and minor-minority guidance as the state budget nears completion.

In the same month, the mayor will be trying to put a distinctive stamp on the physical environment and the economic climate in Chicago. But the threat of a $180 million subsidy program of federal community development.

The mayor, offering a series of options for the job-producing moves, and neighborhood rejuvenation program that can be used to improve the city's image, will go to the City Council in May for the 12 months starting next October.

The mayor's stamp also will be found in an expected general obligation bond issue for libraries and firehouses and other public facilities.

Separate revenue bond issues, supported by water bills and O'Hare Airport income, are recommended by the General Assembly to increase the value of the tax base and to increase the value of the tax base.

The proposal to sell the 10-year, $1 billion bond issue, supported by the tax base and the city's ability to pay, is expected to sell at the 10-year, $1 billion bond issue.

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Summary

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Byrne</th>
<th>Daley</th>
<th>Washington</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CTA fares</strong></td>
<td>Seeks savings at agency, opposes fare increases</td>
<td>Wants return of state subsidy</td>
<td>Backs 15-cent cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Paying prevailing wage to city union workers</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Racial makeup of CHA board</strong></td>
<td>Says board should be sensitive to needs of CHA residents</td>
<td>Says board must understand problems of CHA tenants</td>
<td>Says black majority makes sense since most CHA residents are back</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Campaign financing</strong></td>
<td>Opposes a limit on size of donations and curbs on who can give</td>
<td>Calls for dollar limit on donations and ban on donations from city contractors</td>
<td>Wants cap on donations and end to giving by contractors</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Tax increases</strong></td>
<td>Opposes hikes</td>
<td>Says efficiencies would make tax hikes unnecessary</td>
<td>Supports state income tax hike and a cap on utility rates; wants new tax on utilities' invested capital</td>
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<td><strong>Consultant contracts</strong></td>
<td>Defends practice, saying fees have actually saved city millions</td>
<td>Proposes cutting millions, and creating an Urban Management Institute to take place of consultants</td>
<td>Advocates cuts</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Patronage</strong></td>
<td>Says she has made fair distribution of jobs among races, ethnic groups</td>
<td>Says Shakman Decree has ended most patronage</td>
<td>Calls for abolishing it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Public access to records</strong></td>
<td>Has taken no specific stand</td>
<td>Favors no-delay access</td>
<td>Would sign order opening city records</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Making parks part of city government</strong></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Open bidding on more contracts</strong></td>
<td>Says most contracts already are bid competitively</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Elected School Board</strong></td>
<td>Defends her board selections</td>
<td>Wants to invigorate screening process for board nominees</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Wards to watch

By Brian J. Kelly

As the political pictures in each of the three municipal wards with a 2-1 victory margin to consolidate Washington's area of influence and without a new ward to gain strength, Washington needs to stall the Machine if he wants to keep the high city-wide black margins to win.

Northwest: A keystone is the 38th Ward. Considered more or less neutral territory between State's Attorney Richard M. Daley and Mayor Byrne, a shift of a few thousand votes could indicate whether Byrne is pressing his hopes for big margins in the surrounding wards or whether Daley is holding down her votes.

North: The 40th Ward is perceived to be Byrne territory, probably by a narrow margin than other North Side wards. If Daley can break even here or lose by only 2,000 votes, he has a good chance for victory in the area.

Southwest: Daley needs to come out of the 13th Ward with about a 2-1 victory margin to consolidate his Southwest Side bastion. If Byrne can hold even, it could suggest that the white areas of adjacent wards are not turning out the numbers Daley needs.

Waste: The 34th Ward is one of the rings black wards outside Washington's area of influence. A small victory margin can designate a new ward to gain strength. Washington needs to stall the Machine if he is to garner the 10 percent city-wide white vote he may need.

Lakefront: The vote-heavy 43rd Ward could be a city-wide election. If its new wards would cut out the 63rd, Washington can call it a victory.

Farther: Millard's 8th Ward has a high bid, but he is to garner the 10 percent city-wide black vote it may need.

Outlook: Massive deficits loom—no miracles in sight

Continued from Page 1

property bought on the Chicago River, Grand, Lake Shore and St. Clair. A letter of agreement has been approved by the Council for commercial development of Navy Pier.

Out in the neighborhood, the mayor can reap city-government of Chicago. It can create intensive industry, high-tech facilities and land-intensive business like the warehouse: 200,000 union members. For the city's budget.

The present budget is balanced at $1,000,000, but only 90% of its revenue will be realized. If 90% of its revenue will be realized, it will mean a substantial reduction of the city's budget. The revenue, when the mayor drafted the 1984 city budget.

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Judge to rule on ballot dispute

By Dick Mitchell

A Circuit Court judge said Sunday he will rule Monday on whether Mayor Byrne has an unfair advantage in the Feb. 22 Democratic primary by having the coveted No. 10 ballot spot.

That spot, awarded the mayor by the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners, allows her to use the "Punch 10" slogan that the Cook County Democratic Party used to promote straight-ticket voting in last November's election.

Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.) had filed suit Thursday pro-
testing the fact that Byrne got the spot. He had won first position on the ballot among Democratic mayoral candidates in a December lottery. But the ballot was printed so that his name appears in the No. 9 position on punch-card ballots.

BYRNE CAME in second in the lottery and was given the No. 10 position.

After hearing 12 hours of testimony Friday, Saturday and Sunday, Judge Joseph Schneider told lawyers they would need to wait until Monday for his decision.

If Schneider rules the new ballots printed, it would cost the election board at least $100,000, a board spokesman said Sunday. A question also remains about what to do with 100,000 absentee ballots already printed. About 2,000 of those ballots already have been mailed.

WASHINGTON'S lawyers say state law requires an inch of space on the ballot between the heading "Democratic Primary Ballot" and the words "For Mayor." A sample ballot leaves only 13/16 of an inch between the two phrases. Washington's lawyers say the No. 10 spot would fail to meet it if all the lettering were moved to comply with state law.

William A. von Hoene, a lawyer for Washington, charged Sunday that "the board and its high officials were aware that this impropriety existed and did nothing to correct it."

He said that in early January, election board Chairman Michael E. Lavelle could have changed the ballot at "an insignificant cost" before it was finalized and before computer equipment was programmed. "He consciously and deliberately rejected this course of action."

Byrne can keep No. 10 ballot spot, judge rules

By Harry Golden Jr.

Mayor Byrne got the desirable No. 10 ballot spot by honest error and should keep it in the Feb. 22 primary, a judge ruled Monday.

Circuit Judge Joseph Schneider said the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners didn't follow state law requiring an inch of space between the words "Democratic Primary Ballot" and the words "For Mayor."

Rival candidate Rep. Harold Washington argued that the flaw gave Byrne the No. 10 spot and the benefit of the regular Democratic Party's "Punch 10" campaign before the Nov. 2 election, in which the number fell to the straight Democratic ticket.

But Schneider said there was no proof of "fraud or illegal manipulation."

The ballot failed by 1/16 of an inch to observe the one-inch space, but "that does not warrant calling the ballot illegal," he said.

He said the board could have avoided suspicion by using "more care" in drawing up the ballot.

The judge stressed that the board decided to use the numbers 9 through 14 for six mayoral candidates in the Democratic primary before a Dec. 27 lottery determined the order of the names.

Richard Means, a lawyer for Washington, promptly announced an appeal to the Illinois Appellate Court.

Lavelle and other election officials, who met with the group for two hours, said the number of challenges was in keeping with an extraordinary voter recruitment effort before Nov. 2.

Lavelle gave the ministers affidavit forms that will enable restoration of qualified voters, even as late as Election Day.
Election of pre-election racism

If you are a white voter and live in an overwhelmingly white ward, don’t be surprised if you become the target of a fullscale black scare bombardment this weekend. The Jane Byrne strategy for the final days of this mayoral campaign is to create a massive white stampede away from the burgeoning support for Richard M. Daley, authentic reports indicate.

Former Gov. Richard Ogilvie’s subtle racial appeal to the voters of the Northwest Side in behalf of Byrne is only the tip of the iceberg.

And if you’re black and live anywhere in Chicago don’t be shocked to hear that Harold Washington “is not black enough” or that “he has too many whites on his campaign staff.”

Byrne’s black strategy is to spread the word that “Washington is supporting a white man [Ald. Lawrence Bloom] for re-election in the black 5th Ward.” What a “shameful thing for a black mayoral candidate to do—support a white man when there are blacks on the ticket.”

The man who is shedding the biggest crocodile tears over Washington’s nonracial conduct is “soul brother” Frank Bacon, the handpicked choice of Byrne and her strategist, Ald. Edward Vrdolyak [10th].

Washington is supporting Bloom, as are many black voters in the 5th Ward, because Washington is convinced that Bloom’s record shows him to be consistently independent and a better alderman than the majority of Byrne’s black stooges in the city council. There is every reason to believe that Bloom will serve the 5th Ward better than would Bacon, who stands the best chance among all five Bloom challengers.

In the 5th Ward, which is 75 percent black, Byrne’s operatives are following the same campaign tactics employed in overwhelmingly white wards: Appeal to race, one way or the other. The assumption is that the majority of Chicago’s voters are thoughtless suckers.

Imagine this scene: Frank Bacon, posing as a great black crusader, speaking before a black audience, and telling them how Washington has deserted “his people” by supporting a white man for alderman. Bacon is taking advantage of the fact that one of Washington’s longtime friends, Josie Childs, also is a candidate for alderman in the ward.

Bacon, who suddenly sounds off like a crusading black revolutionary, tells his audience that “I don’t mind Harold not supporting me, but it hurts me when he goes against my friend and my friend and his friend, Josie Childs.”

One could wonder why Bacon didn’t step down when Vrdolyak chose him through Vrdolyak’s “acting ward committee man,” Charles Bowan, who lives in the 2d Ward. All Bacon had to do was call

Vernon Jarrett

Vrdolyak and say, “Uh huh, Mr. Vrdolyak, I kinda think that my friend Josie Childs would make a better candidate than I. Give it to her. She is the best and she’s better known here.”

If he had made that confession to his boss, he would have been telling the truth and showing his friendship for “our friend, Josie,” at the same time. But truth and friendship are not important in that kind of strategy. The idea is to play upon raw, thoughtless racial passions in both black and white communities.

Several good sources tell me that the weekend Byrne strategy calls for introduction of the name and photos of Rev. Jesse Jackson as hysteria bait. A saturation effort will be made to show that “the brains behind Washington’s candidacy is Jackson” and that “if Washington is elected, the real mayor will be the president of Operation PUSH.”

Reports also will be spread that “Washington is being used to launch Jesse Jackson’s bid for president of the United States.”

One source told me that an artist is preparing cartoons showing “Jesse dangling Harold on a string” and a small rendering of Washington’s face with a large rendering of Jackson’s in the background. That propaganda is for white consumption. It is not designed to hurt Washington but to convince Daley supporters that Byrne is the best “white hope.”

Jackson’s thoughtful announcement that he may be a candidate for president in 1984 hasn’t helped Washington, coming a few days before the election. But it is unreasonable to blame Washington for the utterances of Jackson.

Individuals close to the Washington campaign know, contrary to newspaper statements last week, that Jackson does not call the shots for Washington nor was Jackson the motivating force behind Washington’s candidacy. At the same time, Washington is not going to waste time telling any of his supporters not to campaign in his behalf.

However, Washington did talk with Jackson early in the campaign about the dangers of excessive identity of his campaign with any one organization, including Operation PUSH. What is Washington expected to do when a Rev. Jackson or a U.S. Rep. Gus Savage walk up and move in on the picture-taking when Washington speaks? If he jeers away, that would really make the news—negative news.

But in this campaign, the promoters of racial fears are not interested in reality. Winning an election—at any cost—is the goal. And this election already has cost a bundle.

Yet, I suspect that a hidden truth is emerging from it all. Let me pose this question: If Mayor Byrne is clearly ahead of all challengers, why the need for this kind of conduct? Why the need to solicit help from an old Republican crony and have him spread the fear to the extent of urging Republicans to switch parties?

The truth is that no candidate is ahead. The truth is that Byrne may be trailing Daley. The truth is that Byrne spent too much money spreading too many untruths on television too early to the voters too much time 17 consider the contradictions.

Maybe the mayor has a right to become hysterical.
By Dennis Byrne

Front-runner Mayor Byrne has lost some ground in the mayoral primary during the last month, while his opponents have made some important gains, the latest Sun-Times/Channel 5 News Poll shows.

In a race with heavy racial overtones, Byrne has lost some of her black support to Rep. Harold Washington and some of her white and Hispanic support to State's Attorney Richard M. Daley.

As in the first poll four weeks ago, Byrne was in the lead, but her margin among likely voters over Washington, in second place, was not deemed significant by the analytical measure commonly employed by statisticians. Washington's lead over Daley also was considered statistically insignificant.

The Gallup Organization, which conducted the poll, questioned 1,014 registered voters in Chicago by telephone from last Friday through Wednesday, with the vast majority queried Sunday through Wednesday. The results are an indication of voter preference at that time, rather than a prediction of the outcome of Tuesday's primary.

Among those who are considered to be likely voters—about

Turn to Page 4

Byrne lead shrinks
Both opponents show gains

Daley to probe bus line sale; Page 5.
Byrne priorities hit; Page 5.
Mayor seeks women's vote; Page 5.
5 indicted in vote fraud; Page 22.

70.5 percent of the 1,014 registered voters interviewed—35 percent supported Byrne, 30 percent supported Washington, 25 percent supported Daley and 10 percent were undecided or supported another candidate. That is a 7-point loss for Byrne, a 4-point gain for Daley and a 2-point gain for Washington since the first poll.

In an overview of the latest survey, the pollsters said:

The contest is becoming even more racial than indicated in the first poll. More black voters supported Washington and fewer white voters picked the black South Side congressman as their second choice. In addition, more voters, especially blacks, flatly stated that they believed people were picking sides on the basis of race.

Daley has gained the most ground, as he increasingly is recogized as a candidate who is running on his own merits rather than as the heir of his father, the late Mayor Richard J. Daley. The polls indicate that newspaper endorsements of Daley have contributed to this view.

Byrne has lost the most ground, being viewed as less capable, less competent and less trustworthy than a month ago.

While Washington was not moving ahead as quickly as Daley, his situation still was improving. His black support was growing and the white vote was splitting more equally between Byrne and Daley, which works to his advantage.

EXAMINATION of the complete sample of all 1,014 registered voters showed Byrne winning the support of 36 percent, Washington 27 percent and Daley 25 percent. Twelve percent were undecided or supported another candidate. That amounts to a 9 percentage point loss for Byrne since the last poll, a 4-point gain for Washington and a 3-point gain for Daley.

Usually the number of undecided voters declines as Election Day draws near, but the latest poll shows the undecided vote increased by 2 points.

In last month's survey, Washington won the support of only 49 percent of the registered black voters, a level far below what his backers believe is needed to win. In the latest survey, Washington got the support of 59 percent of registered black voters—a 10-point gain.

BUT WHITES are more polarized than blacks. While 27 percent of the blacks supported the white candidates, only 5 percent of the registered white voters supported Washington.

Daley continued to do poorly among blacks and while Byrne did better, she lost 8 percentage points among blacks.

None of the candidates did particularly better among men or women, but an analysis of preferences by sex within race does reveal a pattern: One of every five black women is undecided.

Byrne continued to enjoy a big lead among North Side residents, but her support declined in other parts of the city. For example, among Southwest Side whites, Byrne led Daley four weeks ago, 49 percent to 40 percent. Most recently, though, Daley led, 48 percent to 40 percent. On the hotly contested Northwest Side, Daley picked up a 15-point swing among all voters, but still trailed 46 percent to 35 percent.
compared with 15 percent four weeks ago. Daley's share of strong supporters remained constant at 14 percent.

AND AMONG each of the candidate's own supporters, Washington had firmer backing, with 71 percent of his supporters saying they do so very strongly, compared with Byrne's 61 percent and Daley's 56 percent.

Since January, a larger proportion of Washington's supporters have become either anti-Byrne or anti-Daley. Slightly more Byrne supporters have become anti-Washington and slightly fewer became anti-Daley. A Daley supporter was about twice as likely to harbor anti-Byrne sentiments as anti-Washington sentiments. A look at the voter's second choice underscores the importance of race in this primary. Voters who preferred a white candidate tended to name the other white candidate as their second choice. But a black voter whose first choice is a white candidate is more likely to pick Washington as his or her second choice.

WASHINGTON'S supporters still were more likely to name Byrne as their second choice, but less so now than four weeks ago. Forty-three percent of Washington's supporters picked Byrne second, compared with 53 percent four weeks ago. Thirty-five percent of Washington's supporters picked Daley as their second choice, compared with 31 percent four weeks ago.

Typically, the number of people who refuse to be interviewed for a poll is higher in urban areas such as Chicago. There has been some concern that blacks and others who feel vulnerable to various forms of real or imagined retaliation refuse to be interviewed.

To reduce the refusal rate, the pollsters made a special effort to interview voters who initially refused to be interviewed. And among those who later agreed to be interviewed fully or those who consented to a special mini-interview, the patterns of support for the candidates did not differ greatly from those who initially agreed to be interviewed.

Next: The issues.
2 Byrne rivals claiming the lead

Mayor Byrne’s two major rivals, heading into the last weekend of campaigning before Tuesday’s Democratic mayoral primary, each claimed his own soundings show him in the lead and discounted a Sun-Times/Channel 5 News Poll that shows Byrne ahead.

State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley said Friday during a radio show taping that he senses from crowds that he is first in the race, while Rep. Harold Washington said his own polls show he has a “solid 40 percent” of the vote.

At a City Hall press conference, Byrne said she was “very pleased” with the Sun-Times poll, published Friday, indicating she has 35 percent of likely voters, Washington 30 percent and Daley 25 percent.

FRIDAY NIGHT, at one of Daley’s largest rallies, both he and politicians endorsing him tried to head off any potential damage by decrying the polls and “New York pollsters.”

Daley gave the word “polls” the same sinister undertone he always attaches to such Byrne advisers as Charles R. Swibel and media consultant David Sawyer—and the sympathetic crowd greeted each of the words with a chorus of boos.

“We can get sidetracked by polls, by rumors, by speculation,” Daley told more than 4,000 supporters from across the city at the Medinah Temple, 600 N. Wabash. Daley said voters would “show that polls and computers will not dictate their choice.”

STATE’S ATTORNEY Richard M. Daley shares a campaign-trail lunch Friday with Horace R. Lindsey, a 47th Ward precinct captain and former Park District patronage chief. BELOW: Mayoral candidate Rep. Harold Washington (left) gets a lesson in the use of chopsticks from C. M. Chan, president of the Chicago chapter of the National Association of Chinese Americans, at a Friday luncheon. (Sun-Times Photos by Dom Najolia and John H. White)

Touching lightly on some of his potential problem areas, Daley said the election was being watched closely to see if “women will only vote for a woman, blacks will only vote for a black or whites will only vote for a white, regardless of qualifications.” Daley said he felt people would vote their consciences.

The crowd also heard a telegram from former Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson, which said, “Damn the polls, full speed ahead.”

WASHINGTON, meanwhile, said victory is his—“We feel we’re in.”

He said he leads while Daley and Byrne split the rest of the vote with just “a sheet of paper” of difference between them, according to his campaign’s straw poll and other indicators.


Prieto was accused by Washington aides of saying, “We can go into the Department of Human Services and we will see how dark that department is. Can you imagine how it will be with a mayor with a face of that color?”

Morales said the reported remark “represents a vile and arrogant disrespect” and Washington said it is an example of the “diuinity” that Byrne has brought to Chicago.

Prieto told the Sun-Times that he can’t recall ever using such words but admitted that he is concerned “about having a black mayor” from the standpoint of other minority groups, which might not get their share.

“I don’t say it would be real bad for the Spanish with a black mayor,” he said, “but I do have some concern.”

Washington charged at a press conference that Byrne and her “minion,” Ald. Edward R. Vrdolyak (10th), “exploited the hopes of Chicago’s workers” by saying there are plans to reopen the shuttered Wisconsin Steel plant. Washington said his sources told him no such deal is in the works.
Candidates take to streets in race for City Hall

By Thom Shanka

Byrne, changing schedule, seeks support among blacks

By Conaglas Francz

STAFF'S CITY. Richard Daley accused Mayor Jane Byrne of sacrificing her forces at flood-sacred white neighborhoods with "chauvinistic" campaign literature in what he called a "deliberate" move to polarize the city. 

"The city's need for unity," Daley said, "is the literature's message." 

"For the rest of the day," Daley added, "I'm going to talk to the people of the city." 

On Thursday, Byrne, seeking to paint the contest as a personal one, was attending a campaign rally in Chicago. 

"We're concentrating where we have a split," the mayor said in an interview last weekend. "There are several key areas in which the candidates are running neck and neck." 

Washington's black areas in stretch drive

By Mitchell Loin

WASHINGTON. Harold Washington led a strong minority of blacks, both in the north and south, in Tuesday's primary election. 

Washington's campaign was strongest in the black areas of the city, where he won a clear victory. 

"We can go to the Department of Health and ask, 'What's the percentage of blacks and whites in this area?'" Washington said. "We'll say, 'How dark that department is.'" 

"You can imagine how it would be with a mayor with a face that color," Washington said. 

"You're not going to get black people to go to the police department," he added. "But you can imagine how it would be with a mayor with a face that color." 

"Think about how that would affect the community," Washington said. "You're not going to get black people to go to the police department," he added. "But you can imagine how it would be with a mayor with a face that color."
Fourth Estate a battleground in fight for City Hall

By Steve Neal

EVEN THOUGH they don't believe Richard Daley is running third in the Democratic mayoral primary, his strategists were jolted Thursday night when a TV poll reported the state's attorney was trailing his two major opponents.

In an ordinary election, such a poll would have caused much of a fuss. But in a closely fought race, the public's perception can become reality and Daley's men were concerned that the second-place showing by black U.S. Rep. Harold Washington might undermine Daley's base with ethnic whites and reinforce Mayor Jane Byrne's claim as the great white hope in Tuesday's election.

A few days earlier, Daley's brother and campaign manager, William Daley, leaked the results of a straw poll to a Channel 5 reporter which showed Daley breaking out of the pack.

FROM THE beginning of the primary campaign, the Daley campaign had reflected that the media would influence the outcome of the Feb. 22 election. And it followed then that each of them sought to manipulate and play the media, trashing their opponents, spreading their own messages, and above all, trying to look like a winner.

And that was no small accomplishment for Mayor Byrne, who began her re-election bid as an underdog. To get back in the race, the mayor recognized that she'd have to stop playing politics as though it were a roller derby and project the image of a cool, seasoned executive. Following a script written by her media adviser, David Sawyer, Byrne managed to do just that. More than either of her challengers, it was necessary for Byrne to show early strength.

FUELED BY Sawyer's slick TV ads, Byrne got off to the fastest start of anyone. And, once the race officially got underway, the mayor rebounded strongly in the polls, which demonstrated that she would be tough to beat.

In the early days of his campaign, Daley seemed uncomfortable in the role of front-runner, ducking a joint appearance with the other candidates, and avoiding interviews. Some local polls contended that Daley was running as if he were the incumbent. But Daley's strategists contended that the public would soon get tired of the state's attorney if he got too much exposure too fast.

Under the scrutiny of a long campaign, more than a few candidates have collapsed. Four years ago, Mayor Michael Bilandic became almost a joke when, standing in the midst of the city's worst blizzard, he tried to pretend there wasn't any snow. Eerily, front-runners Ed Muskie and George Romney might have been presidents of the United States if they hadn't fumbled away their leads. And critics of both Daley and Byrne suggested that they wouldn't be able to take the heat of a tough campaign.

AS IT TURNED out, none of the candidates buckled under the pressure. Daley, who had attempted to project the image of a warm, humane family man, showed that he was ready to play rough when he went on the attack against Byrne after she surged in the polls. For her part, the volatile and outspoken Byrne was the model of restraint, ignoring her opponents' blasts.

Though there weren't many losers in the mayoral debates, Washington probably gained the most from the free TV exposure. The South Side congressman was thoughtful, witty and candid in pointing out that taxes would probably have to be increased for the city to avoid financial disaster.

Eleven years ago, Washington was convicted of not filing federal income tax returns for four years, although he did pay his withholding taxes. When he ran for mayor in 1977, Washington refused to discuss the issue. For his candidacy to be taken seriously this time, Washington was persuaded to discuss the biggest blemish in his past.

His explanation was reminiscent of comedian Steve Martin's routine about how to get a million dollars and not pay taxes. The first trick, says Martin, is to get the million, not file taxes, and, when the IRS comes for its share, cut them short by saying, "I forgot." Which is just what Washington said.

IN AN INTERVIEW with The Tribune's editorial board in his current campaign, Washington voiced the opinion that he had been the victim of a political prosecution for leading a walkout in the Illinois legislature when Vice President Spiro Agnew went to Springfield in 1972. The only problem with that scenario was that Agnew, too, would soon get caught for cheating on his taxes and resigned in disgrace.

All of the candidates actively sought the endorsements of Chicago's two major newspapers, both of which came out for Daley. By tradition, The Tribune and Chicago Sun-Times have supported the incumbent in mayoral primaries, and Byrne was disappointed at not getting their support. "If she had gotten both endorsements," said political consultant Don Rose, Byrne's 1979 campaign manager, "she would have been just about unbeatable."

For Daley, the endorsements could not have come at a better time. For both the public and private polls showed that he had fallen behind Byrne and was in a dead heat with Washington. Daley's volunteers distributed more than 1 million reprints of the endorsements and adman Raymond Strother quoted both newspapers in his TV commercials. The mayor was endorsed for re-election by Channel 2, and Washington gained the support of WBBM radio and the Chicago Defender.

TO CONVEY a sense of movement, the Daley forces carefully orchestrated the endorsements of such heavy Democratic hitters as former Vice President Walter F. Mondale, U.S. Rep. Dan Rostenkowski, Adlai E. Stevenson III and Atty. Gen. Neil Hartigan.

When Mayor Byrne's polls indicated that her husband and former press secretary, Jay McMullen, and fundraiser Charles Swibel were liabilities, she carefully distanced herself from them. In an interview with The Reader, McMullen wisecracked, "At 7 o'clock Tuesday, my muzzle comes off. She says I can say anything I want after that."

Because of Byrne's efforts in his 1980 presidential bid, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D., Mass.) was ready and willing to stomp the city for the mayor's re-election. But Kennedy lost the city overwhelmingly in the primary and is still considered a polarizing influence, so he wasn't invited. Byrne did, however, get him to make a direct-mail pitch to blacks, the key swing vote in Tuesday's primary.

In the most expensive TV political blitz in Chicago's history, each of the candidates came off well in his own commercials, with Sawyer's transformation of Byrne from Tugboat Annie into "Woman of the Year" topping the charts if she wins," a Byrne adviser said flatly, "it's because of those spots."
The countdown

Mayoral foes are optimistic

By David Axelrod

TOUTED FROM the start as the most competitive campaign in a generation, the Democratic race for mayor is measuring up to its billing, with the three major candidates still scrambling for a winning edge on the final weekend.

Mayor Jane Byrne claims a lead based on public and private polls, but strategists for State's Atty. Richard Daley and U.S. Rep. Harold Washington (D., Ill.) continue to predict they will emerge on top.

Even crusty veterans of the local Democratic wars admit uncertainty over the outcome of Tuesday's primary.

"I've never experienced an election like this, where I had no feel for the way things would turn out," said former 46th Ward Ald. Ralph Axelrod, a North Side ward committeeman who is nominally in the Byrne camp. "There is something going on out there that I can't put my finger on."

"SOMETIMES I GET the feeling that people wearing a Byrne button are secretly for Daley, and people who say they are for Daley are for Byrne."

The only prediction on which all sides agree is that the most expensive and intensely watched mayoral race in the city's history is likely to draw a record number of voters to the polls.

Barring heavy snow or bitter cold, more than 70 percent of the city's 1.6 million registered voters are expected to settle the dogfight.

The winner will face Bernard Epton, a Republican who is running unopposed Tuesday, in the April 12 general election.

ON SATURDAY, Byrne made last-minute adjustments in her schedule, adding extra stops in the black community in an effort to stem Washington's momentum and shore up her own support.

Washington, too, concentrated on the black areas of the city, visiting training sessions for his Election Day workers and leading a motorcade through the South Side in hopes of lengthening his lead in that area.

Daley campaigned primarily in white and Hispanic neighborhoods and again asailed the assertion of Byrne's forces that

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she and Washington are the front-runners.

Byrne's 'camp maintains that she will be renominated for a second term with more than 400,000 votes by sweeping the North and Northwest sides of the city while making a stronger-than-expected showing on the home turfs of her two opponents.

THE MAYOR'S strategists predict that she will run within 40,000 votes of Daley on the Southwest Side, and that she will garner a quarter of the black vote, despite Washington's formidable candidacy, thanks to the work of Democratic ward organizations.

Throughout the city, the Byrne analysts say, the strong support of women will work to her advantage—support she has cultivated extensively in recent campaigning.

"We'll win by 70,000 to 80,000 votes," state Rep. Alfred Ronan (D-Chicago), who is running Byrne's precinct organization. "The only interesting question is who will place second."

DALEY'S CAMPAIGN staff members scoff at that prediction and at telephone polls that show him behind. Their scenario calls for the state's attorney to build an 80,000-vote lead on his home Southwest Side turf, where he won overwhelming majorities in his 1960 race for state's attorney.

At the same time, they claim that they will hold Byrne to a 16,000 to 20,000 lead in other white areas of the city, despite an effort by her forces to erode Daley's Northwest Side support by telling voters there that only Byrne can stop Washington, a black, from winning.

Under Daley's strategy, the mayor will be forced to win the election in the black community, and she will find Washington blocking her path.

We see Harold Washington getting so much of the black vote that there won't be enough left for Byrne to catch up even if she beats us there," said William Daley, who is managing his brother's campaign.

WASHINGTON'S CAMP say he will garner close to 80 percent of the burgeoning vote in the black community and 10 percent elsewhere to become the first black ever nominated for mayor by Chicago's Democrats.

Mayor Marion Barry of Washington and a host of other black -political luminaries are fanning out on the South and West Sides in the final days to help stir the electorate on Washington's behalf.

"Right now we're probably at 65 percent to 67 percent of the black vote," said Al Raby, Washington's campaign manager. "If Byrne and Daley split evenly in the rest of the city, we may already have enough to win. The closer they run, the better off we are. But we're working now to build up our percentage in the black community to be sure."

Raby said that his candidate would win more than 350,000 black votes, and that this, coupled with his white support, would put him in top with more than 400,000 votes.

THIS IS WHAT the three contenders are saying for public consumption.

But in candid moments, when their partisan fervor is laid aside, many of the city's Democratic leaders concede they really don't know who is ahead and by how much.

That is because each side has markedly different projections and because of the widespread suspicion that Chicago voters, mindful of the enormous power at stake and the wrath of a precinct captain scorned, are not telling pollsters or door-to-door canvassers the truth.

"Let's face it. Your guess is as good as mine," a Daley adviser conceded. "We think we'll win, but anyone who says he knows for sure how this thing is going to end is nuts."

The consensus of veteran committeemen, strategists for the candidates and other political observers is that the outcome rests on a few questions that can't be answered until the polls open Tuesday.

ONE IS HOW effective Washington's grassroot in the black community will prove to be. Another is whether Byrne's support on the Northwest Side, as reflected in the polls, is genuine, or whether Daley's hordes of volunteers will hold her even, as his camp claims.

Despite the forecast of Byrne's supporters that she will win a quarter of the black vote, members of Washington's camp claim that he will deprive her of anything close to that figure.

They claim that the black voter, in particular, will play his cards close to the vest, talking up Byrne for the benefit of precinct captains while punching Washington's ballot number on Election Day.

"We're telling people to take the cheese and the hams from Byrne, and then vote for Harold," said Arthur Turner, a coordinator for Washington on the West Side, where Byrne is counting on the well-entrenched regular Democratic organizations to deliver black votes. "There is a real movement going on here."

ESTIMATES OF the black voter registration in the city range from the 615,000 of the Chicago Urban League to the more than 650,000 calculated by local political strategist Don Rose.

Whatever the number, there is no dispute that black voter registration has soared since summer, propelled by the movement to elect a black mayor.

Washington's aides point to the almost religious fervor his campaign has engendered in the black community, where his blue-and-white button has become to many a symbol of racial pride.

They expect him to win an overwhelming victory on the Southwest Side, an area he represents in Congress and where he has won 11 times before. That area includes many middle-class black voters who regularly buck the Democratic organization.

Moreover, they claim to have made deep inroads on the West Side, a more impoverished area where the Democratic organization remains dominant.

BUT SEVERAL black ward committeemen, most of whom are committed to Byrne, contend that they will hold Washington's margin down, and even some of Washington's supporters cast doubt on the 80 percent figure.

"They may be able to hold it to 2-to-1 in my ward," said one South Side Democrat who is backing Washington. "The ward organization is really pumping for Byrne. As of now, 80 percent would be tough here and certainly would be tough in the whole black community, but there could be a last-minute tide."

Early last week, Cook County Democratic Chairman Edward Vrdolyak predicted that Byrne would garner 31 percent of the black vote. By the weekend, Ronan, the precinct coordinator, scaled that back to a still-impressive 25 percent, with Daley receiving less than 10 percent.

Aid. Robert Shaw (503), who helped carry Washington in his Far South Side ward in the 1977 mayoral election but is now a staunch Byrne.
ally, claims that he may hold Washington even this time.

"I'm telling you that she has support out here and we're working hard," he said. "I thought we could carry her, but there is a lot of Washington activity so now it will be close."

IN THE ADJOINING 17th Ward, William Parker, the Democratic committeemen, claimed that he, too, would hold Washington to well below 80 percent.

"The mayor will get some votes out my way," he said. "And if we get some good Democratic weather and it snows or something and the turnout is held down, I think things will go pretty well for us."

Although Washington has dismissed this contention as "baloney," some black committeemen said the mayor is running particularly well among women in their community.

"I think a lot of women in my area identify with the mayor as a strong woman who brought up a child alone and has had to fight for everything she has," said state Rep. William Henry [D, Chicago]. Democratic committeemen of the West Side 24th Ward. "Those women are going to make a difference."

"If Washington fails short but still cuts deeply into the regular Democratic vote in black wards that normally would go to Byrne as the regular Democratic candidate, the result could be a Daley victory—if Daley manages the kind of showing on the Southwest Side that he has made in the past.

"The way I see it, we need Harold to get about 65 or 70 percent of the black vote citywide," one Daley strategist said. "He goes under that number and she may get the black votes she needs. On the other hand, if Harold gets up to 80 percent or 85 percent, the ball game's over and he wins."

The Daley camp maintains that he is solid on the Southwest Side, buoyed by his own 11th Ward troops and the ward organizations of such powerful allies as Assessor Thomas Hynes [19th Ward], U.S. Rep. William Lipinski [23rd], and John Daley [18th].

"We had 1,700 absentee ballots in my ward this week to go, which is equal to a presidential election," said Hynes, who is the Democratic leader in the Beverly-Mt. Greenwood area. "And the reaction we get for Daley suggests to me that he'll win overwhelmingly here."

BUT BYRNE-ALIGNED committee men on the Southwest Side, such as Ald. Edward Burke [14th] and Illinois House Speaker Michael Madigan [13th], claim it isn't so.

"I began thinking we could never carry for Byrne," said Burke, whose ward adjoins Daley's. "Now I think we will, by 3,000 votes. She was down here the other day, talking to 1,600 women in my ward, and they went wild."

Madigan, whose ward in the heart of the Southwest Side routinely casts a ballot total that is among the highest in this city, rejected the contention of Daley's camp that Byrne would lose 2-1 to 1 in his enclave.

"I don't know if we'll carry for her, but I think she's pretty even," said. "I told Vrdolyak it's a third Byrne, a third Daley, and a third undecided. If she gets a good share of those undecideds, it will be close."

NO ONE IN Byrne's camp is willing to accept public and private poll data suggesting an even split on the Southwest Side. They do claim that she will win all but a few of the 18 North and Northwest Side wards, where most of the committeemen are on her side.

"It won't even be close," Ronan said, conceding only the 45th, 32d, and 36th Wards, where the ward committeemen are Daley allies. Thomas Lyons, U.S. Rep. Dan Rostenkowski [D, Chicago], and Cook County Commissioner Mathew Bisselis, Byrne stands to benefit on the Northwest Side not only from regular Democratic support but from Republicans, who claim significant numbers in that region. The mayor has polled well among GOP voters, who perhaps reflect the partisan 21-year tenure of Daley's father, and she has received a boost from some Republican leaders working quietly for her in the area.

Daley's forces are well organized on the Northwest Side, however, and they contend that they will confound the pollsters and the Byrne camp.

"WE'LL BREAK even and carry several wards on the Northwest Side," said State Sen. Jeremiah Joyce [D, Chicago], a key Daley organizer. "There are a lot of people up there who are not talking because the organizations are with her. They're going to be with us."

For much of last week, some Democratic committeemen and precinct captains in the area agreed the race could be close.

"We're getting a lot of opposition up here," said John Georos, Democratic leader of the 40th Ward. "I told Vrdolyak that we'd win by 1,500, but it's not going to be easy."

But that was before a poll was published and broadcast last week that had Washington in second place and within striking distance of the mayor, with Daley third.

The poll lent some steam to Byrne's campaign strategy on the Northwest Side, where Daley supporters in all-white neighborhoods are being told by her forces that he is out of the running and that a vote for him could help Washington.

Byrne's aides were delivering that message to reporters over the weekend, claiming that her own polls show Washington surging and Daley fading.

"WE'RE NOT EVEN worried about Daley anymore," claimed Byrne media advisor John O'Hare, who called a press conference last week describing the contest as one between Byrne and Washington, a letter dismissed as a racist appeal by both the Washington and Daley camps.

Vrdolyak instructed Northwest Side precinct captains Saturday to use the racial argument to their advantage, and, according to one veteran Democratic precinct worker, they are.

"I turned a lot of people around in my precinct today from Daley to Byrne," the worker said. "I don't even have to bring up the race thing. The people bring it up. I just tell them it's true: it's Byrne and Washington."

ONLY ON THE NORTH Side lakefront, where the mayor has shown surprising strength despite the liberal-independent bent of the area, and on the Near West Side, where committeeman John D'Arco [1st] and Vito Marzullo [25th] president, is Daley's camp willing to concede a regional edge to Byrne.

Nowhere is the variance in the claims of Byrne and Daley more pronounced than in their assessment of the race in the 10th Ward preserve of Chairman Vrdolyak. David Sorensen predicted that Vrdolyak would carry Byrne in his Southeast Side ward by a wider margin than any other committeeman.

Joyce, Daley's organizer, predicts a dead heat there.

"Eddie Vrdolyak is in for a big surprise in his ward and around the city," Joyce said, throwing mud at Byrne in the most bracket before the voting begins.
Chicago sees whirlwind of campaigning

Chicago's three major Democratic mayoral candidates crisscrossed the city Saturday, each predicting victory and all reaching out for undecided voters in balmy weather on the weekend before Tuesday's primary.

The day's campaigning brought little in the way of new charges or promises. Instead, the candidates devoted their efforts to consolidating and building support and presenting themselves to the electorate all over town in whirlwind rounds of personal appearances.

Mayor Byrne revamped her schedule on short notice to spend Saturday campaigning in the black community. Spokesman Steve Brown said the mayor acted after new polling data showed Rep. Harold

Dirty campaign tricks; Page 50.

Washington, one of her two major challengers, gaining a point a day in black areas. She also adjusted her plans for Saturday evening to include several popular gathering places for blacks.

State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, the other challenger, who shook hands at several locations in Hyde Park and on the North Side, said he was pleased with the warm response he received, adding, "I can feel it building." Daley made a dozen stops before nightfall and promised "a great victory" celebration next week.

A CONFIDENT Washington began his day by breakfasting with supporters and then leading a 46-vehicle motorcade, including open trucks filled with chanting supporters, through the South Side.

Washington continued to maintain that he has the election won, unless it is "stolen" from him by massive vote fraud, as he visited some of 10 workshops where his supporters were being schooled on how to prevent shenanigans in the polling places.

Two of Chicago's Democratic congressmen, Frank Annunzio and Cardiss Collins, reaffirmed their support for Byrne as she fielded questions from reporters at her Loop headquarters to kick off her campaign day.

The mayor, who complained of a sore throat and occasionally coughed during the press conference, said, "I plan to win—and in a fair race."

ANNUNZIO PRAISED Byrne for attracting federal funds to Chicago, saying that the city has received $143 million since 1980. Collins also praised Byrne for her cooperation in getting federal grants.

Byrne told reporters that although polls indicated that she was leading, there was a sizable percentage of undecided voters.

"That's why we're working real hard in the last couple of days," she said.

At each of the mayor's stops in black neighborhoods, she felt the presence of Washington in campaign buttons, posters, some heckling and from loudspeakers on sound trucks that his workers drove through the streets to promote their candidate.

In visits to Stateway Gardens, 3542 S. State, and Cabrini-Green, Division and Clybourn, Byrne campaigned in the high-rise public housing floor-by-floor and

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City sees campaign whirlwind

Continued from Page 5 door-to-door. "I voted for you once before and I didn't see no improvement," said Jackie Nicholson from the doorway of her seventh-floor apartment in Statewide Gardens.

"Oh, yes you have," Byrne replied, mentioning sports programs and other recently organized activities in the area. "We come back here every holiday and you know it."

Collins spoke on behalf of the mayor at a rally in Mount Olive Baptist Church on Chicago Ave. Other community leaders at that meeting pointed to the number of blacks in Byrne administration leadership positions, and the mayor said, "We're not talking about token appointments."

She said she had selected highly qualified people and they well represented every ethnic group in the city.

Daley began his day by mingling with a steady stream of shoppers at the Hyde Park Co-op, 55th and Lake Park. Then he moved on to the Hyde Park Bank, 1525 E. 53rd St., where his supporters distributed leaflets saying street gangs wanted Byrne re-elected because Daley has prosecuted gang members.

It was an afternoon of old-fashioned, hand-shaking appearances for the state's attorney.

ACCOMPANIED by his wife, Maggie, he said the day was marked by "the warmth and response from all of the people I'm meeting. I can feel it building. Even today, even here in Hyde Park."

Daley toured in Rogers Park, Pilsen, Lincoln Square, Belmont and Ashland and other busy neighborhood shopping areas, ducking into stores to chat with merchants and greet customers.

A boisterous, overflow crowd greeted him at a party in his honor at Dean's Place, a tavern at 3259 N. Racine. The patrons—many of them firefighters and policemen—cheered as Daley repeated his pledges for a city ordinance providing collective bargaining for all city employees and his promise not to use pension funds to pay city bills.

As he left the party, Daley said climbing crime statistics released Friday "prove the mayor has been trying to deceive the people and say crime is going down. We need more policemen and less fireworks."

Washington, after the enthusiastic motorcade, traveled to O'Hare Airport, where he greeted Rosa Parks, who became the mother of the modern civil rights movement in 1954 when she refused to surrender her seat to a white on a bus in Montgomery, Ala.

WASHINGTON, D.C., Mayor Marion Berry and several congressmen also joined Washington at O'Hare, where Washington held a press conference in the taxi staging area.

Washington pledged to review all taxi-regulation ordinances if elected. He also said he would set up a commission, which would be independent of the City Council, to regulate taxis and limousines.

At one of the training workshops, a union hall at 4859 S. Wabash, Washington said he is "down to the nitty-gritty" of exhorting his workers to be vigilant on Election Day at the polling places. He said he would have about 10,000 workers, including about 500 lawyers, on guard in the precincts.

"You've worked too hard in the last three months to let it slip away now," he told his workers. "On Election Day, you've got to stay on the case."

"I THINK this has been a wonderful campaign," said an expansive Washington. "We've dealt with the issues. We bit the bullet on the hard questions and provoked the opposition into doing stupid things. We've raised the level of political discussion."

Speaking of Byrne, Washington said, "We made her spend every damned dime she had. She spent everything she got and had to go to the bank and borrow. And you know what? Money's just flying in here."

Also Saturday, the Lawyers for Daley Committee, at a Loop press conference, presented 23 photos of vacant lots, abandoned buildings, a hot dog stand and a McDonald's restaurant from which voters were registered to vote.

Thomas A. Foran, committee co-chairman, said the bogus voter addresses were in five wards but declined to identify them or give individual addresses.

Foran said the committee had turned the information over to U.S. Attorney Dan K. Webb and Richard A. Devine, first assistant state's attorney. Foran said Webb had asked him not to release specific information.

FORAN SAID that after the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners completed its official canvass of the five wards Jan. 27, the committee made its own canvass and found 6,000 voters who should be stricken from rolls.

Meanwhile, the state's attorney's office monitored absentee voting Saturday at 33 nursing homes around the city, including the Mid-America Convalescent Center, 4920 N. Kenmore, where 13 absentee ballots were disallowed after the November election.

Assistant State's Attorney Anthony Calabrese, who observed the voting at Mid-America Saturday morning, said there had been no sign of irregularities at the polling station. Assistant state's attorney monitoring the absentee balloting at nursing homes reported only minor incidents. More than 150 residents voted at the Warren Barr Pavilion of Illinois Masonic Hospital, 66 W. Oak, one of the most heavily voted homes. No election-related arrests were reported anywhere in the city Saturday.

This story was reported by Hanke Gratto, Don Haymer and Lynn Sweet and written by Phillip J. O'Connor and Larry Weintraub.
Mayoral rivals battling to the wire

City facing a squeaker on Tuesday

By Basil Talbott Jr.
Sun-Times Political Editor

Chicago, the city that has prided itself on predictable Machine elections, faces a close-fought Democratic mayoral primary Tuesday.

Mayor Byrne is battling on three fronts to try to make her lead in the telephone polls come true in the polling booths. Rep. Harold Washington is priming the West Side black electorate, hoping to get the most out of the movement that may even be surprising him.

State's Attorney Richard M. Daley is countering perceptions of the contest being polluted by his opponents and energizing a precinct work force that could prove the polls are off once again.

ONLY SUPPORTERS of the candidates are making confident predictions about the outcome. But most election specialists agree that the most intense Chicago race in more than a quarter of a century will bring out at least 1 million voters.

In the snowy fight four years ago when Byrne upset Mayor Michael A. Bilandic, only 853,000 voters turned out. Whoever wins Tuesday's Democratic primary will face Republican Bernard E. Eggleston, a former state legislator with a quick wit and a sound-building campaign fund, in the April 12 general election.

Some partisans boast publicly of victory, but are privately skeptical. One of Byrne's ward committeemen from a mainly white ward said he could not even make an off-the-rack guess.

"I'm not convinced myself who will win," he said in an interview. "The reports of my precinct captains were a mixed bag. Some said Byrne would do well and others in adjoining precincts said Daley was strong. So I took a phone poll, and it came out with more than a third of my voters undecided."

Cook County Democratic Party Chairman Edward H. Vrdolyak, an early Byrne backer, forecast a 13-point win for Byrne but declined to provide backup data or predict her plurality.

IN CONTRAST to private caution were contradictory forecasts by ward leaders on opposite sides of the race. Interviews with Thomas Lyons, committeeman of the Northeast Side 64th Ward, and Ald. Roman C. Pucinski, committeeman of the adjoining 45th Ward, make the point. "Daley is doing fantastically well on the Northwest Side," said Daley backer Lyons. "We'll beat Byrne by 5,000 votes. Pucinski [Pucinski] will be lucky to carry his ward for her."

Pucinski countered, "Why is Tom concerning himself with my ward? I was out with the mayor Friday and will carry her by 6,000 votes." Pucinski conceded that there have been "reasons adjustments" downward in Byrne's support, but said that she would take his ward by 10 percentage points.

The last minute political concerns of the 46-year-old incumbent were evident from a mailing last week to three important political fronts: voters in black neighborhoods, on the lakefront and in white ethnic areas.

Turn to Page 8

Facts about Tuesday's election

When: Tuesday, Feb. 22
Polls: Open 6 a.m. to 7 p.m.
Who may vote: Any registered voter
To be nominated: Democratic and Republican candidates for mayor, city clerk and treasurer.
To be elected: Aldermen in all 50 wards, but a runoff will be required April 12 in any ward in which no candidate gets 50 percent plus one vote.
Registered voters: 1,554,253.
Precincts: 2,914.
Existed in: 1975
To find polling place: Call the Board of Election Commissioners at 230-2990 Monday and 360-1770 on Election Day.
Complaints: To file complaints or report vote fraud, phone the Election Board at 230-7670; U.S. attorney's office, 301-341, state's attorney's office, 443-7900; Project Leap, 726-3594, or state board of Elections, 267-3667.
Chicago faces a cliff-hanger

Continued from Page 5

Byrne is trying to keep the black voters he has cultivated from joining what Washington calls his "crusade." The mailing to black neighborhoods contains a lavish endorsement from Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and a backup note from Rep. Cardiss Collins (D-Ill.) of the West Side.

Many lakefront voters were sent a letter simulated in Byrne’s handwriting asking “personally” for a vote. Included in the lakefront packet was a copy of positive comments contained in a two-part Sun-Times editorial on her last city budget. Negative comments in another part were not reproduced.

For ethnicos, especially on the Northwest Side where the Byrne-Daley battle is fiercest, Pucinski signed a letter filled with praise of the mayor:

The letters, with signed snapshots, came out of the Byrne campaign’s analysis that there are three areas of concern. "There are actually three elections taking place," said one strategist.

One election is in black neighborhoods. The mayor must hold off the surge Washington is showing in the South Side’s 1st Congressional District, which he represents, and the adjoining 2nd District, as well as in the West Side’s 7th District.

Another election is taking place in white middle-class communities on the lakefront. Byrne is trying to win back early support she lost when newspaper endorsements and columnists raised doubts about her.

The other contest is on the Northwest Side. She must do well enough there to overcome Daley’s advantage in the Southwest Side wards that contain his strongest party backing and where he has ties to the area.

Issue discussions have been less frequent as strategists in the three major campaigns try to shape voters’ last-minute perceptions of the race. For example, Byrne and Washington advisers have tried to persuade reporters they have the only contenders who can win.

Dick Dreuer, Byrne’s New York pollster, and William Zimmerman, Washington’s California media consultant, have been quick to volunteer analyses showing how Daley can be counted out.

"I don’t know if you’ll print this," said Dreuer from New York. "My analysis is that, despite everything, it seems that Harold Washington is coming on and Daley has not come on. The race is between Byrne and Washington."

Dreuer’s analysis is expected to be translated by Byrne’s people over the weekend into a panic pitch in white wards. Pucinski insisted that he hasn’t used race in his campaigning, but conceded that his workers distributed a letter signed by former Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie that contends the contest is between Byrne and Washington.

The same line is being used by Washington’s people to convince black voters still for Byrne that he has a chance to win. Zimmerman said. “The blacks for Byrne don’t prefer her. They just don’t think Washington can win.”

Daley is caught in the squeeze of the two-way panic push. One tactic of the Daley campaign has been to remind voters of the poor record of recent polls. The other is to say that polls show Daley winning.

A Narrator in Daley’s final TV spot says flatly that Daley is ahead in the polls. Putting its best face on the claim, the Daley campaign has released weekly citywide straw polls showing him climbing steadily to a lead.

"Is Zimmerman trying to elect Byrne?" asked William Daley, campaign manager for his brother. "We think it’s a close three-way race. We don’t think telephone polls can accurately reflect what people are thinking."

How is Daley going to counteract the panic strategy implicit in the Dreuer and Zimmerman pitches? "Rich will be talking about this, and our precinct workers will be getting out over this weekend," William Daley said.

In large part, Daley’s chances hinge on precinct workers in two areas: Southwest Side wards including the 11th, 13rd and 19th wards, where Daley hopes to win over Byrne 2-1, and on the Northeast Side, where he wants to split evenly with the mayor.

In addition to the mayoral primary, there is also a primary contest for city clerk between Northwest and Southwest Side Polish-American voting blocs. It pits incumbent Walter S. Kozubowski, of the Southwest Side, against Michael S. Holewinski, a former state representative from the Northwest Side.

Spirited aldermanic contests may help drive up the turnout in some wards and drive out incumbents in others. While the citywide offices are partisan primary elections, the aldermanic races are non-partisan.
Whites may surprise Washington

Regardless of the outcome of the mayoral primary Tuesday, at least one distinguished Chicagoan will pay close attention to the racial breakdown of the vote. That gentleman will be Roland Burris, Illinois comptroller, the state’s highest black elected official.

Burris is the only ranking regular Democrat to endorse U.S. Rep. Harold Washington for mayor. But Burris is not endersing Washington because of his race.

“I want to make it clear, again and again and again, that I am not supporting Washington purely on racial grounds,” Burris told me several weeks ago, after he courageously had decided to veer temporarily from the party line.

“I honestly believe that Washington has the experience, talent and dedication to lead this city at this stage in Chicago’s history,” he said. “I would not vote for a man just because of his color and I did not ask for people to support me in the last election because of my race.

“Moreover, based on my experience in gaining support from all races throughout the state, I am convinced that Washington will get a much bigger white vote than many of the pundis have predicted.”

Burris is genuinely interested in knowing if his own experience during the November campaign can be duplicated in a local election when the top office is at stake. Burris set a record for black candidates last November. His feat received little attention in the press but Burris topped all candidates, including those for governor, secretary of state and treasurer.

“There is one little-publicized aspect of Washington’s campaign strategy that I can appreciate,” Burris said last week. “It is the fact that Washington is not begging people to vote for him simply because he’s black and his opponents are white, and I have not heard of him trying to stir up racial contempt or hysteria against his opponents. I still believe that he’s going to get a bigger white vote than some of you predict.”

Until last weekend I had complimented both Washington and Richard M. Daley for not trying to match the racial hysteria being promoted by strategists for Mayor Jane Byrne. But after Thursday I had to drop Daley from the good conduct list.

There was a big Daley ad in the Chicago Defender Thursday morning indirectly criticizing Washington because he’s supporting Ald. Lawrence Bloom, an independent Democrat who is white, for re-election in the 5th Ward. In other words, the Daley ad urged blacks to desert Washington because Washington is not a black racist.

That is the same contradictory tactic used by

Byrne’s forces in the black community. For weeks Byrne’s operatives have been trying to stir up hysteria against Washington in white communities because he is black while trying to create ill will against him in black communities because, in their judgment, he is not black enough.

It is not difficult to see how hysteria could burgeon in the camps of all three candidates these last days before the election. Regardless of what the telephone polls are saying, each of the candidates knows that this election is a toss-up. Anybody can win. A simple look at the registration figures makes that conclusion evident. My estimates show that Daley can emerge the winner in the wake of his late resurgence in white communities.

I feel Byrne invested too much of her money, too soon, in TV commercials that were saddled with too many half-truths. Her commercials were well done and seductive but their early presentation provided ample time for all of their falsehoods to be exposed. That’s why last week she needed nearly a half million dollars more than the $1 million already spent to repair her image.

Both Byrne and Daley have a right to be in a frenzy over Washington’s ever-widening appeal in the black community. I have been covering politics in this city since the late 1960s and never before have I seen such a groundswell of support among all levels of blacks as I have seen and felt for Washington over the last two weeks. Certainly Byrne and Daley pollsters have recorded the same ferment.

Last January I took the raw figures of 1,590,680 registered voters provided by the Board of Election Commissioners as my starting point in assessing vote possibilities. If, as it has been estimated, there are 625,000 black registered voters, an 80 percent turnout of those voters would give Washington a formidable basis to challenge either Byrne or Daley, even if Washington’s white support proved disappointing. By the same token, if the black turnout is disappointing, with large blocks siphoned off by Byrne and Daley, either Daley or Byrne could win.

There’s one thing in Washington’s favor that I have discerned among blacks and it is an attitude that incidentally also was expressed several weeks ago by author Studs Terkel, one of Washington’s white supporters, who declared: “I’d rather vote for something that I want and need and didn’t get it than to vote for something I don’t want and don’t need and get it.”
Variables in vote equation

By Milton Rakove

As the most bitterly fought Democratic mayoral primary in many decades grinds to
conclusion, perhaps it is time to evaluate some of the variables, other than the personalities and images of
the three candidates, their programs, Mayor Jane
Byrne's record in office, and the internal polls that supposedly give us some idea of the result on
Tuesday.

What are some of those variables and how have
they affected the race and potential result?

There is, first, the state and effectiveness of the Democratic political machine. The machine is split in
a way it has not been since its inception 50 years ago.

An analysis of the 20 best wards in Chicago in terms of
turnout or deliverability reveals that Byrne has the
backing of 11 of those organizations, Daley has
nine and Washington has none. The other 30 ward
organizations are in various stages of decline, de-
terioration or unreliability. The white ward commit-
tee members have been torn between supporting Byrne or
Daley and possibly suffering the retribution of the
winner if they back the wrong horse. The black ward
committee members have had to choose between Byrne
and Washington, incurring Byrne's displeasure if
they don't back her, but possibly being rejected by
their black constituencies if they don't back Washington.

Their problem was graphically expressed by one black committee member on the afternoon
Byrne was slated by the Chicago Democratic Central
Committee, where she received the support of only 33
of the 50 committee members. "The rats are leaving
the ship," he said, "but we are still chained to the oars."

Second, there is the question of a volunteer pre-
cinct organization to work for the candidates and
watch the polls. Here, Daley reputedly has a phalanx
of at least 5,000 young, capable volunteers, who

The Sun-Times' strong endorsement of Daley and
decision-making criticism of Byrne could have a signifi-
cant effect on the very substantial uncommitted

Milton Rakove is a professor of political science at
the University of Illinois at Chicago.
How will the winner rule?

The candidates at a glance

JANE M. BYRNE
Age: 40
Born: Chicago
Education: St. Scholastica High School, DePaul College
Marital status: Married with two children

RICHARD M. DALEY
Age: 48
Born: Chicago
Education: De La Salle High School, Dominican College (bachelors), University of Illinois (M.A. in political science)
Marital status: Married with two children

How will the winner rule?

Even Vrdolyak would not be declassified [under Daley]. But if he retained his head, he'd have to take off one of his hats.

The white flag of surrender. She'd be in a strong position to attack city problems, with her flank well protected. She could be the brake on the more radical elements in the party. There would be no remaining pockets of resistance to a triumphant Byrne among the 11 committee members who supported Daley in the race. The only two deep-seated Daley opponents who might try to permit any closing and making up would be Daley himself, in only 40, would still hold a visibly powerful office, and his constraints would still be a useful brake on actions of the mayor. Her opportunities for retribution in any case would be severely limited by the federal court's order that Byrne keep the Democratic machine in check.

David H. Sawyer, who was elected in 1972 as an independent politician, is associated with Paul J. Green, who has coined the phrase "Let's keep it clean." Sawyer's only campaign slogan is "Let's keep it clean." His platform is the same as Byrne's: no corruption, no special interests, no political machine. He believes that Byrne's victory will mean an end to machine politics in Chicago. He predicts that Byrne will bring about a new era of honesty and integrity in government. He also believes that Byrne will restore confidence in the city's future. Sawyer's goal is to create a more just and equitable society where everyone has equal opportunities. He is working towards this goal through his involvement in various community organizations and his commitment to social justice. Sawyer is dedicated to fighting for the rights of all people, particularly those who are marginalized or oppressed. He is a strong advocate for civil rights and works tirelessly to ensure that everyone is treated with dignity and respect. Sawyer is a true champion of awakening the spirit of compassion and empathy in our society. He believes that leaders must be accountable to the people they serve and that the pursuit of personal power and wealth should never take precedence over the well-being of the community. Sawyer's vision is one of hope and possibility, where everyone has a voice and a stake in the future of our city. He is a beacon of light in a world that often seems lost and forgotten.
3. ELECTION DAY
Record 79% indicated

Huge turnout at polls

By Harry Golden Jr. and Hugh Hough

Chicago was headed for an all-time record turnout of 79 percent of the voter rolls in Tuesday's three-way Democratic primary for mayor, midafternoon counts from the precincts showed.

The Board of Election Commissioners said a 3 p.m. sampling of key precincts indicated a dramatic pace of 79 percent participation among 1,594,253 registered voters.


Earlier in the day, estimates of voter turnout had started at 76 percent and reached as high as 81 percent at noon. But by midafternoon estimates were being revised downward slightly to 79 percent.

ALD. ROMAN C. Pucinski (41st), a supporter of Mayor Byrne, said that based on early voting, he projected the vote in his ward at only about 70 percent. But a later surge of voters in the 41st indicated that Pucinski's early estimate might be too low.


In the South Side 6th Ward, a Washington stronghold, Committeeman Eugene Sawyer estimated a final turnout in the upper 70 or lower 80 percent range.

In the Near North Side 42nd Ward, Committeeman George W. Dunleavy foresaw a likely turnout of 70 to 75 percent. He said the projection would have been higher, but "the black vote is not coming out as strong as the white vote."

Thomas C. Hynes, Democratic committeeman of the 19th Ward, another Daley stronghold, said he expected the final vote to exceed 80 percent.

IN THE 50TH Ward, where Howard R. Carroll is committeeman, the early projection was for a turnout of at least 70 percent. The 50th is considered one of Byrne's stronger areas.

Among other midday readings from various wards:
• 6th: A spokesman said an 81 percent turnout figure was within reach.
• 8th: A 74 or 75 percent turnout was being projected.
• 21st: "I figure we'll get at least 80..."
Voter turnout may set a city record

Continued from Page 1

percent," said Committeeman Niles Sherman.
* 39th: Committeeman Anthony S. Laurino, a Byrne supporter, predicted a turnout of about 82 percent in his ward.

Cloudy and mild weather, with some light rain, prevailed during the early voting hours.

The Republican ticket was headed by Bernard Epton, who was unopposed in his run for the mayoral nomination. He will face the Democratic winner April 12.

In addition to choosing a Democratic mayoral candidate, voters were to elect a Democratic candidate for city clerk—choosing between incumbent Walter S. Kozubowski and Michael Holewinski—and were to make choices for aldermen in contested races in 44 Chicago wards.

An aldermanic runoff election will be required April 12 in any ward in which no candidate receives 50 percent of the vote.

If the projected turnouts of 79 percent and 1,259,429 votes materialize, new records would be set in both the percentage and the total vote for a mayoral primary.

The previous greatest number was in 1955, when then-City Clerk Richard J. Daley wrested the nomination from incumbent Martin Kennelly. There were 1,015,659 votes cast, 52.7 percent of the much higher voter registration of 1,930,097.

The previous percentage record was the 60.5 percent of registered voters who participated in 1979, when Mayor Byrne bested Michael A. Bilandic in a head-on race.

The Election Board had no comparative data on where the turnout was largest.

Byrne is presumed to be strongest on the North and Northwest sides, Daley’s base of support is the Southwest Side, and Washington is strongest on the South Side.

The indicated turnout would top that of the general election of last Nov. 2. The Chicago turnout then was 68.5 percent.

The Board of Election Commissioners had predicted a 72 percent turnout after the first three hours of voting on that day, and a 71 percent turnout after the final afternoon sampling.

The percentage turnout in other primaries was 60.5 in 1979; 47.07 percent in 1977; 57.55 in 1975; 45.72 in 1971; 46.50 percent in 1967; 48.31 percent in 1963; 44.15 percent in 1959, and 52.67 in 1955.

Presidential elections, of course, have the highest participation, ranging in recent times from 78.8 percent in 1976 to 89.5 percent in 1960.

Federal marshals, city police officers, election officials and other law enforcement workers were on the watch Tuesday for vote fraud.

The Washington camp complained because some residents of the Robert Taylor Homes on the South Side received a letter from the Chicago Housing Authority telling them an annual inspection of their homes would be made Tuesday. The letter said “failure to admit inspector is a violation of your lease, and your tenancy could be terminated.”

The Washington camp viewed the letter as an attempt to keep black voters home.

A CHA spokesman said the letter went to only one 150-unit building in the 28-building Taylor complex and that the inspection was part of an ongoing program that started Jan. 17. The spokesman also said the letter said the tenant could leave a key with a neighbor or could contact the CHA office and make another date.
It's Washington
Daley concedes, not Byrne

Sun Times
By Basil Talbott Jr.
Sun-Times Political Editor

Chicago, Wednesday, February 23, 1983

Full coverage, Pages 2-11

Rep. Harold Washington, drafted as a “reluctant” candidate for mayor three months ago, won the Democratic nomination early Wednesday by a razor-thin margin.

Washington, 60, defeated Mayor Byrne, who scored an upset four years ago, and State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley, the son of the late mayor.

The two-term congressman who bucked the Democratic Machine will face Bernard E. Epton, a Gold Coast lawyer who won the Republican Party unopposed, and Socialist Workers Party candidate Ed Warren, on April 12.

To the song “We Shall Overcome,” Washington declared victory to thousands of supporters at McCormick Inn.

“I proudly and humbly accept the Democratic nomination for mayor,” Washington said as he stood next to the beaming Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, head of Operation PUSH.

Washington credited “a working people’s coalition of blacks, whites and Hispanics” that he said forced “them to yield this city” when there was a “raging demand for restoration of this city to the people.”

Byrne refused to concede but just before midnight her chief field organizer, Al Ronan, projected Washington would squeak through.

With all but 36 of 2,914 precincts reporting, Washington had an unofficial 415,050 votes, or 36.5 percent; Byrne had 362,798.

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HAROLD Washington (right) strikes a prophetic pose a day before the mayoral primary. As the results flowed in Tuesday night, Richard M. Daley (below) goes before a packed ballroom of supporters to concede defeat. At left, a shaken Democratic Party chairman Edward R. Vrdolyak heads home after a night of surprises. (Sun-Times Photos by Dom Najolia, John Keating and Phil Velasquez)
It’s Washington; Daley concedes, Byrne refuses

Continued from Page 1

votes, or 33.6 percent, and Daley had 340,702, or 29.9 percent.

Rushing past reporters waiting outside party headquarters in the Bismarck Hotel, Cook County Democratic Party Chairman Edward R. Vrdolyak refused to concede.

A somber Daley bowed out of the race at 11:40 p.m. after it was evident that the state’s attorney didn’t do as well on his native Southwest Side or on the Northwest Side as he had hoped.

Epton, a lawyer who so far has been thickened by the Republican establishment, asserted flatly that he would not step aside for any substitute candidate. “I’m in the race to win,” he said. Epton received 11,042 votes with most precincts counted.

Ald. Edward Burke (14th), who had considered but rejected running as an independent candidate in April, said it is too late for an independent to file. He noted that neither Byrne nor Daley can re-enter.


Several committeemen left the Bismarck Hotel party headquarters uncertain about whether they would back Washington, but Partee urged the party to do so.

Another black committeeman, county Commissioner John H. Stroger Jr., who had backed Daley, joined Partee, who had supported Byrne, in urging support for Washington.

Commenting on the possibility of a recount, Stroger said it would be a “major mistake because the majority of the population would be accused of trying to take the election from the first black who ever came out on top.”

Typical of the equivocation of other committeemen, state Sen. Howard Carroll, representing the 50th Ward, told reporters he would reserve judgment.

“I’ll go back to my organization and discuss it with them,” Carroll said as he left his office.

Charles R. Swibel, the controversial Byrne adviser and fundraiser, left Vrdolyak’s office before midnight, saying the race still was too close to call.

In a phone interview just after Swibel left party headquarters, Ronan projected Washington a narrow winner by 10,000 votes.

An oddity upbeat Vrdolyak rushed past reporters outside party headquarters and said, “I think all committeemen would support the nominee whoever it is.” Byrne backer William S. Singer, who left Vrdolyak’s office minutes earlier, said, “It’s Harold’s night.”

Byrne came down from her penthouse suite at the Ambassador West Hotel and urged her supporters not to give up. “Calm down,” she shouted. “The election is too close to call.”

Byrne’s appearance occurred shortly after Daley gave up after doing worse than expected in white neighborhoods on the Southwest and Northwest sides.

In front of 3,000 red-eyed supporters at the Hyatt Regency
Byrne gives support to Washington

By David Axelrod
Political writer

MAYOR JANE BYRNE conceded Wednesday morning that she lost her bid for a second term to U.S. Rep. Harold Washington (D., Ill.) in the historic Democratic mayoral primary Tuesday.

Byrne told reporters at City Hall that she had called Washington and had offered her support in his race against former State Rep. Bernard Epton, the Republican nominee, in the April 12 general election.

Byrne also said she expected her ally, Ald. Edward R. Vrdolyak (16th), Cook County Democratic chairman, to support Washington. She said that she had spoken to Vrdolyak and that he pledged to back the primary winner. Vrdolyak was keeping a low profile Wednesday and efforts to reach him for comment were unsuccessful.

"The results are very clear," said Byrne, who appeared calm and composed the morning after her meteoric political career crashed to the ground. "The people spoke. There should be, for the good of the city, an extremely smooth transition."

BYRNE MADE HER concession after near complete returns from the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners showed Washington with a 33,930-vote lead over Byrne.

With 2,900 of the city's 2,914 elec- Continued on page 8, col. 1

Harold Washington accompanied by his fiancé, Mary Smith, declares victory early Wednesday after returns showed him beating Mayor Jane Byrne and States Atty. Richard Daley. Story and more photos in Focus, back page of Sec. 1.
Mayor Election

Continued from page 1

tion precincts reporting, Washington had 419,266 votes, or 36.3 percent, to 386,456 votes, or 35.5 percent, for the mayor. The third major contender, State's Atty. Richard Daley, trailed with 343,506 votes, or 29.8 percent.

Early Wednesday Washington told a jubilant crowd of supporters in the McCormick Inn that he indeed had become the first black nominated for mayor by Chicago's Democrats.

"By today's vote, the Democratic Party has been restored to the people," said Washington, his normally powerful voice cracking.

"I proudly and humbly accept on behalf of the people of Chicago the nomination of the Democratic Party for mayor."

IN THE GENERAL election, Washington, 60, will face Epton, 61, a Republican who ran unopposed in Tuesday's primary.

But Washington already sounded like a mayor-elect in his victory speech when he laid out his agenda for the next four years, vowing a fight for better transportation, housing and community development.

He also raised some eyebrows by declaring that "we have...taxes to raise," a reference to his stated contention that the city's schools and mass transit must get greater state aid through a boost in the income tax.

Washington's supporters reminded him of another item he has placed on his agenda, erupting in spontaneous cheers over Bresnichan's resignation.

"Brezseeck may go," Police Supt. Richard Bresnichan has been a frequent campaign target for the congressman.

ISSUES SUCH AS widespread discontent with the police department helped Washington reap an unprecedented outpouring of black support enroute to his primary victory.

While Byrne and Daley fought to a virtual standstill in the white sections of the city, Washington rolled up margins of 4-to-1, 5-to-1, and in some cases 9-to-1 in the black wards of the South and West Sides.

"I knew as soon as I saw that turnout that we had some problems," said Ald. Robert Shaw, committeeman of the Far South Side 9th Ward, who was working vigorously for Mayor Byrne. "They just came out of the woodwork and there was nothing we could do."

Although the election results were still unofficial, the elections board said Wednesday morning that a record 77 percent of the city's 1.59 million voters cast ballots in the high-spending, hotly-contested primary.

BLACK TURNOUT, which has traditionally lagged 10 or more points behind the turnout in white areas this time approached 69 percent of the city's estimated 615,000 registered black voters. It was a tide that was foreshadowed by an extensive black voter registration drive.

The black turnout eclipsed the white turnout on much of the North and Northwest Sides, where Byrne was counting on rallying up big numbers to capture renomination.

Only on the traditionally heavily-voting Southwest Side, which was Daley's base, did voters come out in larger numbers than in the black community.

"The race was not won by the management of the black," said Al Raby, Washington's campaign chief. "It was won as a result of the enormous amount of spontaneity that existed within the community and an enormous number of volunteers."

IN SOME OF THE middle class black wards on the Far South Side, such as the 8th, 9th and 21st, where voters traditionally have demonstrated their independence from the Democratic machine, Washington rolled up an edge of more than 50,000 votes over Byrne.

But even in the regular Democratic, inner-city strongholds, Washington ran up substantial victories, depriving Byrne of anything approaching the black vote her strategists felt she needed.

The mayor had been counting on garnering a quarter of the black vote, but committeemen in those wards badly underestimated the depth and breadth of the movement for a black mayor, which took on an almost religious fervor in the black community in recent weeks.

That black vote may have been heightened as well by remarks made on the final weekend of the campaign by Vrdolyak, who told Northwest Side precinct captains that the black vote "has become a racial thing" and implored them to "save your city."

WASHINGTON BRANDISHED a copy of Vrdolyak's remarks, which the chairman later disavowed, at campaign stops throughout the final days of the campaign.

Vrdolyak's design apparently called for white voters on the Northwest and Southwest Sides to flee into Daley and vote for Byrne because of polls that showed Washington running second, in striking distance of the mayor.

But David Sawyer, the New York media adviser whose commercials and strategic decisions helped revive Byrne's political standing in the last six months, said Wednesday that Byrne may have been hurt by publication of Vrdolyak's remarks.

"I think the fact that it came out so visibly didn't help us," Sawyer told reporters after the mayor's concession speech.

SAWYER SAID late polls taken by the Byrne camp showed the mayor "doing quite well." However, that polls missed last minute decisions by undecided voters and may have been skewed by blacks who told telephone interviewers that they were for Byrne, while they were really for Washington.

Moreover, Byrne didn't do as well as she had hoped in the lakefront wards, another area where there may have been backlash.

Daley's camp believed that the Byrne camp's racial strategy did hurt his candidacy, however.

His aides offered that as one theory why Daley failed to run as well as he had expected in his Southwest Side base, and in some Northwest Side wards.

DALEY'S STRATEGY called for him to defeat Byrne by having a margin on the Southwest Side, emerging with an 80,000 vote lead. In fact, he turned the mayor back by less than 50,000 on his home turf, despite the fact that many of the ward committeemen in the area were backing his effort.

The state's attorney also hoped to run even on the Northwest Side, where his volunteer army was working feverishly to compete with most of the committeemen in that area.

While he failed to do that, he did run closer than Byrne had expected.

In wards such as the 41st and 50th, where the mayor was counting on huge majorities, she emerged with a modest edge.
Aldermanic vote

Majority of votes cast needed for election. If no candidate receives more than 50 percent, a runoff will take place April 12 between the top two vote-getters. (r) indicates elected, (u) indicates runoff participant, (i) indicates incumbent.

Ward 1 (uncontested)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fred B. Ron (i)</td>
<td>42,904</td>
<td>51.0</td>
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Ward 2 (46 of 52 precincts)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William Barnett (i)</td>
<td>5,881</td>
<td>38.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bobby Rush</td>
<td>3,922</td>
<td>25.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Warner T. Hughes</td>
<td>2,756</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paula Marquez</td>
<td>1,393</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theodore E. Robinson</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifford J. Stark</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernice Gresham Jr.</td>
<td>247</td>
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Ward 3 (31 of 58 precincts)

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<tr>
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<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tyrone T. Kenner (i)</td>
<td>4,800</td>
<td>50.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Samuel A. Patch</td>
<td>2,552</td>
<td>24.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dorothy J. Tillman</td>
<td>2,248</td>
<td>24.7</td>
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Ward 4 (25 of 61 precincts)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Timothy C. Evans</td>
<td>3,692</td>
<td>46.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tavis Reed Preckwinkle</td>
<td>1,822</td>
<td>23.1</td>
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<td>Michael W. Smith</td>
<td>1,311</td>
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<td>Maurice Perkins</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>6.9</td>
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<td>Betty B. Booker</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>2.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Excell Jones</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>1.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muhir E. Davis</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ronnie Terry</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>0.7</td>
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Ward 5 (58 of 60 precincts)

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<tr>
<td>Lawrence S. Bloom (i)</td>
<td>13,622</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frank Bacon</td>
<td>2,623</td>
<td>12.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joseph G. Billard</td>
<td>2,435</td>
<td>11.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Josie Brown Childs</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>4.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richard J. LeVarr</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>3.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lindbergh Norris</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>2.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elliott A. Mathews St.</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert J. Moon</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>1.0</td>
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Ward 6 (60 of 83 precincts)

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<tr>
<td>Eugene Sawyer (i)</td>
<td>16,365</td>
<td>63.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roy Oliver</td>
<td>3,865</td>
<td>15.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jules R. Packnett</td>
<td>3,668</td>
<td>14.3</td>
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<td>Ardell Devora-Pitor</td>
<td>1,816</td>
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Ward 7 (39 of 44 precincts)

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<tr>
<td>Raymond Castro</td>
<td>4,729</td>
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<td>William M. Beavers</td>
<td>2,416</td>
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<tr>
<td>John A. Johnson</td>
<td>1,798</td>
<td>12.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gerald E. Jones</td>
<td>1,667</td>
<td>11.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Johnny Acuff Jr.</td>
<td>1,137</td>
<td>7.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lupe M. Perez</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>6.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lula Johnson Smith</td>
<td>861</td>
<td>5.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chauncey C. Wales Jr.</td>
<td>861</td>
<td>5.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Louise Brown</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craig A. Ford</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>2.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joseph Rodriguez</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>1.4</td>
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Ward 8 (61 of 63 precincts)

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Marian Humes (i)</td>
<td>16,843</td>
<td>75.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maine T. McCurrie</td>
<td>5,231</td>
<td>23.9</td>
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Ward 9 (41 of 46 precincts)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert Shaw (i)</td>
<td>6,689</td>
<td>35.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Perry H. Hutchinson</td>
<td>5,582</td>
<td>35.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fred Jackson</td>
<td>1,936</td>
<td>7.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Constance J. Roden</td>
<td>940</td>
<td>5.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>James Meredith</td>
<td>899</td>
<td>4.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charles M. White</td>
<td>884</td>
<td>4.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Melva Jean Tate</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>3.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Terence Steele</td>
<td>287</td>
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<td>Willie Jackson</td>
<td>272</td>
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<tr>
<td>Matthew O. Maden</td>
<td>94</td>
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Ward 10 (59 of 62 precincts)

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edward A. Vrilo (i)</td>
<td>16,420</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miriam Balanoff</td>
<td>7,341</td>
<td>29.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marion L. Fisher</td>
<td>962</td>
<td>4.0</td>
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Turn to Page 9
### Aldermanic vote

<table>
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<th>Ward 30 (59 of 61 precincts)</th>
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<th>Percent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>George J. Magoun (i)</td>
<td>13,877</td>
<td>71.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>A. G. Vos (i)</td>
<td>2,783</td>
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<td>Robert Hamilton</td>
<td>2,720</td>
<td>14.1</td>
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<td>Ward 31 (44 of 46 precincts)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Andy Gough</td>
<td>3,372</td>
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<tr>
<td>James E. Prudden</td>
<td>1,306</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miguel A. Santiago</td>
<td>6,848</td>
<td>52.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leo J. Tuman</td>
<td>1,551</td>
<td>11.9</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>John A. Fabesich</td>
<td>1,103</td>
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<td>Theres M. Gabinke</td>
<td>12,077</td>
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<td>George M. Manning</td>
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<td>17.8</td>
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<td>Ward 33 (35 of 46 precincts)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richard F. Mell (i)</td>
<td>10,320</td>
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<td>Israel Rodreuz (i)</td>
<td>2,070</td>
<td>16.7</td>
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<td>Wilson Flood (i)</td>
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<td>Tommy Briscoe</td>
<td>3,074</td>
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<td>Frederick Reardon</td>
<td>3,058</td>
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<td>Sydney Rahm Shant</td>
<td>1,515</td>
<td>6.6</td>
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<td>Horace White</td>
<td>1,064</td>
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<td>Ward 35 (48 of 53 precincts)</td>
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<td>Chester R. Hornowski</td>
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<td>Joseph K. Kotzlar</td>
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<td>Gene Kucikowski</td>
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<tr>
<td>John C. Marcin (i)</td>
<td>6,867</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ward 36 (73 of 76 precincts)</td>
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<tr>
<td>e-James G. Bower</td>
<td>15,694</td>
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<td>Richard M. Pope</td>
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<td>Ward 37 (38 of 51 precincts)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frank A. Damato (i)</td>
<td>7,008</td>
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<td>1,424</td>
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<td>Marilyn Watson</td>
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<td>George L. Lawson</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Charles Edward Rayburn</td>
<td>1,655</td>
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<td>Ward 21 (59 of 64 precincts)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ward 22 (27 of 27 precincts)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ward 23 (66 of 74 precincts)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ward 24 (35 of 59 precincts)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ward 25 (35 of 38 precincts)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ward 26 (uncontested)</td>
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<td>Ward 27 (59 of 53 precincts)</td>
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<td>Ward 26 (uncontested)</td>
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<td>Ward 28 (43 of 51 precincts)</td>
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<td>Ward 29 (22 of 46 precincts)</td>
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### Aldermanic vote

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<td>Ward 42 (59 of 62 precincts)</td>
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An odorous Byrne ploy

Racist finale

When it came down to the end, the Byrne campaign dropped its New York-created slickness and got down to a gut Chicago tactic. Their warning cry to white neighborhoods was "The blacks are coming, the blacks are coming!"

They’ve been doing it all along, but in a more subtle way, with precinct captains whispering to bungalow owners that if Byrne didn’t win, Washington and the blacks would take over the city.

The idea was to con voters into believing that Richard M. Daley doesn’t have a chance—which is nonsense—and that voting for him is like voting for Washington because it deprives Jane Byrne of a chance to win and save the city from the black hordes.

ON THE LAST WEEKEND of the campaign, though, they said to hell with subtlety. They were bellowing their message of racial fear in three-part harmony.

There was Eddie Vrdolyak, the party’s county chairman, letting it all hang out at a rally on the Northwest Side. No subtle buzz words for Fast Eddie. He wanted to strike terror in their hearts, so he bluntly said:

“A vote for Daley is a vote for Washington. It’s a two-person race. It would be the worst day in the history of Chicago if your candidate, the one who did not run, was not elected.

“It’s a racial thing. Don’t kid yourself. I’m calling on you to save your city, to save your precinct.

“We’re fighting to keep the city the way it is.”

Then there was Ald. Roman Pucinski, braying over and over at a Northwest Side audience that it is now a contest between Byrne and Washington. “Daley is through, Daley is through,” Pucinski chanted until he was hoarse. And all over his own ward, Daley posters peered out of bungalow windows at him.

Byrne herself went to the Southwest Side, which is Daley territory, and picked up on the theme that Daley was through and the choice was her or Washington.

Naturally, in almost the same breath she said she decried any suggestion that race was an issue. Oh, of course it isn’t. If white voters have a mental image of a little white lady like Byrne being terrorized by a big black man like Harold Washington, that’s their problem, right?

SO NOW THE BYRNE administration can add crude racism to its other list of dubious achievements, which include double-dealing, double-crossing, distortion of the truth, crookery and corruption. What’s left for them—public nudity?

Of course, this was their strategy all along. The candidate that Byrne, Vrdolyak, Swibel, Griffin and Brady and the other pocket-stuffers feared most was Daley. The last thing they wanted was a two-person contest between only Byrne and Daley.

They had a preview of what might happen two years ago when Daley entered the Democratic primary for state’s attorney and Byrne and Vrdolyak supported Ald. Eddie Burke, who is himself a powerful South Side ward boss. Daley crushed Burke.

Then Daley ran against incumbent State’s Attorney Bernie Carey, and once again Byrne put her prestige on the line by supporting Carey, a Republican. She also muscled a lot of Democratic ward bosses into supporting Carey. Daley stomped Carey.

So Byrne and her crew hoped that a black candidate would appear and that they could play on white racial fears. Some say they did more than hope—that if blacks hadn’t persuaded Washington to run, Vrdolyak and Byrne would have found their own black candidate, propped him up and shoved him out there to play boogeyman to white voters.

It’s a clever tactic. Disgusting, but clever.

BUT THE RACIAL OUTBURST near the end might also tell us something about the way the Byrne campaign has really been going.

Byrne keeps saying, almost with a confident yawn, that she is far, far ahead.

She points to TV and newspaper telephone polls—which have been notoriously inaccurate in the past because Chicagoans don’t trust strangers who call them on the telephone and ask questions—that show her several points ahead.

It’s all over, she says, except the shouting. (And, of course, except for paying back the fat-wallets who put together her $10 million campaign fund.)

Well, if she is that comfortably ahead, then why did she and Vrdolyak and the others think it necessary to close their campaign with such a blatant play on racial fears?

THE ANSWER IS THAT THEY don’t believe the TV and newspaper polls any more than the rest of us do.

They know, from talking to nervous ward bosses on the Northwest Side, that Daley is running well there. And they know, from talking to their ward bosses on the Southwest Side, that Daley is way ahead in that part of town.

So it is their own fear of losing that drove them into the desperate act of trying to fan white Chicagoans’ racial fears.

I’m sure Vrdolyak’s remarks were transmitted to other parts of the country by the news services.

Gov. George Wallace of Alabama probably read them. Wallace is probably sitting down there in Alabama, scratching his head and wondering how in the world those Yankees ever had the gall to call him a racist opportunist.
Daley blames Byrne racial scare tactics for loss

By Douglas Frantz

CAMPAIGN strategists for State’s Atty. Richard Daley blamed his defeat Tuesday night on the race-baiting tactics of Mayor Jane Byrne and her backers, contending that they scared away crucial Daley votes on the predominantly white Northwest and Southwest Sides.

Daley’s defeat came because he did not win by the margin he had anticipated on the Southwest Side, his home community, and lost to Byrne on the Northwest Side, where he had expected to run even or possibly ahead of Byrne.

When Daley entered the Grand Ballroom at the Hyatt Regency Chicago hotel to make his concession speech at 11:40 p.m. Tuesday, several hundred partisans shouted, “No, no!”

But he and his advisers had known for three hours that he would not sit in the fifth-floor office at City Hall occupied for 21 years by his late father, Richard J. Daley.

IT WAS APPARENT as early as 8:30 p.m. that the numbers simply were not there. By that time, Daley workers across the city had telephoned in results showing that he was faring worse than expected on both the Southwest and Northwest Sides.

“Were we ahead and everything was working our way until the racial thing, that blew it wide open for us,” said William Daley in an interview shortly after his brother’s concession speech.

“You can’t answer that kind of thing unless you put on a white sheet and run around. We weren’t about to do that.”

Racism emerged as an major issue in the final days of the volatile three-way race for the Democratic nomination for mayor. The Byrne camp faced charges from both Daley and U.S. Rep. Harold Washington (D., Ill.) that she was playing on the racial fears of white voters.

THE ISSUE FIRST arose over a letter written by then Gov. Richard Ogilvie, a Republican backing Byrne, that was circulated on the Northwest Side. The letter said the contest had boiled down to a race between Byrne and Washington and argued that a vote for Daley was in effect, a vote for Washington.

The issue was inflamed last weekend when Ald. Edward Vrdolyak (10th), the mayor’s handpicked chairman of the Cook County Democratic Party, told Northwest Side precinct workers the contest had become “a racial thing,” with Byrne trying to fend off a last-minute surge from Washington and Daley out of the race.

William Daley, who served as his brother’s top campaign strategist, said it became apparent in recent days that the race issue was scaring white voters out of Daley’s camp and into Byrne’s.

“We sensed last weekend that there was a movement in those fringe areas where we were somewhat fearful that the racial strategy of the mayor and the chairman [Vrdolyak] was aimed,” he said. “We couldn’t counter it. How do you answer them?”

Debates turned tide for Washington

By Steve Neal

THOUGH HAROLD Washington broke all the rules in his mayoral campaign, the South Side congressman won Tuesday’s primary by making his “it’s our turn” campaign into a crusade in the black neighborhoods.

While his opponents fought for control of the Democratic organization, Washington (D., Ill.) pitched his campaign to his South and West Side constituencies, gaining exposure and credibility with his impressive performances in the four mayoral debates.

In a recent interview, Washington said that the televised debates marked the turning point of his campaign.

“Until then, I was practically an unknown quantity,” he said. “They (the debates) represented the only way for me to project myself as experienced and knowledgeable. It was my role to project that, and I think I did.”

Throughout his campaign, Washington insisted that Byrne’s black support was exaggerated in public opinion polls because many black voters were reluctant to tell a stranger on the telephone that they opposed the mayor. Tuesday’s vote proved him right.

THOUGH NEITHER Byrne nor State’s Atty. Richard Daley could do anything about Washington’s entry into the race last fall, the mayor’s political strategists believed at the time that the congressman’s candidacy would split the anti-Byrne vote and enable the mayor to edge out Daley, who was then considered the frontrunner.

Within a short time, however, Byrne’s polls showed that Washington had emerged as a major threat. A Byrne adviser said Tuesday that the mayor’s biggest liability was the perception that her administration was

Chicago Tribune | Thursday, February 24, 1983

News analysis

BEFORE THE DEBATES, Washington was a heavy favorite in the black wards. But his strong showing in the debates convinced thousands of blacks that his candidacy wasn’t just symbolic but a serious bid to gain control of City Hall.

The outpouring of black votes for Washington was unprecedented but was not the first strong showing by black voters. Four years ago, a huge black protest vote helped Jane Byrne upset Mayor Michael Bilandic in the Democratic primary. And, on Tuesday, Byrne was open for a repeat as another black no-confidence vote, coupled with overwhelming support for the blacks’ favorite-son candidate.
Analysis

Continued from preceding page

unfair to blacks.

Byrne got into trouble with blacks for naming two antibusing white women to the school board and by placing three whites on the Chicago Housing Authority board. In protest, Rev. Jesse Jackson organized a boycott of Byrne’s Chicago Fest last summer. That helped trigger a mass registration drive in which 100,000 black voters were added to the city’s rolls.

IN AN IRONIC twist, Cook County Democratic Chairman Edward Vryndal actively encouraged the black registration drive last fall, and that brought Washington into the race. Washington has pledged to dismantle the Democratic organization and bring an end to the patronage system that has fueled it for half a century.

A top adviser to Byrne said Tuesday that Vryndal’s ill-chosen remarks emphasizing race as an issue during the campaign’s final weekend turned out to be counterproductive. Although it may have helped strengthen Byrne’s white vote on the Northwest Side, a Byrne aide said that it drove away many blacks who had been leaning toward the mayor.

When Washington made his first bid for City Hall in 1977, only 40 percent of the black voters went to the polls. On his second try, nearly 80 percent rallied to his cause.

WASHINGTON’S nomination on his second attempt was in keeping with the tradition in other large cities that have elected black mayors. Like Washington, Thomas Bradley of Los Angeles and Carl Stokes of Cleveland were successful the second time around.

There were, however, numerous differences in Washington’s upset victory. He received a smaller white vote than black mayors traditionally receive, but it didn’t matter because his two major opponents split the white vote. Although successful black candidates generally have received strong support from the establishment press, Washington was shunned by the city’s two major newspapers, receiving only the endorsement of the weekly Chicago Daily Defender and WBWM radio.

Washington’s triumph was a setback for the White House aspirations of former Vice President Walter Mondale, who was censured by black political leaders for backing Daley.

Washington was endorsed by another presidential hopeful, Sen. Alan Cranston (D., Calif.).

ALTHOUGH OUTSPENT and outorganized by his major opponents, Washington had a more devoted following than either. He was also the most relaxed and effective campaigner in the Democratic contest. Even when he managed to raise money to purchase some TV ads in the final days of the campaign, though, he had difficulty.

Officials in more than 20 buildings—including City Hall—refused to permit him to film a commercial in a hallway. So, finally, Washington did the spot in the Du Sable Museum on the South Side.

To explain the biggest blemish on his record—a 1972 conviction for failing to file federal income taxes for four years—Washington admitted that it had been “stupid,” and it dissolving as a major issue. Washington said in an interview that his legislative record was proof that he had “redeemed” himself.

Beginning her re-election bid as an underdog to Daley, Byrne made a strong comeback on the strength of her $10 million campaign fund and media adviser David Sawyer’s TV spots. On the eve of his nomination, Washington quipped that his candidacy had forced Byrne to spend every nickel of her campaign fund.
Patronage must end: Washington seeks to reassure whites

By Lillian Williams

Democratic nominee Harold Washington sought to reassure white voters Thursday that "there is no reason to fear" if he is elected Chicago's first black mayor, and repeated his promise to eliminate patronage.

"Other cities have gone through this and have thrived mightily," he said. "I was born and raised in Chicago. I know its problems. I know its communities. I know its people."

In his first round of public appearances since election night, Washington appeared on the morning news broadcasts of all three major television networks.

Interviewed on ABC-TV's "Good Morning America," Washington said he is convinced that Chicagoans want to do away with the patronage system as much as he does.

Washington also paid a quick visit to his alma mater, Du Sable High School, 4934 S. Wabash, and received a hero's welcome. Students, many from the nearby Robert Taylor Homes housing project, mobbed him in the corridors, cheering him and reaching for his hand.

On his way out, a girl handed him a lollipop and declared: "I'm proud of you." Washington graduated from Du Sable, where he was city high-hurdles champion, in 1942.

In his television appearances, he said his primary campaign made him "more aware than ever before that people are sick and tired of the patronage machine. In essence, what it means is that many of these do not take the responsibility of doing political work. They want it or not. I think people are tired of it."

He also said if elected he will not fire city employees.

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"willy-nilly," although he did indicate major changes in the cabinet.

"On the policy level," he said, "people will be put in positions who understand what our policy is." But, he added, "The broader bureaucracy will be left intact."

He said that his transition team, headed by Edwin C. "Bill" Berry, who also headed his campaign steering committee, has already begun a citywide personnel search for new department heads.

During his campaign to unseat Mayor Byrne, he repeatedly said he would not appoint an all-black cabinet but would increase the number of minority members.

On NBC's Today Show, Washington said presidential candidate Walter F. Mondale "has some explaining to do" over his endorsement of Richard M. Daley in Tuesday's primary.

"You make your choices," Washington said, referring to Mondale's explanation that he had a debt to Daley, who supported Jimmy Carter in his primary battle against Massachusetts Sen. Edward M. Kennedy.

"You pay a small debt or a large debt, [but] you make a mistake and pay the wrong debt, you're in trouble," Washington said. "Let's just say Mr. Mondale has some explaining to do."

On Tuesday, Washington pressed ahead with his campaign promise to replace police Supt. Richard J. Brzezek. He said he will create a task force to scour the top ranks of the department for a new superintendent.
Washington win 'iced' by whites

By Brian J. Kelly and Basil Talbott Jr.

White voters along the city's lakefront and a small share of Hispanics may have provided the margin of victory in Rep. Harold Washington's triumph over Mayor Byrne, a Sun-Times analysis of ward totals indicates.

Even though Tuesday's primary election was marked by a strong vote along racial lines, it was the thin layer of icing provided by whites for Washington—less than 10 percent citywide—that allowed Washington to win by about 33,000 votes.

That icing, however, came atop a substantial cake. Preliminary ward totals show Washington's "80-80" strategy nearly prevailed. That called for blacks to turn out at an 80 percent rate and for 80 percent of those to vote for him.

The black turnout seemed to be around 73 percent—below the consistent 80 percent turnout in many white wards. In the middle-class black wards, Washington won more than 80 percent, with the numbers dropping off to the mid-70s in the poorer wards where the Regular Democratic Organization is more influential.

The heart of Washington's support—wards 6, 8, 21 and 34—turned out totals previously unheard of in the black community. He carried each of those wards with more than 90,000 votes on a day when Richard M. Daley's home 11th Ward gave their candidate 21,000.

Still, it seems that even taking Washington's most optimistic estimates of total black registration of 670,000, he would have fallen short had he not performed well along the city's lakefront and near-lakefront. He came in with more than 10 percent of the vote in those predominantly white areas.

Typical was the 48th Ward where, with a population that is 15 percent black, Washington won 24 percent of the vote. He fared similarly in wards 43, 44, 46 and 49 where, with virtually no black population, he still won 6 percent of the vote.

Away from the lake in all-white wards such as 40, 47 and 50 he also made a reasonable showing with about 5 percent of the vote.

It was about twice as well as he had expected to do, according to one of his pollsters, Paul Maslin, who admitted Washington could not have won without the white vote.

As black as Washington's base wards voted, the city's most heavily white wards on the Southwest and Northwest sides remained almost all white in their voting. Washington was almost invisible on the tally sheets, rarely topping 500 votes in wards that were turning out 30,000 votes.

There were also some suggestions that blacks, as well as whites, did not vote along strictly racial lines. In two aldermanic races in heavily black wards—5 and 15—white candidates were given the highest votes over black opponents while Washington continued to get his big majorities.

It also seems apparent that Washington's much-touted black-Hispanic coalition never materialized, though he did pick up a crucial slice of Hispanic votes. In wards such as 31, 32 and 33, where there is a substantial Hispanic presence and few blacks, Washington generally pulled more than 10 percent.

In the black community, Byrne was able to win a little more than 10 percent of the black vote, going as high as 17 percent in the Machine-controlled 16th Ward. Her pollster, Dick Dresser, said he charted Byrne's black support dropping in half in the final days of the campaign and it may have been the result of racial comments by Cook County Democratic Party Chairman Edward R. Vrdolyak.

SHADINGS show which wards were won by Democratic mayoral candidates. (Sun-Times Map)
Chicago's Democratic machine: Is it obsolete?

By Steve Neal

WHEN THE DEMOCRATIC machine failed to deliver for Mayor Jane Byrne in last Tuesday's primary, it wasn't anything new.

Indeed, since Mayor Richard J. Daley's death in December, 1976, his once invincible Democratic organization has become the Chicago Cubs of American politics, losing elections more often than winning.

Four years ago, the fabled machine couldn't save Mayor Michael Bilandic. Then, in 1980, its endorsed candidates—

Steve Neal is a reporter for The Tribune.

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D., Mass.) for president and Ald. Edward Burke (14th) for state's attorney—were trounced. And, last week, two-thirds of the city's Democratic voters rejected Byrne, the organization's choice.

What made last week different, though, was that U.S. Rep. Harold Washington had so openly mocked the organization as a "machine that doesn't work anymore." The South Side congressman also pledged to dismantle the patronage system, which has been the party's power base for half a century. If he can pull that off, then the organization might soon be talked about in the past tense.

The most remarkable thing about Chi-

[From left] Mayor Jane Byrne, the late Richard J. Daley, George Dunne and Ald. Edward Vrdolyak.
Machine

Continued from 1st Perspective pag ed that the Chicago machine will soon be transformed into a white-dominated organization into a black-white coalition. Several veteran ward committeemen have suggested that city Treasurer Cecil Partee, with whom Washington has often worked in the past, or Ald. Wilson Frost (34th) could play potentially key roles in such a transition. University of Illinois political science professor Milton Rakove, author of two studies of the Chicago machine, is skeptical whether Washington can forge such a coalition. "It's splitting deeper," says Rakove.

FOR THE MOMENT, Washington has said he won't try to force the ouster of Ald. Edward Vrdolyak (10th) as Cook County Democratic chairman and will keep the organization at arm's length. The machine's immediate task is to rally behind Washington and keep intact its 52-year record of electing a Democratic mayor. While Byrne, Daley and most of the party leadership have pledged Washington their support, the party's ward committeemen will have to earn the black congressman's confidence by proving that they can deliver their wards.

Several years ago, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission described Chicago as the nation's most racially segregated city. And it still is. That's why Republican nominee Bernard Epton's candidacy is no longer considered a joke. And it's also why some party stalwarts are doubtful whether they can produce the traditional winning margins for Washington in their Catholic ethnic wards. If they don't, then Washington will probably consider them of negligible value.

A Northwest Side ward committeeman said that Washington's campaign rhetoric about an electoral coalition of blacks, Hispanics and poor whites has had a polarizing effect in his ward. "It almost sounds as if they're writing off the Northwest Side and the Southwest Side," the official said, "and that would be a big mistake."

Just as the ward committeemen are groaning desperately to determine which direction the party will move, Washington, too, is in the process of defining his relationship with the party. Although elected as an independent, Washington was an organization man for most of his political career. A former legislative colleague predicts that, in the end, Washington would be an "organization-minded mayor."

If Washington and the Chicago machine get through the April 15 mayoral election, the organization will probably find itself challenged in the 1984 presidential and senatorial primaries. With Sen. Charles H. Percy (R., Ill.) regarded as vulnerable, there is no shortage of Democratic challengers—with or without the machine.

"Things have changed," says Pucinski. "We were the last of the big machines in America. But the precinct captain's role has diminished. When they're competing for people's time with things like pay TV, the people don't want to be bothered."
Washington has white support: poll

By Dennis Byrne and Sarah Snyder

As key Democratic Party leaders lined up Thursday behind Rep. Harold Washington, results of a poll suggest that many white backers of Washington’s opponents in the primary would vote for him in the April general election.

But a majority of whites also said in the Associated Press/WMAQ-TV exit poll that Washington’s conviction for failure to file federal income tax returns is a reason not to elect him mayor.

Washington’s upset victory over Mayor Byrne and State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley has raised the question of whether whites might vote for the Republican candidate, Bernard E. Epton, on April 12.

Several key figures in the Democratic Party on Wednesday quickly lined up behind Washington, including Byrne and Daley themselves.

ON THURSDAY, Ald. Vito Marzuollo, long a boss in the West Side 25th Ward, said he would add his backing, if asked by Washington.

“I’ve never had any problem all my political life with anyone,” Marzuollo told reporters at City Hall. “It depends on how they conduct themselves. If they run like a lady or a gentleman, I do [back them]. There is no reason he [Washington] shouldn’t.”

Asked if he were waiting for a phone call from Washington seeking support, Marzuollo said, “He don’t have to do anything. He’s the mayor of Chicago.”

Although most ward committeemen did not back Washington, there will be “no obstructionism” in the general election, Ald. Edward R. Vrdolyak (10th), county Democratic chairman and a Byrne backer, pledged earlier.

In the exit poll, 41 percent of Daley and Byrne voters said they planned to stick with the Democratic nominee in April if their candidate lost the primary.

The poll was taken of 2,920 voters as they left their polling places, before it was known that Washington won.

Fourteen percent of the Daley-Burne voters said they would vote for Epton in the general election. But 28 percent said they were undecided.

FIFTY-NINE PERCENT of the whites polled said they agreed that Washington should not be elected mayor because of his income tax conviction, while 16 percent said they were unsure.

Two out of three whites said the fact that Washington is black was of little or no importance in their vote, but only 6 percent said they voted for Washington.

Meanwhile, before Byrne left for a vacation in Palm Springs, Calif., she met briefly with her department heads to say “thank you,” an aide said Thursday.

The meeting was “a quick, private moment—basically a ‘thank you,’” spokesman Bob Shain said. “It was a reminder to continue in your job, to stay at your desk.”

The mayor, he said, was greeted with a “brief spate of applause.”

Bill Griffin, Byrne’s campaign manager, told the department heads, “Let’s have no long faces. The mayor doesn’t need it and you don’t need it,” according to Shain.

Most are taking her advice, he said, adding, “There isn’t a rush to abandon ship.”
Business ready to talk with Washington

By Daniel Rosenheim and Jerome Idaszak

A cross section of Chicago business leaders, assessing the city's new political equation Wednesday, expressed broad willingness to work with Rep. Harold Washington toward establishing "a unified city government."

But for the most part, business executives also expressed a wait-and-see attitude, noting that the city's Democratic mayoral nominee and its mainstream business community must go through a get-acquainted period as a prerequisite to establishing strong ties.

Reflecting the feelings of many business leaders, Charles Gardner, executive director of the State Street Council, sent Washington a telegram that both offered congratulations and requested the beginning of a "meaningful dialogue" to assist in formulating plans that affect business.

Washington, who credited his nomination Tuesday to a "working people's coalition of blacks, whites and Hispanics," received considerable backing for his campaign from black-owned and operated businesses, but he had little explicit support from the leaders of Chicago's major banks and other large businesses.

"There is going to be a period of getting to know each other," said Frank Considine, president and chief executive officer of National Can Corp. "I think he can make a good mayor if he concentrates on bringing everyone—and I mean everyone—together and his basic conduct in office is balanced."

Both Considine and others suggested that any failure by Washington to broaden his base of support and establish ties to the business community could drive many of those who backed Mayor Byrne and Richard Daley into the Republican camp of lawyer Bernard Epton, who squares off against Washington in the city's general election April 12.

Continental Bank president John H. Perkins, who helped coalesce business support for Mayor Byrne following her election, issued a prepared statement Wednesday offering "good wishes" to both Washington and Epton but didn't back either.

See BUSINESS, Page 94

BUSINESS: Execs ready to talk with mayoral candidate

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otherwise unavailable for comment.

Separately, at a Wednesday afternoon news conference, Washington campaign manager Al Raby said he and his colleagues were already being made by members of Washington's staff to establish meetings with business leaders.

"We are responsive to assertions that Detroit and Gary went downhill following the election of black mayors," Raby noted that 212 U.S. cities have black mayors, adding: "Gary is a single-industry town that declined for reasons that have nothing to do with electing a black mayor."

Noting that all four mayoral candidates met during the primary with Chicago United, a working group of the city's most powerful business leaders, Gardner chairman James Beré said he had previously concluded all of the contenders were qualified to be mayor.

Beré said Washington told the group he was a strong advocate of a public-private partnership, and Beré said he believes the business community will work with Washington to foster such a partnership.

Among supporters in the black business community, Edward G. Gardner, chairman and president of Soft Sheen Products Co., was confident that Washington would win widespread business backing.

"Up to now, 95 percent of his support came from black business—black banks, black media, black mayors," Gardner said. "But as others realize what a fair-minded person he is, Washington will elicit support from the entire city."

The principal concerns mentioned by business leaders are taxes and utilities. "Taxes are as high as they can be without discouraging [business] incentives," said Walter E. Auch, chairman of the Chicago Board Options Exchange.

Similarly, Washington's proposals to freeze utility rates and increase the public utility invested capital tax have raised concerns at the utilities and in the broader business community.

But several business leaders Wednesday expressed the hope that such proposals were made for their political appeal. For example, former Illinois Commerce Commission chairman Michael V. Hasten said he was not "unduly disturbed" by Washington's utility-related proposals.

And Brian P. Monieson, chairman of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, which has trumpeted its commitment to Chicago by joining a $300 million construction project along Wacker Dr., said any tax increase proposed by Washington will have to be "justified and equitable."

"Washington has been in Congress for many years, a good public servant," Monieson said. "This isn't like having some guy off the street. This guy's been around."

Considine said Washington has "got to go to the center of the road," both programmatically and in terms of balancing his constituency.

"If he doesn't strike a balance, it will be very hard on him and it will hurt the city."

Separately, Moody's Investors Service, one of two major agencies that issue ratings on municipal debt, bonds and notes, said a new mayor for Chicago won't necessarily have affect the city's bond rating.

"If they're looking for some kind of rating change, it's a lot more likely to be more a political issue than an economic trend," said Robert O. Gallagher, director of Moody's municipal department, said he expects the administrative team of any new mayor would meet with the credit service, but he noted ratings seldom change without a significant change in a city's economic climate.

Chicago's bonds are rated A by Moody's, compared to Ba-1 for New York City. The top rating is AAA, and Houston is one of only a handful of cities that have it.

Kathleen Behof and Jerry C. Davis also contributed to this story.
Jackson didn't steal the show, but he was a big part of it

By Monroe Anderson

FOUR YEARS AGO, Jane Byrne was elected mayor and unwittingly set the stage for Harold Washington's victory in the Democratic primary last Tuesday. But it may have been the Rev. Jesse Jackson who wrote the score.

Jackson, the apostle of black achievement, has been a leading, perhaps the leading, national and local spokesman for black causes for more than 15 years. But his demanding style and sometimes extreme rhetoric have not endeared him to most white and some black Chicagoans.

As a result, his political effectiveness was never accepted in Chicago, and on some occasions—including "preach" write-in candidacy for mayor in 1971—it was ridiculed. He did share in one success when he joined with former independent Ald. William Singer (43d) in 1975 to win the seating of an independent Illinois delegation at the Democratic National Convention, unseating the group led by Mayor Richard J. Daley.

When Jackson appeared to share the spotlight with Washington during Washington's victory pronouncement after Tuesday's primary, many people thought he was trying to steal the show.

But, in fact, Jesse Jackson was a big part of the show.

WASHINGTON'S victory resulted from a record turnout of black voters, but his candidacy alone did not stimulate that turnout. Washington agreed only reluctantly to run for mayor as a reaction to the huge vote the black community produced in the November, 1982, general election, and that vote came primarily from the years that Jackson spent preaching civic involvement among blacks.

The November registration drive was conceived by Jackson in the twilight of Jane Byrne's mayoralty, which had been marked by a series of actions that Jackson and other blacks resented.

Ironically, it was the same nature of protest against the Michael Bilandic administration that provided Byrne with the bulk of black votes in 1979. The cause célébre of that campaign was born during the terrible weather of January-February, when Bilandic ordered rapid transit trains en route to the downtown area to bypass most of the stops in black areas of the city.

Thousands of black commuters were stranded at transit platforms in the snow and cold, watching as thousands of white suburban passengers zipped by on the trains.

REV. JACKSON, whose regular Saturday meetings of Operation PUSH are broadcast on three black radio stations, used that forum to denounce the decision of the administration. Byrne seized the same opportunity, and Jackson invited him to join him at a subsequent PUSH meeting, where he endorsed her mayoral candidacy.

On the night of her surprise victory, Jackson was at her side, not at all unlike his appearance with Washington last week.

But when Byrne's administration made its peace with the Democratic regular organization that he had defeated, Jackson began compiling what he later called his list of grievances against her.

He spoke out long and loud when she rejected Deputy Supt. Samuel Nolan, a black, for the police superintendent's post.

WHEN SCHOOLS Supt. Joseph Hannon resigned in 1979, Jackson went to the PUSH podium to demand that Deputy Supt. Manford Byrd, who is black, be named to the post. Jackson argued that because the city's school system was predominately black, a black should run it.

The protests in the black community grew when Byrne replaced two black men on the Board of Education with two white women, changing the board's racial ratio in favor of whites, although the majority of Chicago pupils are black.

In each of these cases, Jackson's sermons led to independent community meetings in the South and West Sides during 1981. At meetings of black clubs, church groups and social organizations, the topic was the same: Selecting a black candidate for mayor in 1983.

A few weeks before ChicagoPUSH's spectacular annual opening, Byrne changed the composition of the Chicago Housing Authority management. Andrew Mooney, a young white, was appointed chairman of the CHA, whose residents are about 90 percent black, while other appointments changed the racial makeup of the board from majority black to majority white.

The proverbial straw had broken the proverbial camel's back. Less than 24 hours later, a black boycott of the lakefront festival was on. The boycott turned out to be a surprising success, with blacks representing only about 2 percent of the attendance, and a number of top black acts, including singer Stevie Wonder, canceling appearances.

Meanwhile, Jackson and other black leaders were attempting to persuade Washington, who they felt would be most likely to succeed, to run against Byrne. Washington, then a first-term U.S. congressman up for re-election, balked, stipulating that he would consider it only if 20,000
Washington's win seen hiking convention hopes

By Jerome R. Watson

WASHINGTON—Rep. Harold Washington's election as Chicago's mayor would improve the city's chances of winning the 1984 Democratic National Convention, a national party official said Thursday.

But if Republican Bernard E. Epton were to win the April 12 election, Chicago would be eliminated from the five-city competition for the convention, said the official, who spoke on condition he not be identified.

Because the convention is expected to bring $40 million to $50 million to the host city, "Washington has a card to play in rallying the business community [behind his candidacy]," the official said.

San Francisco, the site preferred by national party Chairman Charles T. Manatt, is considered the front-runner for the convention, with Chicago running second, followed by New York; Washington, D.C.; and Detroit.

At least one party official had pushed San Francisco in hopes of blocking Chicago if Mayor Byrne were re-elected, a source prominent in national party circles said.

Some national party officials had questioned whether Chicago should get the convention, both because of the violence that marred the 1968 gathering and because some saw Byrne as politically erratic.

Ironically, concern in the site selection committee over 1968 was eased when Chicago Police Supt. Richard J. Brzezek assured it that the city has a "new" police department that is not hostile to demonstrators.

Washington has pledged to replace Brzezek as superintendent.

Several party officials said Washington's election should brighten Chicago's prospects. "It's a plus," one said, "because Chicago would be visible proof that it pays for black Americans to participate as Democrats in the political process—and it will pay in 1984."

Reprinted from yesterday's late editions
A new recipe for the political pie

Vernon Jarrett

Despite all that has been said about Chicago being the most segregated city in America, Harold "The Healer" Washington can become the mayor of this city.

U.S. Rep. Washington, a maverick Democrat from the South Side's 1st Congressional District, became the Democratic Party's nominee for mayor Tuesday in the wake of a phenomenal turnout of black voters. And he can win over Republican Bernard Epton, a white former state senator, in the April 12 general election. But he will need the support of more than just the black voters.

If Washington were a white Democratic nominee, the race would hardly more than an unexciting perfunctory ritual employed only out of respect for the Illinois Election Code. He would score easily over former State Sen. Epton, a truly colorless competitor, in the general election.

The difference this time is Washington's ancestry. But his race should not be a fatally prohibitive factor.

Let it be repeated, Washington can win on April 12, and there are several routes that Washington can take to City Hall. Two of those routes I find undependable. I list them all because—if I know anything about Chicago politics—they are the ones most likely to be recommended to Washington.

Washington would be invited to a secret meeting with Democratic County Chairman Edward "Fast Eddie" Vrdolyak to discuss their future and that of the Regular Democratic Party of Cook County. To do this, Washington must be willing to forget the principles upon which he was nominated in order for him to strike a deal that would keep Vrdolyak's part of the Democratic machine "as is." Then Vrdolyak would "assure" Washington's election. Vrdolyak would also award a few slices of the party's Great Pies to Washington and the prospective mayor's selected friends.

Vrdolyak might be willing to sacrifice some of his buddies who are still pouting back at the old cabal, including the now useless Mayor Jane M. Byrne and someheads such as Ald. Edward Burke, 14th Ward committeeman. He also might sacrifice a few black palace guards, such as James C. Taylor, 16th Ward committeeman, and Ald. Robert Shaw, 9th Ward committeeman, and Vrdolyak's black valets, who nauseate Washington.

Politics is the art of compromising useless old friends, while dealing in a new one, according to the lexicon of Fast Eddie.

Vrdolyak and Washington would "bargain" with the understanding that Washington needs the machine to reach City Hall and that the machine cannot control City Hall without the black vote.

The bottom line of this deal would be the reduction of Chicago's first black mayor to a purely ceremonial figurehead. The new mayor would be permitted to make a few symbolic speeches to maintain his revolutionary image (in black and Hispanic communities), while Vrdolyak and Charlie Swibel & Company wield the real power and manage the bank. The patronage system would remain intact. All important decision-making would be in the hands of Vrdolyak.

All deals would result in more power for Vrdolyak. But then, Fast Eddie would agree to become a benevolent boss.

Washington and defeated mayoral hopeful Richard M. Daley also would consider an alternative deal, a sort of fusion politics, a mutual support system. Washington and State's Atty. Daley would meet with the understanding that Daley cannot make a genuine comeback as a formidable political figure without the help of the today's inspired black vote, and that if Washington is to occupy the 5th floor of City Hall and remain there, he is going to need the votes of whites and other ethnics. Along this route, Daley and Washington would pledge to help each other's political future.

This imaginary Daley deal is superior to the scenario of Washington selling out to Vrdolyak, but is it the best of all routes? There is another.

• The third route does not require a compromise of principles. It is more of a recipe than a scheme. It is based on the belief that there must be thousands of Chica-goans—regardless of race—who never loved machine politics and have merely tolerated the machine as a lesser evil. They, too, must want a change. They, too, must find the machine outdated and inefficient. They, too, must find the machine's spiritual diet distasteful and debilitating.

Chicago politics needs a new dietician or chef, one with a new recipe which will provide all Chicagoans with an opportunity to get their rightful piece of municipal pie, which I choose to label good government. Washington has an opportunity to present to Chicagoans not a skimpy piece of the proverbial pie, but a deep-dish cobbler that we've never been served at City Hall.

As the Democratic candidate for mayor, he should courageously take his recipe directly to whites, blacks, Hispanics and all Chicagoans. He need not rely on the fast-food Democratic machine chefs, whose reputations are well known.

Washington should not turn down endorsements from Regular Democrats or Republicans. Washington, veteran politician that he is, must know that there is no certainty that the machine will or can deliver the white votes it may promise. The machine didn't re-elect Michael Bilandie in 1979 or Mayor Byrne in 1983.

Happily, I can report that no evidence has been presented to suggest that Washington would even consider backroom "arrangements" that would surely what is probably Chicago's most refreshing political movement of the last 50 years.

So, take your recipe for a better political pie to all Chicagoans, regardless of color, Harold. I have yet to meet any normal human being who enjoys bad food.
Washington must avoid falling into Byrne trap

WATCHING THE momentous events of the last week unfold in Chicago was a bit like stepping into a time warp.

At times, Harold Washington's victory and his postelection rhetoric were eerily reminiscent of Jane Byrne four years ago.

In 1978, Byrne stunned the Democratic organization in the mayoral primary, buoyed by heavy support from black voters and whites who had become weary of the morass at City Hall and the breakdown of city services.

Her victory capped a populist campaign in which Byrne promised to bring efficiency to Chicago's government and rout corruption.

CLOT-HEAVY contractors would no longer be in a position to buy hefty contracts with their campaign contributions, she vowed, and key positions would be filled with "the best and the brightest" she could find.

The city council would become a more open body, Byrne promised, and public participation in the decision-making process would be encouraged.

And then there was her famous "evil cabal," council leaders like Ald. Edward R. Vrdolyak (10th), whom the mayor dismissed as "fast buck artists." They would be relegated to the back bench in her administration, she vowed.


"I'm going to run it straight and I'm going to run it clean. There will be no clout and the 50 wards of the city will share the work of the city."

WELL, WE all know what happened.

Byrne was unprepared to govern, and wound up turning for guidance to the very politicians she excoriated as a candidate. Vrdolyak the “fast buck artist” became Vrdolyak the Cook County Democratic chairman, with the help of Mayor Byrne.

And the "people's choice" ultimately resorted to that time-honored tradition of packing the council chambers with city workers to keep citizens from protesting her actions.

Rather than ending the trade-off of contributions, Byrne ran a veritable cash-and-carry business at City Hall, raising $10 million to become Illinois' all-time fundraising champion.

Although she promised the best and the brightest, she delivered an administration riddled with lackluster political hacks.

IN SHORT, Jane Byrne became the mayor she ran against, and that is why two-thirds of the electorate turned its back on her Tuesday.

Now comes Harold Washington, who is promising to make real what turned out to be Jane Byrne's empty promises.

He, too, speaks of reform, vowing to eliminate patronage and replace it with a merit system and a demand that city employees earn their paycheck by performing on the job, rather than in their precincts on election day.

He has revived the concept of a talent search for the most qualified and creative appointees to high city posts.

Under his administration, Washington contends, the city council will become a real legislative body rather than a rubber stamp, and public participation will be encouraged on vital matters such as the city budget.

If there is one lesson to be learned from the Jane Byrne experience, it is that voters should look at the history of a candidate in assessing the sincerity of their campaign promises.

There was little in Jane Byrne's background to suggest that she would be the one who would finally clean up Chicago government after serving as a part of the City Hall machinery for years.

In Washington's case, there is more supporting evidence.

Although a creature of the machine, Washington has always been a maverick and in the last few years has evolved as the pre-eminent exponent of independent politics in the black community.

Washington speaks of having chafed under the domination of City Hall earlier in his career, and that may cement his resolve to push forward with reforms, assuming he survives Bernard Epton's challenge in the April 12 general election.

But perhaps the greatest inducement for Washington to keep his promises is Chicago's electorate, which proved Tuesday that a candidate who breaks his or her word ultimately must pay the price.
Give Washington a break

Think positive

Mike Royko

So I told Uncle Chester—don’t worry, Harold Washington doesn’t want to marry your sister. That might seem like a strange thing to have to tell somebody about the man who will be the next mayor of Chicago. I never had to tell Uncle Chester that Mayor Daley or Mayor Bilandic wouldn’t marry his sister.

On the other hand, no other mayor, in the long and wild-eyed history of Chicago, has had one attribute of Washington. He’s black. It appears to be a waste of space to bother pointing that out, since every Chicagoan knows it.

BUT YOU CAN’T write about Harold Washington’s victory without taking note of his skin color. Yes, he is black. And that fact is going to create a deep psychological depression in many of the white, ethnic neighborhood people who read this paper this morning.

Eek! The next mayor of Chicago is going to be a black man!

Let’s all quiver and quake.

Oh, come on. Let’s all act like sensible, adult human beings.

Let us take note of a few facts about Harold Washington.

First, Washington was born in an era when they still lynched people in some parts of the United States. By “lynched,” I mean they took a black man out of his home, put a rope around his neck and murdered him by hanging. Then they went home to bed knowing they were untouchable because the sheriff helped pull the rope.

Washington suffered through it. God knows how he did that. I think that most of us—white, privileged, the success road wide open to us—might have turned into haters.

Washington didn’t turn into a hater. Instead he developed a capacity for living with his tormenters and understanding that in the flow of history there are deep valleys and heady peaks.

He fought in World War II. Yes, blacks did that, although you don’t see them in many John Wayne movies. He went to college and got a degree. Then he went to Northwestern University’s law school, at a time when blacks were as common as alligators there.

HAD WASHINGTON been white, he would have tied in with a good law firm, sat behind his desk, made a good buck and today would be playing golf at a private country club.

But for a black man—even one as bright as Washington—an NU law degree meant that he was just about smart enough to handle divorce cases for impoverished blacks.

Being no dummy, he gravitated toward politics. And the Democratic Party. It may have been pseudo-liberal, but the Democratic Party did offer a black lawyer a chance, meager and piddling that it might be.

And he went somewhere. Come on, admit that, at least, even while you brood about a black man becoming your next mayor.

He became a state legislator. Then a United States congressman.

I’m still enough of an idealist to think that most people who become members of Congress are at least a cut or two above the rest of us.

And even his critics say that as a state legislator and as a U.S. congressman, he was pretty good.

So I ask you: If Jane Byrne is qualified to be mayor of Chicago after holding no higher office than city consumer affairs commissioner, what is the rap on Harold Washington?

And I also ask you: If Richard M. Daley is qualified to be mayor after being a state legislator and state’s attorney of Cook County, what is so unthinkable about a man holding the mayor’s office after being a state legislator and a U.S. congressman?

THE FACT IS, Washington’s credentials for this office exceed those of Byrne, Bilandic, Byrne was a minor bureaucrat. Bilandic’s highest office was alderman. Richard J. Daley was the county clerk. Kennedy was a moving company executive. Kelly was a Sanitary District payroller. Cermak was a barely literate, but street-smart, hustler.

All became mayor. And nobody was horrified.

But this morning, the majority of Chicagoans—since this city’s majority is white—are gape-jawed at the prospect of Rep. Washington becoming mayor.

Relax, please. At least for the moment. There is no time to become tense and angry when he fouls up as mayor—as anybody in that miserable job inevitably will do.

Until he fouls up, though, give him a chance. The man is a United States citizen, with roots deeper than most of us have in this country. He is a 60-year-old Chicagoan who has been in politics and government most of his life.

He is a smart, witty, politically savvy old pro. He is far more understanding of the fears and fantasies of Chicago whites, than we are of the frustrations of Chicago blacks.

THE CITY ISN’T going to slide into the river. The sun will come up today and tomorrow, and your real estate values won’t collapse. History shows that real estate values in a town like Chicago go up and up, over the long haul, no matter who is mayor.

He’ll fire a police superintendent, hire a new one and the earth won’t shake under us.

He might hire some jerks. I haven’t seen a mayor who hasn’t. They don’t learn. Two days before Lady Jane was first elected, I wrote: “How she does will depend on the kind of people she surrounds herself with.”

She surrounded herself with Charlie Swibel and other bums, and got what she deserved.

If Washington is smart, which I think he is, he’ll surround himself with the very best talents and minds available. And they’re available.

If not, we’ll survive and we’ll throw him out.

Meanwhile, don’t get hysterical. As I wrote four years ago, if we survived Bilandic, we can survive Jane Byrne.

And if we survived Janie, we easily can survive Harold Washington.

Who knows, we might even wind up liking him.

Richard J. Daley, Martin Kennelly, Ed Kelly, Anton Cermak and most of the men who have held the office of mayor of Chicago.

Byrne was a minor bureaucrat. Bilandic’s highest office was alderman. Richard J. Daley was the county clerk. Kennedy was a moving company executive. Kelly was a Sanitary District payroller. Cermak was a barely literate, but street-smart, hustler.
Washington's new focus

Campaign takes on a twofold purpose—working for victory, preparing to govern

By David Axelrod

Last summer, as pressure from black community leaders mounted for Harold Washington to enter the mayoral race, the South Side congressman considered his reservations about waging such a campaign.

"I've got a green go-already," he told a reporter. "And I'm seeing as the prospect of running this city is, the problems the next mayor is going to have to face are enormous."

Washington must be pondering some of those enormous problems this weekend, having taken a giant step toward City Hall with his victory Tuesday in the Democratic mayoral primary.

Now he must begin laying plans to address those problems, and he must do it while pursuing a general election campaign against Bernard Epton, who made more than routine by the resilience of a black candidate among traditional Democrats in white, ethnic Chicago.

In the coming weeks, the new Democratic mayoral nominee must:

- Expand his political base beyond the vast reservoir of support he received from black voters last week and greatly improve the little that 10 percent of the white and Hispanic voters.
- Begin assembling an administration that will be in place and ready to function on inauguration day.
- Devise a strategy for enacting reform proposals, such as dismantling the patronage system, while still securing the 30 votes he will need on the 50-member City Council, a body that has traditionally quashed reforms.
- Assess the city's true financial picture to determine the need for increased revenues, budget cuts and the appropriate posture on Gov. James Thompson's proposed income tax package.

So Washington, who has refused to name a running mate, must still ponder his own campaign while preparing to govern.

The campaign strategy for Washington in the next seven weeks must be far different from the one he pursued on route to his primary victory.

In that campaign, the emphasis was on the black community, where he appealed repeatedly to racial pride, allied to the injustices minorities have suffered at the hands of the city's administration and ultimately captured almost 85 percent of the vote.

But generally, Washington split the city wide vote relatively evenly with Mayor Jane Byrne and State's Atty. Richard Daley.

The congressman now must turn his attention toward the 15 percent of the Democratic electorate that has another preference last Tuesday, and the overwhelming majority of them were white.

Just as Washington spent the bulk of his campaign time in black communities in the last campaign, he can be expected to spend much of his time in the city's predominantly white communities for the duration of the general election campaign.

The congressman already announced he would be holding public meetings in every ward to open up lines of communication before election day.

And while he closed out the primary campaign with racial appeals, he must recognize this would be a concept when he meets with reporters after his victory, and he has vowed his campaign would be pegged to issues that affect all Chicagoans.

On its more serious, 3-depth problems— the running of state government, maintaining our institutions, elevating the nature of public education and things of that nature— said Washington.

That Washington, a consummate political, is sensitive to the shifting political needs has been in his handling of the controversial Rev. Jesse Jackson since his victory.

On election night, Jackson stood beside the congressman, while Washington claimed victory, but Washington did not include Jackson in a list of supporters singled out for thanks.

Later in the week, Jackson announced that Jackson, though a helpful supporter, would have no role in Washington's administration.

Jackson 26 ANATHEMA to many white voters, particularly in the Jewish community, where his alliance with the Palestine Liberation Organization is a sore point.

Washington will be courting many of these voters, particularly on the North Side, later next week, where he hopes to improve dramatically on his estimated 20 percent primary showing.

Moreover, according to the congressman's campaign aides, he will be reaching out in the coming weeks to add diversity to his staff and send a positive signal to voters who opposed him.

The congressman can harbor few illusions about changing the minds of many voters in the all-white Southwest and Northwest Side wards, where Democratic committeemen cannot be expected to stump hard for a black mayor.

In some of these heavy-voting wards, he garnered less than 1 percent of the vote.
Continued from 1st Perspective page

He reiterated that position this week, pledging to "liberate" city employees by demanding only a day's work for a day's pay, and he vowed to end the influence of the Cook County Democratic organization on city government.

For ward committeemen, who depend on patronage to fuel their organizations, such a proposal would be unacceptable, and the flare point for their dissatisfaction could be the City Council.

Chicago, theoretically, works on a strong council-weak mayor system, although the council has been whipped into line by a succession of mayors since the Democratic machine came into being a half a century ago.

Washington's challenge will be to implement such policies as patronage reform without jeopardizing the ability to win aldermanic approval of his appointments and such controversial programs as a civilian review board to oversee complaints against the Police Department.

The congressman can strengthen his hand only to a day, when at least 14 aldermanic runoff elections will be held, many of them in the black community.

SUCH REGULAR Democratic stalwarts as Aldermen Robert Shaw (9th), William Carothers (28th), Eloise Barden (16th) and William Barnett (2d) are in jeopardy of losing their seats to independents propelled by the Washington mayoral movement.

Washington is expected to campaign for many of these independent candidates while lending more discreet support to reform-minded candidates in the white community.

One decision he will have to make is whether to support Thomas Savage, an independent and son of U.S. Rep. Gus Savage (D., Ill.), in his race against Ald. Wilson Frost (34th), who, as Byrne's council floor leader, is currently the most powerful black in city government.

"That's one that he'll have to look at very closely," said one Washington associate.

If Washington can count on the support of the council's 15 or 16 black members and the four or five lakefront liberal aldermen, he would need just a handful of votes from other aldermen to forge a winning coalition without key roles for such traditional council kingpins as Vrdolyak, Ald. Fred Roti (1st) and Ald. Edward M. Burke (14th).

BEYOND THE POLITICAL machinations, Washington will be faced with immediate governmental problems if he is elected April 12.

The city's 1964 budget already has a built-in deficit of about $80 million because of the one-time-only sources of revenue the mayor used to balance his 1963 budget and provide a small measure of election year tax relief. When the salary and benefit increases contained in contracts Byrne signed are added in, the gap could soar.

But some of Washington's advisers believe that he may be confronted with a more immediate shortfall.

"I'm afraid the mayor may have overstated anticipated revenues this year in order to claim a balanced budget," said Ald. Lawrence Bloom (5th), an independent who backed Washington. "I think the first thing he has to do is check those revenue projections out and see if we're going to have a shortfall this year that requires immediate economies."

Another problem Washington would face, if elected, is the funding of the public schools.

The School Finance Authority is to release its long-awaited projections soon, and those projections are expected to show a deficit of more than $100 million for the next year.

Washington already has called for an increase in the state income tax to help close the gap, as has Epton. But the winner will have to negotiate with Gov. James Thompson and the legislature about the size and shape of that increase, which has met with great resistance in some quarters.

So, as steep a climb as Harold Washington completed last week, the challenges he faces as he reaches for the peak of local political power may get tougher yet.
Longtime friends, new faces forming Washington's 'team'

By Mitchell Loein

ASK HAROLD WASHINGTON who the people are who help him make policy, and he will break into a broad grin, look you straight in the eye, and answer: "Me."

In the last few months, while putting together a volunteer organization of more than 10,000 persons and ultimately beating a machine fueled with $10 million in campaign funds to become the Democratic mayoral nominee, Washington has kept "very close counsel," according to one top aide.

"He consults with a wide variety of people," said another top campaign worker. "But he doesn't have top advisers other than Bill Berry. He values getting ideas from everybody but he's the one to make his own decisions."

Washington's campaign, however, is not a one-man band. He has surrounded himself with a team of old friends and aides culled from the civil rights movement and from his congressional offices. These have been joined by new team members brought on board specifically for the campaign.

"He said he also regularly talks to leaders in business and labor who are mostly the independent political stripe who have worked with me over the years."

THE ONE MAN who fits in nearly all of those categories is Edwin C. "Bill" Berry, the former head of the Chicago Urban League. Berry serves as chairman of Washington's 17-member interracial steering committee. Confident that he will be elected mayor on April 12, Washington has also designated Berry to begin planning the transition into office.

In an interview with The Tribune, Washington said he has known Berry for at least 15 years, including when the two worked on campaigns for Washington's mentor, the late U.S. Rep. Ralph Metcalfe.

"As chairman, Berry brings to the campaign knowledge of the media and contacts with business and labor leaders of all political stripes. "He's an ideal person for what we chose him for," Washington said.

In the meeting room at campaign headquarters, 127 N. Dearborn St., that Washington uses for news conferences, there is a large photomural of Berry sitting with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the other key leader of the campaign, Albert "Al" Raby.

Washington's campaign has been accused of being disorganized. But Raby said the day after the election that it was easier to manage the chaos than to spend time getting organized. He must have known what he was talking about, because the Friday before the election, he predicted that Washington would win with 57 percent of the vote. He ended up with 56.3.

RABY IS A VETERAN civil rights activist. When Dr. King was in Chicago in 1966 and 1967 for his Chicago Freedom Movement, Raby was his co-chairman and spokesman.

In addition to continued civic involvement, he has worked for the Jewish Council on Urban Affairs, on teacher organizing, as an assistant to Gov. Dan Walker and as director of intergovernmental relations for ACTION. When he was chosen by Washington, Raby was living in Philadelphia after a 4-year stint as director of the U.S. Peace Corps in Ghana.

Raby is probably not interested in joining a Washington administration and Raby has said he is making himself available to Washington as needed; however, except for two controversial cases, Washington himself has offered no hints about
Washington’s ‘team’

who has served as the assistant city manager in Hartford, Conn., and as the assistant in the mayor's office in Philadelphia.

Altman, 32, was working on a number of the issues research committees for the campaign when Washington tapped him to be his traveling aide and communicate back to the office Washington's ideas. "He has excellent writing skills, is a good research person, very knowledgeable, very handy, very helpful and he's well organized, well orientated and very thorough," Washington said.

ANOTHER MEMBER of the Washington team is Thomas P. Coffey, a member of the law firm of Kirkland & Ellis. Coffey has represented the Afro-American Police League for many years and through that was introduced to Washington and became the campaign's general counsel. Coincidentally, he attended law school at DePaul University the same time that State's Atty. Richard M. Daley was there.

Washington said Coffey has "good political sense and has been an amazingly good legal eagle in this whole campaign."

Other top aides include William Ware and Clarence McLain, both of whom are on leave from their posts as administrative assistants in the congressman's Washington and Chicago congressional offices, respectively. Their major tasks over the last few weeks have been to help coordinate the appearances of visiting black congressmen and mayors who have come here to campaign.

Washington took pains last week to clarify his relationship with two controversial names, the Rev. Jesse Jackson and Renault Robinson.

WASHINGTON HAS attended rallies during the campaign at Jackson's Operation PUSH headquarters and Jackson hosted part of the election night festivities at McCormick Inn. But Washington said that while Jackson has been a "strong supporter" of his, he "won't have any role" in a Washington administration and "has none in my campaign."

Robinson, the founder of the Afro-American Police League, is a "close friend and advisor" of Washington and was his campaign manager before Raby came on board.

Washington quashed rumors that Robinson is under consideration for police superintendent. "He doesn't have the command experience for that. I don't think he'd be interested in it. I never considered it."

But Washington seemed interested when a reporter asked whether Robinson could head the Chicago Housing Authority, for which he serves as a board member. "That's a consideration I hadn't thought about but one which I should," Washington said.

In addition to those working with the campaign, there are others who Washington turns to regularly for advice but have no interest in joining government. They include Lorne Bennett, senior editor of Ebony magazine and an expert in black history; Warren Bacon, an executive at Inland Steel Co. and former school board member; Charles Hayes, international vice president of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union; and James L. Wright, regional director of the United Auto Workers Union.

● Jesse Jackson has been a big part of Chicago politics—and still is. Page 4.

Who will—or will not—staff his administration.

Wherever Washington goes on the campaign trail, he is accompanied by Jerold Altman, an urban planning and development expert who has served as the assistant city manager in Hartford, Conn., and as the assistant in the mayor’s office in Philadelphia.

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4. CRITICAL ISSUES

- Black-Latino Coalition
- Trade Union Support
- Campaign Funds
- Polls
- Gangs, and the police
- Presidential Endorsements
- Republican party
Chart Westtown Course

By Tim Hart

Westtown residents met last week to chart a new course of community action for the upcoming year. The neighbors were delegates to the Fifth Annual “Asamblea” (Convention) of the Latino Action Coalition held in Humboldt Park, December 12.

Reverend Jorge Morales, the group’s five-year president, was given a standing ovation in recognition of his outstanding service on behalf of the Westtown community. Morales is retiring this year to participate in the mayoral campaign of Congressman Harold Washington.

Morales gave a report to the convention on the difficulties and successes of the Latino Action Coalition and the Westtown Concerned Citizens Coalition. The group’s biggest troubles came earlier this year when the coalition lost funding for all of its 14 full-time organizers. The organizers were paid under the VISTA program of the federal government. “The funds were cut by the Reagan administration,” said Morales, “because we fought for the rights of the poor.”

Despite the setback, however, the group managed to set up a program with Pioneer Bank to issue loans to low-income families to help them buy homes and they are continuing a “Health Action” program with St. Elizabeth Hospital. The group also fought to maintain and improve the health care services offered by the City’s Board of Health clinic at Western and Division.

Additionally, Morales cited the great success of the Second Annual Puerto Rican Festival as one of the group’s main accomplishments as well as the struggle to get a Puerto Rican named as a district superintendent by the Board of Education.

Piri Thomas, a well-known Puerto Rican writer and poet, was the convention’s guest speaker. He saluted the group for its hard work and commented, “I see the unity of our community growing more and more. We’re not fighting only for ourselves or only those present here today, we’re fighting for the future children of the children here today.”

After the guest speaker, residents voted on a new steering committee, and approved a number of resolutions for the upcoming year. Among the main priorities is a demand for a new vocational training center to be built in Westtown. Oscar Shabat, Chancellor of the City Colleges, made a surprise appearance to the convention but said the colleges could only provide funds for adult education.

Celebrating their fourth year, the Pilsen Business and Housing Alliance (PHBA) held their annual celebration Saturday, December 11. Following a buffet style dinner, awards were presented to ten people who have been involved in community struggles throughout Chicago. Congressman Harold Washington received a standing ovation after speaking to the group about the importance of “fairness” and “unity” in a “divided” Chicago. The importance of the campaign, he stressed, was to lay a new course in Chicago. Among those receiving awards were: Juan Soliz, Guillermo Gomez, Nancy Jefferson, Dick Simpson, Alma Alvarado, Olivia Barrera, Arturo Vazquez, Father John Harrington, Albert Vazquez and Rita Bustos.
Hispanic leader urges coalition; vows support for Washington

by Chinta Strausberg

The president of one of the oldest and largest Hispanic organizations in America has called for a Black and Hispanic coalition and announced his support for Congressman Harold Washington for mayor of Chicago.

Speaking before the regular Operation PUSH meeting Saturday, Tony Bonilla, president of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), headquartered in Washington, D.C., said it is important that the Black and Hispanic communities understand each other. He announced a national summit meeting between the two groups.

Bonilla said Hispanics are the youngest (continued on page 6)

people in the U.S., constitute 40 percent of the population with 5 percent being 65 or over. Yet, he added, Hispanics have a plus 15 percent unemployment rate, earn $6,000 on an average less than the median average of whites; and have from a 40 to 60 percent drop out rate.

"We are the least respected," said Bonilla saying that in Los Angeles out of 2.5 million Hispanics there are no Hispanics in city council or on the school board. "We are the fastest growing group," he added, "yet, we are the most segregated. When we join the Black community, we represent $140 billion in America and together, we represent a quarter of a trillion dollars.

"Blacks take home $157 billion a year, and together we can make a lot of heads roll."

As a combined force, Bonilla says they would represent 13 million registered voters with a potential of an additional seven million.

Saying that Blacks can no longer fight one another, he added, "The Black and Hispanic community can no longer afford to fight for the crumbs of opportunity on the table. We must awaken the consciousness of the government and demand jobs not welfare."

Bonilla said Blacks and Hispanics are having more babies so they are buying more Pampers, more baby food, more flour to make tortillas and biscuits, but when we turn on the TV, we don't see Black or Hispanic faces advertising these products. It's time for a change. We too want a piece of the action.

"When the Hispanics needed representation on immigration problems, Harold Washington was there. Now, he needs us. We don't have any place else to go but to the Black community."

City report

Hispanics open drive for voters

A VOTER REGISTRATION drive aimed at giving "political clout" to Chicago's growing Hispanic community was announced Thursday.

The Midwest Voter Registration Education Project (MVREP) said it will make its push in eight Chicago wards where it estimates there are 100,000 unregistered Hispanic voters.

"We are launching the process of regaining the political clout lost as a result of the ward redistricting plan adopted by the Chicago City Council in November, 1981," said Juan Andrade, executive director of MVREP.

Although the city's Hispanic population grew significantly in the decade of the 1970s, Andrade said Hispanics lost political power as a result of the ward redistricting.

"IN NINE HISPANIC wards, Hispanics lost more than 9,000 registered voters who were shifted to other wards," Andrade said in a news conference at 53 W. Jackson Blvd.

"Such losses would possibly seem more understandable had the Hispanic population declined...but it jumped by more than 88,000 since 1970 in these nine wards."

Andrade said at least 9,000 new Hispanics must be registered just to bring them up to the voter strength they had before redistricting. After that, he said, his 120 volunteers will try to increase voter registration among all the city's 251,970 eligible Hispanic voters. Only 81,922, or 32.5 percent, of those Hispanics are now registered, Andrade said.

THE GROUP WILL concentrate its registration drive in Wards 1, 7, 10, 22, 25, 26, 31 and 32. In four of those wards—7, 22, 25 and 31—Hispanics make up the majority of the population.

He said Hispanics now make up 14 percent of Chicago's population but hold only 2 percent of the local elected offices. The voter registration drive will begin Saturday and continue through Sept. 26.

Andrade's group will work with the People's Movement and the People Organized for Welfare Rights (POWER), which are seeking to register thousands of the unemployed and black people before the November election.

Robert Enstad
Jackson, Bonilla call for

A Black-Hispanic coalition

by JOHN WILLIAMS, JR.

Calling his commitment to the election of Cong. Harold Washington (D., 1st) as the first black mayor of Chicago "irrevocable," the president of the largest Hispanic group in the nation urged the city's minorities to join in his pledge Saturday.

Tony Bonilla, president, League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) said Chicago has its first real opportunity to elect its first black chief executive and this is indicative in the behavior of the white media.

"You know we've (blacks and Hispanics) arrived when they worry how we're going to vote," Bonilla said.

The LULAC president, who endorsed Washington two weeks ago, said he has received calls from people questioning his sanity for endorsing Washington.

"I AIN'T sick and I ain't crazy," Bonilla stated. "It is time for blacks and Hispanics to stop fighting."

Bonilla, appearing at a special meeting of Operation PUSH, 930 E. 50th St., entitled "Emancipation hands in unity at a recent meeting of Operation PUSH are from left, Tony Bonilla, president, League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC); mayoral candidate Harold Washington, and Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, president, PUSH. Pictured in the background is Mayor Carl E. Officer of E. St. Louis. Bonilla and Officer rendered endorsements for Washington in his bid to become Chicago's first black mayor.

Continued on page 3

Minority leaders call for working group
hoods throughout the city.
The first congressional representa-

WE GAVE 30 percent of our
(black) vote in Alabama to Gov.
George Wallace. If we have that
kind of compassion, in 1983, you
give Harold Washington 100
percent of your vote,” he said.

Repeating his promise to “open
the doors of City Hall,” Washington
said if elected “all the people of
Chicago” will have a fair share in
the running of the city.
The Rev. Jesse Jackson, president
Operation PUSH, blasted former
Vice President Walter Mondale
and Senator Edward M. Kennedy for
endorsing Daley and Byrne, respect-
ively, in the mayoral sweepstakes.

Referring to Washington’s
congressional record and Chicago’s black
population of 42 percent, Jackson
said the time is ripe for Chicago to
elect a black mayor.

THE ENDORSEMENTS by Mon-
dale and Kennedy, Jackson stated,
are direct efforts to sustain the walls
of racism in the city.

The human rights leader also criti-
cized Mayor Byrne for shenanigans
which he feels have been played on
the mayoral ballot.

According to Jackson, Byrne’s
number on the ballot is 10, whereas
Washington has been designated the
number 9. Jackson said this was
arranged so the mayor could benefit
from the popular “Punch 10” slogan
which was very successful during the
Nov. 2 elections.

“She’s got a trick a week,” Jackson
said.

The PUSH president said he will
pursue the ballot issue in court unless
changes are made.

A Chicago coalition arises

By Ada L. Williams
and Isidro Lucas

LAST MONTH’s decision by federal Judge Thomas
R. McMillan will give blacks a majority in two more-
wards in the city, and Hispanics also two majority
wards and one in which they have a plurality. The
obvious pre-polling about the future composition of the
City Council has been noted by all the media. The
fact that the plaintiffs did not get all they sought and
the new realignments could still allow the Regular
Democratic Party to control those wards also has
been mentioned.

One important aspect of the decision and of the
entire litigation seems to have escaped comment: It
was a suit consolidated from several complaints. And
it was a trial brought about by a coalition of
Hispanics and blacks, joined in seeking basic com-
mon rights, the franchise and vote. The suit also was
joined by the Justice Department, in a move unchar-
acteristic of this administration, to protect voting
rights of racial and ethnic minorities.

The impact of a working coalition of blacks and
Hispanics on Chicago politics can be revolutionary.
Blacks and Hispanics constitute 60 percent of the
entire population of the city.

Blacks and Hispanics constitute separate commu-
nities with their own aspirations, interests and histo-
ries. It is only to be expected that they pursue each
their own agenda. In fact, Hispanics are made up of
different groups, and they often disagree with
each other. The press has in the past reported
almost with glee, those disagreements. But the

Ada L. Williams is a journalism student at Columb-
ia College, and Isidro Lucas writes for a TV station
in Chicago.

It is difficult to define a single cause for this
movement towards coalition between blacks and
Hispanic groups. Some reasons would be obvious: The current government retreatment of
domestic assistance programs impacts substantially
on minorities, as does the nightmarish unemploy-
ment rate.

A more subtle explanation for the coalition is a new
awareness among the leadership of the two largest
ethno-racial minorities. They are coming to realize
both the common plight in the face of repressive
social policies and the sheer power that the combined
numbers offer blacks and Hispanics together.

IT WOULD be naïve to claim that there is total
agreement and cooperation among blacks and His-
panics in the country, or even in Chicago. There is,
among Hispanics as well as among every other
group, racism. Some blacks still resent Hispanics
and refuse to accept them as a "legitimate" minori-
ity. Even in Chicago there are still Hispanic organiza-
tions that systematically do not deal with blacks. And
Rev. Jackson never has enjoyed an ongoing relation-
ship with Hispanic leadership in the city.

But the coalition wind is blowing in Chicago. The
hot air of the coming, three-way mayoral race is
bound to turn it into a hurricane. Like any other
political movement, this coalition will feed on results.
And so far, the two major victories in court have
been very satisfying results.

The three candidates for mayor of Chicago have
been scurrying about to secure endorsements from
the black and from the white communities. They will
ignore the black-Hispanic coalition at their own peril.
Chicago mayor's race —

Washington gains labor support

By MIKE GIOCONDO

CHICAGO — Rep. Harold Washington's pro-labor record and concern for unemployed workers has drawn labor leaders here to support his candidacy for mayor.

Washington, recently re-elected to Congress and a member of the Congressional Black Caucus, will face Mayor Jane Byrne and Richard Daley, son of ex-mayor Daley, in the non-partisan primary elections set for February 22.

Charles Hayes, vice president of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW), is heading a Labor for Washington Committee, which includes Afro-American, white, Chicano and Puerto Rican unionists.

"Washington deserves our all-out support because of his outstanding labor record," said Hayes.


In Congress, he fought for the preservation of the EEOC and Affirmative Action enforcement. He also supported the laid off Wisconsin Steel workers in their fight for back pay and benefits and is considering legislation to extend jobless benefits for the duration of joblessness.

Urging the committee to engage in an active campaign, Hayes said that workers and unions can make the difference in electing someone who will work for them.

Supports people's needs

Frank Rosen, president of District 11 of the United Electrical Workers, also pointed to Washington's record as one that "consistently supported the needs of the people."

Further, Rosen said that electing Washington "would break the strangle hold of machine politics." He also said that the other candidates, he said, "represent factions of that machine."

Fred Gaboury, national coordinator of Trade Union Action and Democracy, said Washington's campaign "brings together Black, Latino, and white workers. He has supported principled legislation and his record shows he is willing and able to represent workers and labor in City Hall."

Morris Davidson, president of UFCW Local 43, said, "Washington is alert to the problems of unemployment for Blacks and whites and his record shows he'll do everything possible to create and stimulate jobs."

Speaking recently before the Chicago Federation of Labor's (CFL) executive council, Washington outlined his labor policy:

"I tell you now the most important task facing Chicago's new mayor will be to assist in putting people back to work," he told the council.

Create training program

He said that one of his first acts as mayor would be to create a $200 million scholarship loan program to train and retrain jobless workers and youth.

"Until now such programs have been available only for college and post graduate programs," he said. "I would redirect these programs to our workforce in the trades, in the crafts, in high technology jobs and in health care jobs."

He said such a venture would be a first and would be paid for by tax exempt bonds, eliminating the need for state or federal funding.

CFL yet to decide

While the CFL council announced it's support for Byrne, the decision is not binding on member unions. A CFL delegates meeting is scheduled for February 1, and at that time delegates will vote to accept or reject the council's recommendation.

Jobs and labor contracts for the majority of city workers are two of the chief labor issues facing voting workers here. The latest unemployment figures show the city's jobless rate is 12.8 percent and many workers here say that voting for Washington could be their only chance to get jobs and preserve their unions.

Washington has lashed out at Byrne's record, saying that she is "a fellow traveler of Reagan" and "does not fight for jobs."

Further, he pointed out that the Byrne administration has been anti-labor. "Chicago saw its first firefighters' strike, first official transit strike and one of the few teacher's strikes" during her term in office, he said.
30 labor leaders endorse Daley

By Brian J. Kelly and Phillip J. O'Connor

Thirty labor leaders announced their support Thursday for State's Attorney Richard M. Daley in the Democratic mayoral primary and one of them charged that Mayor Byrne has "the worst labor record in the city's recent memory."

The announcement for Daley, made at a news conference in the Hyatt Regency Chicago, came a few days after the Chicago Federation of Labor endorsed Byrne in a stormy meeting.

Thomas Fitzgibbon, international vice president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, who said Byrne's labor record was the worst in recent history, also said she has opposed unionized transit workers and teachers and forced firefighters to strike.

Fitzgibbon added that under Byrne a labor leader was also jailed here for the first time in years. This was a reference to the jailing of Frank J. Muscare, former president of the Chicago Fire Fighters Union, for contempt of court during the 23-day firefighters strike in 1980.

"The present administration promised a collective bargaining ordinance for city employees and has yet to deliver on that promise," Fitzgibbon said. "The present administration is the first ever to use pension funds to juggle its budget."

Other labor leaders at the news conference included George Vest, president of the Carpenters Union's Chicago district council, and Jack Keane, international vice president of Asbestos Workers Local 17.

The labor leaders announcement came after Rep. Harold Washington became the second mayoral candidate to unleash a stiff attack on the city's Law Department, accusing it Wednesday of "incompetence and repeated bungling" of crucial cases.

At a speech during a lawyers' fund-raiser, Washington claimed Byrne had politicized the office and spent large sums hiring outside lawyers for many cases too sophisticated for the department to handle.

The congressman said the budget for outside counsel rose from $675,000 when Byrne took over in 1979 to $1.8 million this year. Washington blamed much of that on "incessant confrontations" between the city and teachers, firefighters and transit unions.

Washington said he would hire experts in such areas as labor law, municipal bonds, tax and finance. He would recruit young lawyers nationally and put them through a training program at local law schools.

The mayor's race

CFL backs Byrne by close vote

By Tom McNamee

Mayor Byrne was endorsed Tuesday by the Chicago Federation of Labor on a close voice vote during a sometimes angry and divisive meeting.

Federation delegates afterward charged that CFL President William A. Lee had packed the hall with non-union Byrne supporters and forced through the Byrne endorsement.

The vote, taken to approve the CFL executive board's earlier endorsement of Byrne, came during a closed-door meeting of about 400 federation delegates at a union meeting hall at 175 W. Washington.

Some delegates said Lee's judgment that Byrne won the voice vote could prompt defections from the federation and would be rejected by many union locals.

"Tonight's action speaks for only Lee and five or six other top people," said Lowell Wiley, chairman of Sante Fe Local 618, whose political action committee has endorsed State's Attorney Richard M. Daley. "I'm skeptical as to our membership in this body. My people will be angry. I have to go back to them and discuss our future in the CFL."

But Lee downplayed the vote's importance: "All it means is that a majority of the delegates in attendance support the executive board's endorsement of Mayor Byrne."

He said unions are not bound by the verdict. Earlier, Lee said Byrne privately promised him that all city employees will be permitted collective-bargaining agreements.

Federation attorney Sherman Carmell noted that the CFL's bylaws don't require delegate approval of executive board political endorsements.
City unions in a bind on support
By James Strong

CHICAGO'S labor chiefs are caught in a political squeeze they are both uncomfortable with and unaccustomed to.

If the mayoral election were up to the union leaders, Mayor Jane Byrne would be the odds-on winner, with State's Atty. Richard M. Daley and Rep. Harold Washington far off the pace.

Mayor's race splits Chicago labor ranks
By Brian J. Kelly and James Warren

As the mayor's race enters its final rounds, a split decision looms for Chicago's organized labor community.

One need only to have heard the resounding voice of Thomas Fitzgibbon, a vice president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, as he announced Thursday that 30 unions had decided to support Richard M. Daley for mayor.

Fitzgibbon explained that he had shouted himself hoarse at a raucous, divisive meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor Tuesday as pro-Daley and pro-Harold Washington forces sought to overturn the executive board's endorsement of Mayor Byrne.

The Byrne endorsement was upheld, but as the meeting opened, no candidate can claim solid labor backing.

"It's a complete and utter free-for-all," said a prominent attorney who represents many unions.

At the same time, no candidate has taken any position particularly offensive to labor. All three candidates came out on the trade union's side of maintaining the so-called prevailing wage which pays city tradesmen the same as their counterparts in private industry.

Byrne had stormy relations with several unions early on, but has sought to court labor since. Daley has a legacy of labor support dating to his father, the late Mayor Richard J. Daley, and to his races for Cook County State's Attorney. Washington has a pro-labor record in Congress that even supporters of the other candidates concede is excellent.

"It's clear there are divisions among the unions on this endorsement," said Eugene Moats, leader here of the Service Employees International Union, which has 90,000 Chicago-area members.

Moats' union has yet to make its choice. When it does, Moats believes, it will have an effect on the rank and file.

"I do think that each union does influence its members generally, especially during bad economic times. When times are difficult, I think there is a tendency to look toward the union for assistance."

Others feel that union members are likely to go their own way, regardless of their leaders' choice. That appears particularly true for three key city unions yet to decide: the Chicago Fire Fighters, the Chicago Teachers Union and the Amalgamated Transit Workers.

Daley claims broad support among rank-and-file firemen, though the union's executive board was split on an endorsement at its last meeting.

Robert Healey, whose teachers union also struck in 1980, made peace amends with Byrne shortly afterward.

Transit union President John Weatherpoon backed Daley, but his largely black union has yet to make an endorsement.

Byrne captured the endorsement of most labor power-brokers, including Chicago Federation of Labor President William A. Lee and Teamsters chief Louis F. Peck. In addition, she won backing from the most influential unions, many with large numbers of city workers.

Unions with predominately black memberships led by the two Amalgamated Transit unions that represent Chicago bus drivers and rapid transit workers lined up behind Washington.

WASHINGTON also won support from Charles Hayes, vice president of the United Food and Commercial Workers, and steelworkers in Local 55 at U.S. Steel's South Works.

However, the United Auto Workers, headed by black regional director James Wright, voted to remain neutral, and one of Chicago's most prominent black union officials, James Kemp of the Service Employees International Union, joined the Byrne camp. Kemp also is a national board member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Daley won scattered support among smaller unions, but has asserted that when push comes to shove Tuesday he will have the votes of the rank-and-file workers whose leaders are on record favoring Byrne.

The biggest loser in a Daley victory could be Peck. Although he personally backs Byrne, Peck could not win the endorsement of Teamsters Joint Council 25 for Byrne. He also was against Daley for state's attorney.

DALEY SCORED his biggest labor coup with the endorsement from the Chicago Fire Fighters Union. Firefighters, still bitter and holding Byrne responsible for events leading to a 23-day strike in 1980, forced the union's leadership to reverse its decision to remain neutral.

Byrne countered with the announcement of overwhelming support in a preference poll taken by the Fraternal Order of Police, representing about 10,000 Chicago police, men and women.

Most union leaders are uneasy with having to go on record in an internal Democratic Party fight. Privately, they say it might be easier to rely on their policy of incumbency endorsement and make it up to either Daley or Washington later rather than risk the wrath of Byrne, who has appeared to be the frontrunner throughout the campaign.

FOUR YEARS ago, Byrne crushed the re-election hopes of Mayor Michael Bilandic, despite the virtually unanimous support of labor for the heir to Mayor Richard J. Daley.
CHICAGO TRADE UNIONISTS SAY

Washington for Mayor

by Willie Williamson
Chicago TUAAD

Working people in the City of Chicago face some pretty tough problems these days.

Nearly 200,000 of us are without jobs. Thousands face eviction, foreclosure and the shut-off of utilities. We are met with decaying neighborhoods, poor health care and deteriorating services. At least 20,000 of us wander homeless in the streets.

We are the first victims of those who use racism to confuse and divide. We are forced to carry an ever heavier tax burden - the banks, the corporations and the real estate interests in the city evade millions of dollars in taxes. Our children attend public schools that no longer educate in a city that no longer works.

These are the issues in this year's Mayoral election. Harold Washington's 20-year record in public office shows he is both willing and able to represent working people in the hard-fought battles that must be fought in City Hall in order to solve them.

During 12 years in the General Assembly and another four in the State Senate, Harold Washington stood in the forefront of those who fought for consumer protection and for legislation to protect the rights of workers, the unemployed, the poor and members of ethnic and racial minorities.

Harold Washington, now beginning his second term in Congress, is a nationally recognized champion of working people. His leadership in the fight against Reaganomics, his consistent opposition to increased military spending and his fight for the rights of all people in the fight to extend the Voting Rights Act - all mark him as a public official who delivers on his campaign promises.

It is no wonder, then, that he has enjoyed the endorsement of the AFL-CIO in his many bids for elected office. For the same reasons, he deserves your vote on February 22.

Harold Washington was an outstanding legislator. Harold Washington is an outstanding Congressman. Harold Washington will be an outstanding Mayor.

LABOR TODAY has always stood for political independence by the labor movement and supported the building of labor-community, electoral and legislative coalitions. We have always seen the representation of Blacks, Latinos, and other minorities and women in positions of union and public leadership as a principled question.

Both have come together in the race for Mayor of Chicago. A powerful upsurge in the Black Community, a new wave of political-activism activity in the city's Hispanic Community and a growing independence on the part of an important section of the labor movement have united behind the candidacy of Congressman Harold Washington, a leading Member of the Congressional Black Caucus, in his challenge to the age-long rule of the Democratic Party machine.

LABOR TODAY considers this an historic development, made even more historic because Washington has more than an obvious chance of winning the Democratic primary on February 22. We think the campaign is of interest to all our readers and is also deserving of our front page.

THE EDITOR

Harold Washington speaks out

JOBS

"In addition to a new politics, we need a new economics for Chicago. The central orientation of my economic approach is for jobs for Chicagoans. At the same time, we need to prepare Chicagoans to be able to perform the jobs that unemploy the effective operation of business and government."

PEACE & HUMAN RIGHTS

"To solve problems at home, we must stop squandering hundreds of billions of dollars on wasteful military programs and dangerous adventures."

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

"I honestly believe that I am the only candidate who can rally Chicagoans to create a city in which every individual will receive his or her full measure of dignity."

EDUCATION

"As Mayor, I would make improvement in the educational system one of my highest priorities. Failure to educate our children and young adults jeopardizes the future of the city."

ERA

"To me, the ERA is a non-negotiable issue ... The ERA would establish a fundamental legal principle that the law must deal with the particular attributes of individuals, not with classifications attributed to one sex or another."

February 1983 LABOR TODAY Page 1
Washington's funds lag far behind rivals

By Thomas Burton and Toni Ginnetti

U.S. Rep. Harold Washington's mayoral fund-raising efforts are lagging even the modest predictions of his own advisers, according to his first financial disclosure statement filed Friday.

He had raised $376,388 by last Friday, far short of his finance chief's $500,000 estimate. The report filed Monday was the first from the Washington camp.

Mayor Byrne, the all-time leading money-raiser in Illinois politics, collected $171,210 during the first three weeks of January, bringing to $9,651,271 the total he has raised in her term in office.

As in the past, much of her money came from firms doing business with the city or seeking future favors from City Hall. State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, meanwhile, fattened his campaign fund in early January with $173,000 in loans, mostly between $10,000 and $25,000.

Not including the loans, Daley has raised a total of $1,642,897. Washington's campaign advisers lamented their inability to afford television.

Bill Zimmerman, Washington's media adviser, said: "We're spending about $200,000 per week for television commercials while Byrne and Daley are spending over $200,000 per week. Obviously, our television buy right now is not competitive." Among the largest individual contributions to Byrne was $25,000 from Consumers Tire & Supply Co., 1146 W. Roosevelt, which holds contracts with the city's Streets and Sanitation Department dating to the administration of Mayor Michael A. Bilandic.

The suburban construction firms of Di-Paolo Co. and Rosetti Contracting Co. have given Byrne $10,000 and $5,000 each. In January, Byrne won four contracts with the Byrne administration totaling about $4 million.

Byrne's campaign chest now tops $9.5 million

By Thomas Burton and Sarah Snyder

Mayor Byrne has raised $366,406 in political funds during the last two weeks, bringing her total campaign receipts during her term to more than $9.5 million, according to reports filed Friday.

Byrne's $9,520,061 received since mid-1979 far exceeds the $1,475,107 raised by mayoral challenger Richard M. Daley, reports at the Cook County clerk's Office show. Her other Democratic challenger, U.S. Rep. Harold Washington, has raised about $500,000, according to his campaign reports.

Byrne's largest single contribution—$200,000—came from the county Democratic organization headed by her ally, Ald. Edward R. Vrdolyak (10th).

But she continues to pick up massive amounts of money from firms doing or seeking business with, or favorable treatment from, the city or other public agencies. Among these contributors are:

- The law firm of Bell, Boyd & Lloyd, the city's labor negotiators, $7,500.
- Daley has been doing significant fund-raising, although he lags far behind Byrne.
- Daley broke his own self-imposed money-raising limit by accepting a $25,000 contribution from Anthony C. Karlos, a Lincolnwood businessman. He is executive vice president of Century Broadcasting Corp., which runs WLOO-FM 100 and WAIT-AM. Karlos and his son had earlier given Daley $7,500.
- Daley's finance chairman, Paul Stepan, said recently the Daley campaign planned to hold contributions to $10,000. Other top Daley contributors include:
  - Ben W. Heineman, Northwest Industries president, $5,000.
  - George J. Schaller, a retired Cook County Circuit Court judge who once was a law partner of the late Mayor Richard J. Daley, $10,000.
- Washington, for technical reasons in the state election law, is not required to file full disclosure of his campaign funds until Monday. But Edwin C. Berry, his finance chief, puts Washington's total funds at about $500,000.
About those funds, Mayor...

Two key disputes in Chicago's mayoral campaign involve wildly different sets of figures. One issue is how big a deficit Mayor Byrne inherited when she took office in 1979; the mayor says the city was $1 billion in the hole, her opponents say the deficit was about one-tenth of that. The other concerns campaign funds, which would not seem to be disputable; the mayor is on the record as having raised about seven times as much as State's Atty. Richard Daley. (U.S. Rep. Harold Washington has not yet released figures, but his total is undoubtedly meager compared to theirs.)

The comparison does not seem flattering to Mrs. Byrne, who is now the all-time, undisputed champion fund-raiser in Chicago and the state. Yet she has been calling attention to it by repeatedly challenging Mr. Daley's campaign spending. This may prove unwise.

In the closing moments of the televised debate Feb. 1, she told him that "in 2½ years of political fundraising you are almost up to $5 million [dollars] and this week you've outbought me on television time." On Thursday she told a TV reporter that Mr. Daley had "fundraised more than I have."

Presumably the mayor's point is that every candidate in a major campaign raises as much money as he or she can, so her opponents shouldn't talk as though she's the only one doing it—which is fair enough. But the figures she uses call for a careful audit.

Reports from their respective campaign committees released Jan. 31 show that Mrs. Byrne had raised $9,154,405 since her election; Mr. Daley had raised $1,258,405 since last spring, when he started building his mayoral campaign fund. He hopes to boost the total to $2 million.

By taking the target figure and adding the $2.3 million Mr. Daley raised in 1980, when he ran for state's attorney in the primary and general elections, one gets a two-year total of approximately $4.3 million. But from this point on the comparisons get more and more interesting.

Mrs. Byrne's 3½ years of strenuous fundraising had a single aim—her re-election in 1983. During the same period Mr. Daley has run two campaigns for state's attorney and one for mayor. In none of these did he get any help from the Democratic organization. (Before starting his mayoral campaign, moreover, he had to pay off more than $600,000 in debts from the state's attorney's race.) So far, then, Mr. Daley has squeezed three campaigns out of an amount less than half of what the mayor has devoted to one.

The mayor's huge war chest was filled chiefly by contractors who do business with the city or who need city approval for their projects. The list of donors—those who gave more than $150 to her campaign—includes these among many, many others:

- $55,000 from Lester B. Knight & Associates along with three subsidiary firms. These companies have won many important building contracts from the city, including one to renovate Goldblatt's department store on State Street for use as a public library.
- $15,000 from St. Louis Auto Shredding, whose sister firm, Illinois Scrap Processing Inc., won a major city contract to shred abandoned cars in 1981. The contract was challenged in a court suit by a competitor who said the city was losing millions on it.
- $5,000 from Flyer Industries of Winnipeg, Manitoba, received shortly after the firm won a controversial $25.2 million contract to sell buses to the Chicago Transit Authority. (Some members of the CTA's financial oversight panel objected to buying the buses from a foreign firm.)
- $3,000 received in October from Melaniphy & Associates, a consulting firm that carried out a $700,000 study of Chicago neighborhoods for the city. (The full text of this study has never been made public; in general it concluded, to no one's surprise, that the neighborhoods were in bad shape.) The $3,000 was the latest in a 3-year series of contributions from Melaniphy totaling over $10,000.

No one in City Hall needs to spell out the message: it is clear enough from the record. Gifts to the mayor's campaign fund are smart investments. If you want to talk over a business arrangement with the city—well, you know how to get its attention.

This way of doing business of course did not start with Mayor Byrne; it is a Chicago tradition that other cities must marvel at. Boston, for example, is in the midst of a convulsive scandal concerning charges of corruption against its mayor, Kevin White. Mr. White is suspected of actually soliciting contractors and city employees for contributions—something that generations of Chicago mayors have done as a matter of course.

Mr. White's mistake may have been that he tried to cover up his actions. Mrs. Byrne doesn't do that, at least when it comes to fundraising; you don't shake down a business community for all those millions by being bashful about it. The implied deal has been right out on the table and anyone who likes can take advantage of it.

That's the Chicago style: Open deals, openly arrived at. The question for voters Feb. 22 is whether they're so used to it they don't want a change.
Vrdolyak vote fund tops $1 million

By Barry Cronin

Ald. Edward R. Vrdolyak (10th), Mayor Byrne's most powerful political associate, has raised more than $1 million for his campaign fund since mid-1980, the Sun-Times learned Monday.

Another top Byrne ally, Ald. Wilson Frost (34th), chairman of the powerful City Council Finance Committee, has raised more than $135,000 for his fund, according to campaign finance reports.

Two other aldermen with hefty war chests are Vito Marzullo (25th), with more than $175,000, and Fred B. Roti (1st) with more than $111,000.

But Vrdolyak, by far, is the fund-raising champion among aldermen, who each represent about 60,000 people.

Dozens of the contributions for the candidates are in the $200 to $300 range from individuals. They also received contributions from small and large businesses, some not listed in their wards.

Vrdolyak, Cook County Democratic chairman who heads the Council's important Building and Zoning Committee and serves as the Council's president pro tem, has received contributions from such firms as Helicopter Airways Inc., Hinsdale ($600); Wendt & Co. Inc., Rosemont, a steel fabricating company that does business with firms in the 10th Ward ($1,500); and James McHugh Construction, 2222 S. Indiana, whose executive board includes Jack McHugh, president of the Park District board, ($600).

Vrdolyak also has received contributions from Equipment Systems Corp., Amawalk, N.Y., a heavy-equipment company that says it has no city business but is interested in getting some ($1,000); ABM Industries Inc., Skokie, a

Turn to Page 12

EDWARD R. VRDOLYAK

Vrdolyak campaign fund

Continued from Page 1

firm that makes industrial machinery and has a plant on the South Side ($1,000); Capitol Companies Inc., Arlington Heights, a general contracting firm ($3,000); and Naples Trucking Co., of Palos Hills ($1,000).

Vrdolyak also received gifts from Friends of 1st Ward Committeeman John D'Arco ($500); Adam Bourgeois, a lawyer who represents many adult bookstores in Chicago ($200); and Allright Parking, Houston, which several years ago operated the parking lot at O'Hare International Airport ($200).

Frost, the Council's highest-ranking black, received $1,500 from Anheuser-Busch Co., St. Louis, brewers of Budweiser beer. Operation PUSH is conducting a nationwide boycott against the giant brewery's products because it says the company doesn't employ enough black distributors.

In addition, Frost received $3,000 in August, 1980, from the Jane Byrne Political Campaign Fund and $5,000 from the mayor in May, 1982.

War chests for Chicago mayoral bids

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<th>War chests for Chicago mayoral bids</th>
<th>Campaign money raised for primary, general elections</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1975 race</strong></td>
<td><strong>Income</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hoelien (R) $116,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Singer (D) $570,606</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daley (incumbent, D) $1,046,481</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1977 race</strong></td>
<td><strong>Income</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Block (D) $50,000</td>
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<td>Pucinski (D) $189,116</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bilandic (D) $853,741</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1979 race</strong></td>
<td><strong>Income</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Johnson (R) $100,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Byrne (D) $499,310</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bilandic (incumbent, D) $1,807,053</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1983 race</strong></td>
<td><strong>Income</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Washington (D) not available</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daley (D) $1,261,837</td>
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<tr>
<td>Byrne (incumbent, D) $9,151,405</td>
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*As of Jan. 1

Chicago Tribune Graphic; Source: Campaign records, Chicago Tribune news reports
How power built Byrne war chest

By Thomas Burton and Jonathan Landman

George "The T-Shirt Man" Thornton, of St. Louis, sells T-shirts for a living. He thinks ChicagoFest and the 1992 World's Fair would be terrific places to hawk his made-in-St. Louis wares. On Sept. 29 he gave $3,000 to Mayor Byrne's re-election campaign.

"Politics sells T-shirts," he said. "I want to get an introduction."

Jeffrey Thomas manages airports for a living. He isn't particularly interested in politics—least of all Chicago politics, since he lives in Cincinnati—but he also gave to Byrne's re-election effort.

His firm, Landrum & Brown, helps run O'Hare Airport. So when Aviation Commissioner Thomas Kapsalis suggested a contribution to the bosses' campaign fund, Thomas promptly delivered $14,000.

Living proof, Thornton and Thomas, of Chicago's political corollary to the Golden Rule—she who makes the rules gets the gold.

During four years in office, Byrne has collected more than $9 million in political contributions—a staggering sum for a mayoral campaign.

Mayor Edward I. Koch of New York needed only $1.5 million for each of his two successful campaigns and $3.5 million for a losing shot at the 1982 Democratic gubernatorial nomination. Thomas Bradley spent about $1.2 million to become mayor of Los Angeles in 1981.

Voter tally 1.6 million, blacks gain; Page 14.

The secret to Byrne's success is simple and ancient—power plus the willingness to wield it.

Scores of city contractors and would-be contractors, long familiar with the local rules, chip in $5,000, $10,000 and more. City workers also help.

But there's more at work than unspoken rules. Top city officials with authority to give out jobs and contracts—and to take them away—eagerly solicit political contributions.

And everybody knows why.

"Rightfully or wrongfully, one of the ways people in the administration are measured is by how much they can do for the mayor," observed Landrum & Brown's Thomas.

"Aviation people are going to do their share."

Frank Santoro, Byrne's former patronage chief, said top administration officials know that assiduous political fund-raising efforts will earn them influence.

For example, James P. Arnold, the city purchasing agent, "puts the arm on people because he wants to be a big shot," Santoro said. Arnold did not respond to repeated requests for comment.

The bosses of the 1st Ward Democratic Organization, Committeeeman John D'Arco and Ald. Fred Roti, like to present donors' checks personally, Santoro said, "because getting credit for it is very important."

Santoro said crucial Byrne fund-raisers in city government include Tom Geary, his successor as patronage chief, and John L. Donnelly, commissioner of streets and sanitation, as well as Kapsalis and Arnold.

Charles Swibel, a real estate developer who holds no paid city post, retains enormous influence with Byrne by delivering "probably over $300,000" annually, Santoro said.

Byrne's top fund-raiser is Thomas V. King, general manager of the Merchandise Mart, said William Griffin, the mayor's campaign manager. King solicits big bucks from big business.

Byrne aides bridle at charges of shakedowns by admin-

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Power: It's secret of Byrne war chest

Continued from Page 4

istration officials, but they don't deny that city executives solicit campaign funds.

"It's common practice. It seems to be a tradition," said Steve Brown, Byrne's campaign press secretary. "I don't see anything wrong with it."

And numerous city contractors confirmed that calls from city departments crucial to them attracted their gifts to Byrne's campaign fund.

Robert R. Anderson, president of S & S Black Top in Addison, said he was called "by various departments of the city" before he made a donation of $5,000. His firm has won three contracts during the Byrne administration.

And Richard Deprizio, vice president of V. N. Deprizio Construction of Melrose Park, confirmed that "the Department of Public Works called up" before his firm coughed up $3,000. The Deprizio firm holds the $12.9 million contract to place track on the new O'Hare extension rapid transit line.

All this infuriates aides to Byrne rival Richard M. Daley, whose $1.4 million in campaign contributions is dwarfed by Byrne's mammoth war chest.

"I think it's disgusting the way they've raised their money," said William Daley, the challenger's brother and campaign manager.


Daley did raise numerous contributions in the $3,000 to $10,000 range, though: $10,000 from the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks; $10,000 from lawyer Norman J. Barry; $5,000 from developer Lewis Manilow; $4,000 from the First Boston Corp.; $3,000 from prominent attorney Philip H. Corboy, and $7,500 from glass company executive Morrie Kellman, among several others.

As for Washington's campaign, "Most of our support has come from the black community," said Edwin C. Berry, the congressman's finance chief. "I've experienced a profound disappointment about the lack of support from the white community."
Why pollsters were wrong:
distribution vs. depth

Sydney J. Harris

The real problem with the political opinion polls is that they mostly measure the distribution of opinion, but not the depth of feeling. They are quantitative, as they must be; but they are not generally constructed to measure quality as well.

Let me give an example that has nothing to do with polls. If we asked the readers of a daily newspaper which feature they preferred, perhaps no more than 10 percent or so would mention the crossword puzzle or the bridge column, which are offered to specialized groups.

Yet those who work the puzzles and study the bridge columns are intensely devoted to these pursuits, and would protest loudly if they were dropped. Their intensity of feeling is much greater than that of those who mildly prefer other features in the paper, and they would make their reaction felt far beyond their numbers.

When political polls ask voters for their preferences in candidates, they do not customarily measure the depth of feeling or degree of loyalty held by these voters. Thus, if many of them have weak allegiances, they can be swayed to change at the last moment by any number of appeals from the other side.

I suspect that this is largely what happened in the down-to-the-wire race between Gov. Thompson and Adlai E. Stevenson. The polls were not "wrong" when they were taken, but thousands of people changed their minds at the last minute— not only about which candidate to vote for, but also about whether to vote at all.

They may have felt sorry for the perceived "underdog," as in the case of the Truman presidential upset of 1948. Or they might have felt that the incumbent was too cocksure and needed to be taken down a peg. Or that while they still wanted Thompson to win, they did not want to see a lopsided victory for the Republicans.

While it is true that people tend to vote their pocketbooks, there is a large emotional (irrational, if you will) component in the voting process. Personalities enter into it as much as principles or platforms. If a person is not firmly rooted to a particular doctrine, he is usually voting against rather than for an individual candidate.

**WHAT THE pre-election polls signal fail to register is the way people will feel when they enter the voting booth and cast a ballot; sometimes they are even ashamed to admit to their own mates that they reversed their fields at the last moment, out of sympathy or guilt or trepidation or any number of mixed emotions.**

Polling will become more "scientific" only when people act according to rational expectations—which are never as rational as we like to think.

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**SUNTIMES 11-20-82 p. 9**

Polls wrong in state? Yes and no

By Dennis Byrne

"Hey, this is Chicago. Maybe the polls weren't wrong."—A joke making the rounds among pollsters.

No one at a post-election conference of pollsters Friday was suggesting that the polls more accurately represented the voters' inclinations than the actual results of the Illinois governor's race.

But representatives of the major polling organizations were interested in assessing how the contest could have turned into such a horse race, when only a few days before the election the polls showed Gov. Thompson so far ahead of Democratic challenger Adlai E. Stevenson.

Had the polls, indeed, been wrong? Yes and no.

No, because polls are not supposed to be predictions of the outcome of an election. Rather, polls are intended to be a sampling of public opinion taken at different times in an effort to discover trends. And at least the polls showed a trend toward Stevenson, although at the time it didn't appear to be strong enough to offset Thompson's big lead.

Yes, because the pollsters may have made some errors, particularly in underestimating the turnout and the extent of straight-party voting, both in Chicago and throughout the state.

Participating in the meeting were Andrew Kulley, of the Gallup Organization, which conducted the Sun-Times Poll; Richard Day, of Richard Day Research, Channel 7's pollster; Nick Panagakis, of Market Shares Corp., which polled for Channel 2, and John Timberlake, research manager for the Chicago Tribune.

One of the ideas that emerged from the session, sponsored by the Midwest Association for Public Opinion Research, was that the polls may have indeed correctly shown that Thompson was preferred by a large majority of the voters.

But some voters who told the pollsters they preferred Thompson may have ended up voting for Democratic candidates because they thought that registering a protest vote on larger issues such as more important than who was elected governor, some of the pollsters suggested.

For pollsters, such a possibility means that they may have to fine-tune their questionnaires to more accurately sample such feelings, some of the panel members said. Questions will have to be designed to better uncover voters' intentions to vote straight-party tickets, even when the voters say they prefer a particular candidate of the opposite party.

Political strategist Don Rose, who was also on the panel, had several suggestions for the pollsters:

- Better methods may be needed to poll low-income "oppressed people" who are likely to be wary of anyone calling on the phone and asking a lot of personal questions. Fear of reprisals could mean that the telephone survey technique in the inner city "may not elicit the same level of candor as in Wilmette," he said.
- A method should be developed to find out how many voters change their minds during the weekend before the election and after the last polls are conducted.
- The impact of the new punch-card system on straight-party voting should be examined. Rose said many voters may have found it much easier to vote a straight-party ticket on the punch cards.
How poll was taken and what it measures

The Sun-Times/Channel 5 News Poll is a measure of potential voters' preferences in the Democratic mayoral primary, not a prediction of the outcome of the race.

Because opinions in this race are fluid, the actual results on Election Day Tuesday may be different from the results of the poll, taken a week earlier.

The Gallup Organization, which conducted the poll, also pointed out that the poll does not take into account the ability of each candidate's organization to turn out its supporters on Election Day, a factor that can affect the outcome. Nor can the poll predict the weather and other factors that affect the turnout.

A total of 1,014 registered voters in Chicago were interviewed by telephone from Feb. 11 through Feb. 16, with the vast majority between Feb. 13 and Feb. 16.

Calls were made to randomly selected phone numbers throughout the city, so people in all areas were contacted and people with unlisted numbers were as likely to be called as those with listed numbers. The interviewers did not know the voters' names or political loyalties in advance. Only people who said they were registered to vote in the Tuesday's primary were interviewed.

The results, called the sample, were adjusted by key demographic characteristics, including sex, race, age and education, so that the various groups were represented in the survey in the same proportions as in the population.

Based on Gallup Organization computations designed to measure the respondent's likelihood of voting in the primary, 715 respondents, or about 70.5 percent of the registered voters interviewed, were called likely voters.

Results based on all registered voters are subject to an error of plus or minus 4 percentage points. In other words, the survey results would not be expected to vary by more than plus or minus 4 percentage points from results if all of the approximately 1.6 million registered voters in Chicago were interviewed. Results based on likely voters are subject to an error of plus or minus 5 percentage points.

In order for the difference between two candidates to be statistically significant, it must be 5 percentage points or more. That means a 10-point difference between Byrne and Daley is significant, but a 5-point difference between Byrne and Washington and, between Washington and Daley is not. In other words, there is a 95 percent chance—a measure of statistical signficance—that Byrne leads Daley, but a reduced probability that Byrne leads Washington or Washington leads Daley.

Special attention was given to the problem of voters who refused to be interviewed, a pattern typical in urban areas. Voters were assured that the interviewers did not work for any of the candidates, but were sponsored by the Sun-Times and Channel 5.

Those who were suspicious of the interviewers were given the opportunity to call the interviewers back collect to verify their identity. Special interview times were arranged for those who could not be interviewed when first contacted.

Each night, a special team of interviewers called back voters who had refused to be interviewed the previous night. As a result, 101 voters who had initially refused to be interviewed were fully interviewed and included in the complete sample of 1,014 registered voters. An additional 114 people who had initially refused to be interviewed later agreed to a short interview in which they simply indicated their candidate preference. These were not included in the total sample, however.

People who initially refused to be interviewed did not vary greatly in their opinions from those who initially agreed.

Jesse Jackson hits polls as 'political gimmicks''

by Chinta Strausberg

In reaction to a recent Sun-Times/Channel 5 mayoral poll, Rev. Jesse Jackson said Thursday the polls are "psychological political gimmicks used to discourage people from voting...especially for Congressman Harold Washington."

The polls showed that Mayor Byrne was leading in the sample poll with Washing ton second. However, Jackson, speaking to the 100,000 new voters who recently registered, said that just as Blacks were under estimated in the November 2nd election, they were being underpredicted now.

"They are unscientific polls," said Jackson. "The polls are designed to break our spirit, but the enthusiasm for Harold Washington is on the rise and more people are beginning to believe he will win."

Civil rights activists agree with Jackson, and Dr. Conrad Worrill, press secretary for the Black Political Empowerment Movement, said the battle is not in the streets but rather at the polls.

"The white media is dipping into Washington's campaign in an attempt to weaken it," he said.

Journalist Lu Palmer said, "I would advise the average reader to ignore the polls and to become involved in getting Washington elected.

"Besides, polls made in the white community will, of course, favor Jane Byrne or Richard Daley, so why waste time reading poll results?"

The chairman of the group, Dr. Robert Starks, said the polls have never been reliable. "No one can predict what people will do," he said.

Worrill added, "This is a movement, and it does not rely on polls."

In a related matter, WBMX owner Egmont Sonderling blasted Sun-Times columnist Gary Deeb for his critique of the second mayoral debate, calling the writeup "distressing, unfair, unjust and prejudiced."

Sonderling said in a letter to Deeb, "You failed to live up to the basic journalistic requirements on how to write a story. You failed to do the required research...and you failed to obtain both sides of the story of a controversial issue."

Another WBMX official said Deeb "failed to be present at the debate."

Upholding the integrity of Kernie Anderson, general manager of WBMX, and Derek Hill, public affairs director, Sonderling challenged Deeb to appear on Sunday, Feb. 6th on "Sunday Morning Live" to defend himself. Deeb failed to return this reporter's call.
Figuring out Chicagoleans
a challenge for pollsters

By Zay N. Smith

Your chances are about one in a hundred.
The phone will ring. A voice will ask if you'd like to share your thoughts on who Chicago's next boss should be.

And you will spend the next 20 minutes being... quantified.

It's OK. It's painless.

"We'll probably do 8,000, maybe 10,000, calls before we're through," said the pollster for Mayor Byrne.

"We've already done at least 4,000," said the pollster for State's Attorney Richard M. Daley.

"We'll do as many as we can afford," said the pollster for Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.).

Chicago's mayoral candidates want to know all about you: how you look, how you feel, how you think.

That way they'll know what pitches to put on TV. They'll know what to say, how to behave, how to dress—whatever it takes to make you happy.

Figuring Chicago? It's not an easy job. But three of the nation's top pollsters are at work. And they won't rest until they've got the city cinched—or given it their best try.

Dick Dresner does the sampling for Mayor Byrne's campaign. He carries a beat-up brown briefcase filled to overflowing. It should be. The whole city is in there somewhere.

"We're tracking week by week—and it's very volatile," he said. "The support is pretty soft all around."

All the local pollsters are sticking with words like "volatile" and "soft"—which means that in their professional opinion, it's all pretty loose and goofy at the moment, so go figure it.

But the pollster still has his job to do. And nobody is working the numbers harder than Dresner, 40, of Dresner Sykes & Associates in New York City. The Byrne campaign has the money to do what it takes. A healthy six-figure will be spent on polling before the Feb. 22 primary.

Dresner's firm, like its two counterparts, takes the city's pulse with a long reach. The job is done from phone banks a thousand miles away.

The weekly sweeps are for samples of about 700. There are many smaller polls, too, including special overnights after each debate.

The callers work from thick yellow questionnaires that probe the voter, subtly and with precision, on candidates, issues, moods, perceptions. The numbers can mean major changes in strategy, organization, commercial campaigns—and policy.

"I've had clients I've told, look, you won't survive if you take position X," he said. "It's not actually a matter of changing a position. But a candidate will always have some variations that will cut the edge off."

Dresner, whose past clients include Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.), says the numbers show Byrne with a good early lead, Washington in second, Daley in third. But a lot can change in Chicago, especially with its three-way race and crank-out-the-vote organizations.

"I'm cautiously optimistic," Dresner said. That's all I can responsibly say. At this point, Mayor Byrne might win big. Or she might squeak through. Or she might lose."

Remember. You heard it here first.

Bill Hamilton, 43, works the numbers for Richard M. Daley. He likes this campaign more than his first.

"I started right out of graduate school," he said. "I did three statewide polls for a Florida candidate, told him to get out of the race and I was out of a job."

Hamilton is more optimistic this time around—although his ranking puts Daley in second place. He works from phone banks out of Washington, D.C.

What's troubling him now is that Chicago is a city that can hurt a pollster's feelings.

"We're running into a higher refusal rate than normal," he said. "By that I mean, people who don't want to talk to us."

Nearly 50 percent of Chicagoleans called by the Hamilton & Staff firm are hanging up. At least one other pollster is running into similar, if less severe, problems.

Pollsters expect high refusals in certain areas. Orange County in California and DuPage County here are notorious. "You'll find it in any of these right-wing suburban-type places," one pollster said. "And also in New Jersey, for some reason."

But Hamilton can only guess at Chicago's phone hangups. One of many factors that works against is the famous Chicago fear factor.

"You do have a sort of pressur-
ized politics there," Hamilton said. "We identify ourselves as National Research Inc. But people might question the sponsorship of any survey—just who they're actually talking to. People can be suspicious in Chicago."

The snubbing isn't merely rude. It can hurt the numbers, too.

The pollsters don't know the demographics of people who hang up. Unknown biases can be thrown into the mix.

But Hamilton perseveres with his biweekly samples, compensating for refusals with the techniques of his trade. And he asks voters to remember that the pollster has many nice functions other than sneezing up TV commercials.

"We used to have town hall meetings," he said. "Now it's the polls that tell a candidate what people are concerned about, what they're angry about, what they want out of government. We've become the main link."

The Harold Washington campaign, low on money, has spurned all luxuries.

But it knows a necessity when it sees one.

"The first thing I did was ask to hire a pollster," said William Zimmerman, the campaign's me-

Continued from Page 7 dia specialist. "And I recommended Pat Caddell." It was an obvious choice. Caddell, who first gained fame working the numbers for Jimmy Carter, has made a house specialty of selecting minority candidates.

He is three for three on black mayors: Maynard Jackson and Andrew Young in Atlanta and Coleman Young in Detroit.

"And just recently Pat and I worked on an election that was strategically quite similar to Chicago's," Zimmerman said. "We helped elect Toney Anaya governor of New Mexico—a Hispanic candidate with a minority voting base of about 35 percent."

So the team is rejoined: Zimmerman and Caddell's Cambridge Survey Research of Massachusetts.

But money remains a problem.

"We can't compare our rankings with the other polls," said Paul Maslin, 27, who is directing the project with Caddell.

"We don't have any polls that are recent enough. We just poll when we can. Byrne has the millions and we don't."

"But I think we have at least a good sense of what's happening—and our basic campaign plan won't have to vary much. Solidify the black vote and go after the rest. Convince the voter that Washington is a candidate both blacks and whites can trust."

The pollsters keep at it, each according to his budget. They agree on one point. It's too early to tell anything much.

And they have the sympathy of outsiders in the trade who chance to look in.

"That race is in the realm of a never-never land," one said. "It's a zoo."
Group tied to El Rukn

By David Axelrod
and Lynn Emmerman

A FLEDGLING political organization that includes members of the notorious El Rukn street gang is campaigning actively for the re-election of Mayor Jane Byrne out of a dilapidated South Side building owned by the gang.

Working under the umbrella of an organization called the Young Grassroots Independent Voters (YGIV), some gang members are circulating the mayor's literature and going from door to door on her behalf.

Edward R. Vrdolyak, the Cook County Democratic chairman and a key Byrne supporter, said he was aware of the organization's work in his party's voter registration drive last fall, but that he did not know its members are now supporting Byrne.

City eliminates 36,000 duplicate voter registrations. Sec. 2, pg. 5.
Opponents blast Byrne for park district policy. Sec. 2, pg. 3.

WHEN TOLD THAT some gang members are active in the group and that it operates out of El Rukn-owned property, Vrdolyak said:

"I'm sure some of those people [gang members] are active in each of the campaigns [of Byrne's opponents]. We'll take support wherever we can get it, as long as people aren't doing anything wrong or illegal. We don't want improper support, but I welcome anyone to participate properly in the political system."

But Byrne's campaign manager, William Griffin, said emphatically that "I consider the El Rukins or other street gang the scour of the earth," and added, "If anyone [connected with the campaign] is dealing with the El Rukins, they will be out tomorrow. In no way do we want them involved in anything we do."

"I would suspect, as we get closer to the election, that this is a setup by one of the other candidates," Griffin said.

"TO MY KNOWLEDGE they [the El Rukins] are not involved in any way in this campaign, nor would I want them to be." The Young Grassroots Independent Voters operates out of a one-time hotel at 5410 S. Woodlawn Ave., which recently was purchased by a corporation whose officers are chieftains of the El Rukn gang.

One of the YGIV members is Alfonso Small, believed to be the No. 2 man in the El Rukn hierarchy and regarded by police as a mastermind behind the gang's growing criminal empire.

Thomas Peters, an attorney who has represented the El Rukins in various criminal cases, acknowledged that some of the gang members are working for Byrne through the political organization.

There are other El Rukins who are working for Young Grassroots," the attorney said. "There are other members of that organization who are not El Rukins."

RICK PORTER, identified by Peters as a supporter of the YGIV, confirmed in an telephone interview from a pay telephone in the El Rukn-owned building that his organization is working for the mayor.

"We're a coalition of civic organizations, block clubs and churches," he said. "We think the mayor did a pretty good job. We're looking forward to her working with the black community in the future."

Porter said Small has a "long record of involvement in 4th Ward politics" and is active in his organization along with other members of the El Rukins.

The Tribune learned of gang participation in the campaign from a supporter of one of Byrne's opponents in the Feb. 22 mayoral primary election.

The El Rukins, considered the successor gang to the 1960s-era Blackstone Rangers, have evolved into a sophisticated criminal network that controls much of the illegal narcotics trade on the South Side. They are headed by Jeff Fort, one of the city's most feared street gang leaders, who was convicted in 1969 for contempt of Congress and misusing federal funds.

FORT FOUNDED the El Rukins as a religious order while in prison. However, law enforcement officials say the "Moorsish religion" Fort founded is little more than a front for the gang's criminal activities.

Fort has since been arrested numerous times, including three times in the last 15 months on charges including concealing a fugitive, obstruction of justice and various drug and weapons charges. He is scheduled to go on trial Monday on charges of concealing a fugitive and obstructing justice.

Porter, who said he is not an El Ruken, defended the participation of Small and other gang members in his organization.

"The El Rukins' bad reputation is a matter of opinion and mostly comes from TV and newspapers," he said.

"In the community we live in, they've always been known as an upstanding group.

"We look at them as a religious organization and we don't screen people by religion," he said.

Mayor disavows aid of gangs

By John White and David Axelrod

WHILE MAYOR Jane Byrne denied reports that street gang members were actively working for her re-election, member of a South Side political organization that includes known street gang members continued to distribute her campaign literature Friday.

The mayor called reports that gang members were campaigning for her re-election "a lot of baloney."

"If gang members are trying to work their way in by wearing buttons or embarrassing me by wearing the buttons, I can't help that," she said.

"I can tell you right now, even if they wear gang members' buttons, gangs in Chicago and criminal gang activities are like a cancer, and I don't want them in my campaign. They'll be back in court." STATE'S ATTY. Richard M. Daley, campaign staff acknowledged Friday that some suspected gang members had been active in his campaign on the West Side, but a Daley aide said they were expelled when campaign leaders learned of their activities.

The Tribune reported earlier Friday that known members of the El Rukn street gang were campaigning for Byrne through an organization called the Young Grassroots Independent Voters (YGIV).

The YGIV is working out of offices in five South Side wards, according to the group's literature.

Among the group's five headquar-
Washington plans Brzeczek ouster

By Lillian Williams and Jim Casey

Harold Washington Wednesday said he will create a task force to scour the top ranks of the Chicago Police Department to find a replacement for police Supt. Richard J. Brzeczek.

Ousting Brzeczek would fulfill one of Washington's key promises during his successful campaign for the Democratic mayoral nomination.

Washington said the task force would interview and grade command officers and "pick the best from the lot." Sources said a leading contender is Assistant Deputy Supt. Robert Williams, who is black.

Brzeczek, almost dejected Brzeczek, who had said he would quit before Washington would have a chance to oust him, left the door open when asked at a press conference if there was any possibility he would remain on the job.

"There's always a possibility—reasonable men can disagree," he said.

A majority of the City Council would have to vote to fire the superintendent.

Brzeczek also said, "I came in with class and dignity, and I will go out with class and dignity."

The superintendent defended his television ads endorsing Mayor Byrne in the mayoral contest she lost to Washington, saying he would do them again.

And he acknowledged that he once considered running for office—"in craziness, I did." But the "mudslinging" of the mayoral campaign has deterred him. He would "not subject the Brzeczek name to that kind of garbage."

Washington, vowing to represent all of Chicago if elected the city's first black mayor, began Wednesday with a hearty breakfast at noon after celebrating his victory until 5 a.m.

Showing the strain of the campaign, he then scaled back scheduled appointments to rest in his apartment at 5300 S. Lake Shore.

Eating at a favorite breakfast spot, the Hyde Park Diner and Deli, 5319 S. Hyde Park, he said he has had a vision of himself as mayor since he ran a poor third for the job in 1977.

"I imagined myself as mayor," he said. "I planned it this way."

Regular customers at the diner teased the hoarse nominee, asking if he were picking up their checks.

"I might just do that," he told them.

Reflecting on his childhood in a South Side ghetto, Washington said: "When I was a boy, black kids didn't think of aspiring to high office. Congress was a million miles away."

Meanwhile, Washington's aides repeated his priorities for the city if he is elected: eliminating patronage, creation of new jobs, and cooperation with the private sector to attract new business and industry to the city.

Al Raby, Washington's campaign manager, said the nominee has started working on a transition team.

At a press conference, Rabay also said there have been several random threats against Washington's life and that

Plan to replace Brzeczek told by Washington

Continued from Page 3

Raby will meet with police officials on the problem.

Thomas Caffey, a Chicago attorney and Washington adviser, said Washington will concentrate more on white areas to give those voters a better idea of his programs.

Those programs will include 11 key points Washington stressed in his primary campaign and described as an attempt to reform city government. They are:

- Revitalizing the city's merit employment system to eliminate hiring on the basis of political loyalty.
- Creating a department of employment and economic development to help develop jobs.
- Forming an agency to float tax-exempt bonds to lure business and industry.
- Reorganizing the Police Department, including the hiring of a new police superintendent and the replacement of the office of professional standards.
- Passing a freedom-of-information ordinance designed to open city government files to the public.
- Decentralizing the Chicago public-school system and a possible move to create an elected Board of Education.
- Stabilizing the city's fiscal condition by lobbying for a state income-tax increase and appointing a Chicago tax commission to review the city's over-all tax structure.
- Rehabilitating Chicago's housing stock, particularly multi-family buildings eligible for renovation that may receive subsidies.
- Expanding the city's health-delivery services, including the reopening of some clinics and a beefed-up program to fight infant mortality.
- Appointing more minority people and women to key governmental posts and increasing the minority share of city contracts.
- Creating a partnership between the private sector and city government to solve social and economic problems.

Turn to Page 16
Brzeczek rips Washington

The streets of Chicago may not be safe if Harold Washington is elected mayor. Police Supt. Richard Brzeczek told me Thursday.

Brzeczek is a bitter man these days. He has already announced he will quit rather than face certain dismissal if Washington wins.

Usually calm and controlled, Brzeczek lashed out in an hourlong interview.

"Under Harold Washington, I guarantee that it [the police department] will be a circus," he said. "Law enforcement will suffer. The general level of competence will go down. Safety is tied to those things."

Brzeczek said his judgment was based not on race, but on competence. But I asked him to state plainly whether he was saying that Chicago will be unsafe under a Washington administration.

"Yes," he said. "I think so."

He went on to say: "Unsafe is a relative term. Right now people feel safe on State Street and Michigan Avenue."

"But under the new [Washington] administration, I think some of the safety problems may come there."

After my interview with Brzeczek, I called Al Raby, Washington's campaign manager, and repeated Brzeczek's charges. I told Raby that I would prefer to run a response from Washington along with them. Raby said he would get back to me. But he did not.

Washington and Brzeczek have been public enemies ever since Brzeczek appeared in a campaign commercial for Jane Byrne.

Washington made the firing of Brzeczek one of his chief campaign promises.

Brzeczek has stated he will resign if Washington wins the general election April 12. But Brzeczek told me he would be willing to talk to Bernard Epton about staying on, if Epton, the Republican nominee, wins.

Speaking about whether it was wise to make the campaign commercial for Byrne, he said: "The other two [Washington and Daley] would never have kept me as superintendent, anyway, even if I had not made it."

"I knew there was downside to it when David Sawyer [Byrne's media adviser] asked me to do it. Other members of the mayor's Cabinet—and I am not talking about Ruth Love—were approached and refused."

"But I do not regret it. Daley would never have kept me, anyway. That was clear to me. I am not part of that clique. There are a lot of people in the department with ties to his family and they look upon themselves as a government-in-exile."

He also said, somewhat oddly, that it was improper for Daley to use his record as state's attorney in his mayoral campaign. "That is not ethical," he said. "Using a conviction record is not ethical."

But most of his blasts were reserved for Washington.

Brzeczek stated flatly that Washington would make the police department more political.

"Under Harold Washington, there will be a massive movement of personnel into the plum assignments like vice and intelligence," he said. "Transfers will be based on clout and connection."

I told Brzeczek that many policemen, especially black policemen, believe that this is precisely how transfers are made now.

Brzeczek did not totally deny it. He said it was possible, but not through him.

I asked him if Jay McMullen, the mayor's husband, and Eddie Vrdolyak, chairman of the Cook County Democratic Party, had gotten plum assignments for people by going through Brzeczek's first deputy superintendent, James O'Grady.

"It could happen," Brzeczek said. "Let's say Jay or Eddie is going to make a call and ask that someone wants [to be transferred to] the intelligence unit. That call would happen below my level. O'Grady handles all the paperwork on transfers. I only handle the transfers of lieutenants and captains."

But, Brzeczek insisted, things would be worse under Washington.

"Somebody quoted Paddy Bauler the other day as saying this town ain't ready for reform yet. It's still true; it's still true," he said.

"And from what I know of the way the guys around Harold Washington operate, this will go up under Harold Washington."

One example, Brzeczek said, was the issue of bodyguards.

Brzeczek said that Washington supporter Ald. Niles Sherman (21st) not only insisted on a police bodyguard, but also insisted that it be his own brother.

"And he got it," Brzeczek said. "That is the s--- you have to put up with."

Brzeczek then said that Washington had faked death threats in order to get a bodyguard for himself.

"Washington comes in after he wins a congressional seat and he wants a bodyguard," Brzeczek said. "I said there was no justification."

"Then we are told that there are death threats and then a shot is fired through his office. So we give him his bodyguard."

"But I am convinced this was set up. As soon as he
Brzeczek won’t stay to be fired

‘I won’t work a day’ for Harold Washington, he vows

By Lynn Emmerman
and Philip Wattley

RICHARD BRZECZEK said Thursday he will resign as police superintendent by inauguration day if U.S. Rep. Harold Washington is elected mayor.

“I won’t work a day for that man. He won’t have a chance to fire me; I’ll quit,” Brzeczek said in an interview in his office, referring to Washington’s statements that he would fire him.

Brzeczek said he would consider serving under Republican mayoral candidate Bernard Epton, but he said that Epton had little chance of besting Washington.

Epton said Thursday that he would “wait to hear Brzeczek’s side of the story” on recent allegations that the department altered crime statistics before deciding whether he should be replaced.

BRZECZEK declined to suggest a replacement for himself, urging only that a candidate be chosen from within the police department.

“No matter who the superintendent is under Washington, this department will be run by three men: Jesse Jackson, Renaut Robinson and Howard Saffold. They all worked for his campaign, but none of them has any rational, reasonable managerial office,” he said.

Renault Robinson is executive director of the Afro-American Police League, Saffold is the organization’s president and Jesse Jackson heads Operation PUSH. All were active in Washington’s campaign.

Washington, however, said Thursday he had no plans to replace Robinson police superintendent, and Robinson echoed his statement, saying he has no plans to seek the job.

“He [Robinson] doesn’t have the command experience for that,” Washington said in a taping of “The Last Word,” which will air at 11 p.m. Friday on WLS-TV [Channel 7]. “I don’t think he’d be interested in it. I never considered it.”

At a press conference, Brzeczek bristled when asked whether Robinson should be considered.

“No,” he nearly shouted, as some 100 police commanders attending the press conference at police headquarters burst into applause.

“Renault Robinson is a disgrace to the Chicago Police Department, and a disgrace to his honor,” Brzeczek said. “He has tried to undo the good of this organization. He hasn’t demonstrated one single bit of competence. He’s an opportunist fraud.”

Robinson, a police officer who has been on leave without pay from the police department since May 11, 1974, won a 1970 discrimination suit against the department on Sept. 23, 1977. He is a member of the Chicago Housing Authority board and has been an outspoken critic of former board chairman Charles Swibel, an ally of Mayor Jane Byrne.

Washington praised Robinson for performing “a tremendous service for this country,” saying that Robinson’s suit against the police department brought the attention of the American people to the fact that in Chicago there existed rampant discrimination against blacks, Hispanics and women in the Chicago Police Department.

BRZECZEK REMAINED unrepentant about the incident that prompted Washington’s wrath—his taping of a commercial promoting Byrne’s re-election bid.

He said, only half in jest, that the commercial was the incident he would like to be remembered for if he steps down. Brzeczek said he was the only person in the mayor’s Cabinet “to stand up and be counted.”

Brzeczek, a lawyer, said he planned to join a Chicago law firm after he stepped down. But he also hinted that he may pursue a political career.

Continued on page 5, col. 1
Supt. Brzeczek’s partisan politics

Vernon Jarrett

who was serious enough about his job to improve himself academically. Here was a young man who as a cop had earned a bachelor of science degree from Loyola University and later a master’s degree in public administration from the Illinois Institute of Technology. He then earned a law degree from John Marshall Law School.

My trust of Brzeczek was heightened when I read that he had been a bodyguard for Police Supt. O. W. Wilson, who was brought to Chicago to help solve or stop corruption within the police department.

Surely, I assumed, this young educated officer would be a big improvement over some of the crude characters I had encountered during my early days as a reporter in Chicago.

Now cometh the 1983 edition of Richard J. Brzeczek—an educated version of the old, gross Chicago police tradition—with his credo about “ingratitude.”

Brzeczek has a lot of gall. After that recent WBBM-TV documentary on how the police department has doctored its crime statistics one would think that Brzeczek would maintain a low profile.

Channel 2’s Pam Zeckman showed that Brzeczek’s department had killed 16,000 reports of rape, robbery and burglary, thus making the Chicago Police Department appear to be the nation’s best. In a precise, well documented series of reports Zeckman, who once was part of a Tribune Pulitzer Prize investigating team, showed that Brzeczek’s record keepers had either through deception or incompetence wiped out thousands of bonafide complaints.

Maybe I was correct in my estimation of Brzeczek in 1980. Maybe he’s just another example of what can happen to a nice department head when the mayor of a city puts partisan politics above the public interest.

In the 1979 mayoral campaign, Police Supt. James O’Grady told his officers to support Mayor Michael Bilandic, and candidate Byrne compared O’Grady’s actions to “Hitler’s Germany.”

What’s the difference now?
Disgraceful, Mr. Brzeczek

For most of his three years as police superintendent, Richard Brzeczek built up an image as a competent cop out to modernize his department, particularly in the troubled area of race relations. In one month he has pretty well destroyed that image and is now proceeding to wreck whatever else he has accomplished. That's quite a price to pay for indulging one's temper.

With his attacks on Democratic mayoral nominee Harold Washington, Mr. Brzeczek has portrayed himself as a vindictive sniffer willing to sacrifice his own reputation if he can spoil Mr. Washington's along with it. That is regrettable in itself, but the damage goes well beyond Mr. Brzeczek's image. His attacks can only heat up racial feelings that every person of good will wants cooled.

It is hard to see what other result Mr. Brzeczek could expect from comments like these: "I won't work a day for that man..." No matter who the superintendent is under Washington, this department will be run by three men: Jesse Jackson, Renault Robinson, and Howard Saffold... (Robinson) is a disgrace to the Chicago Police Department and a disgrace to his uniform."

"Under Harold Washington, I guarantee that it (the department) will be a circus. Law enforcement will suffer. The general level of competence will go down."

The first of these quotes came from an interview with Tribune reporters Lynn Emmernan and Philip Wattley, the second from an interview with Sun-Times columnist Roger Simon. (Jesse Jackson heads Operation PUSH; Mr. Robinson is founder and executive director of the Afro-American Police League; Mr. Saffold is the league's president.) There was more comment of the same kind, and all of it was disgraceful. Is Mr. Brzeczek trying to whip up fears of a lawless rampage if Mr. Washington is elected? If so, why?

Mr. Brzeczek, it is true, was one of Mr. Washington's campaign targets and has no reason to be personally fond of the nominee. But he had all the standard reasons of a loser not to indulge in mean-spirited sniping against the wimer, and even better reasons not to inflame fears and tensions by insults of this kind.

With no knowledge of who the new police superintendent might be or how Mr. Washington, if elected, would choose him, Mr. Brzeczek is apparently trying to discredit him in advance. The effect is to make his successor's job harder and weaken his own department's effectiveness. His charge that the department will be "run" by Mr. Jackson and Mr. Robinson is pure speculation; it is the kind of bogeyman tactic that one expects only ignorant or cynical people to use. Mr. Brzeczek certainly is not ignorant.

The superintendent began his work of self-destruction by shilling for Mayor Byrne's reelection in TV commercials and finished it this week's outbursts. Evidently he now means to make the job complete by sabotaging the police department before he leaves it. Leave first, Mr. Brzeczek.
Mondale, Kennedy make mayoral picks

By Basil Talbott Jr.
Sun-Times Political Editor

Former Vice President Walter F. Mondale has backed State's Attorney Richard M. Daley for mayor and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) has agreed to help Mayor Byrne, according to spokesmen for the two mayoral campaigns.

Mondale, a strong prospect for the 1984 Democratic presidential nomination, has agreed to campaign here Feb. 6 for Daley at three locations on the North and Southwest Sides, his office disclosed Monday.

After news of Mondale's endorsement broke in early editions of the Sun-Times, Byrne press secretary Steve Brown said Kennedy would send letters to Chicago voters on Byrne's behalf.

Kennedy, who has said he will not run for president in 1984, does not plan to campaign in Chicago for the mayor, according to Byrne.

In the 1980 presidential primary election, Daley backed former President Jimmy Carter and Mondale while Byrne and the Cook County Democratic Party organization supported Kennedy.

The Daley endorsement was made in a statement released by Larry Hansen, a Myndale staffer. Mondale refused to come to the telephone to answer questions about the endorsement.

The Mondale statement said, "I am supporting Rich Daley because he would make an outstanding mayor for your great city. He's a close personal friend who has been generous in his support of me in the past and I am pleased to have this opportunity to reciprocate."

Hansen, who had been chief administrative assistant to former Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson (D-III), said Mondale made the endorsement because Daley stuck by the Carter administration.

"Political loyalty is an endangered species in our politics," Hansen said. Byrne endorsed Carter for re-election at a fund-raising dinner for her, and turned around a week later to back Kennedy.

Jim Johnson, another Mondale aide, said the former vice president had made "very few endorsements in primary contests since starting his presidential efforts."

"He told Daley in October he was for him," Johnson said. "This is not negative to the other candidates. He thinks Daley will make an outstanding mayor."

Rep. Harold Washington (D-III) has said that out-of-state political leaders will come in to campaign for him, but no visits have been announced so far.

Mondale due here to stump for Daley

By Pat Wingert

State's Attorney Richard M. Daley's campaign will get a boost Tuesday from former Vice President Walter F. Mondale, whose Chicago stumpign plans were put on ice last week by the blizzard that paralyzed the East Coast.

Mondale is expected to join Daley for a luncheon for professional women at the Palmer House, a speech to campaign workers at Daley's 45th Ward office, a meeting with North Side senior citizens and a rally at the Midland Hotel.

Mondale recently was criticized by national black leaders for endorsing Daley over U.S. Rep. Harold Washington, another contender in the Democratic mayoral primary.

While campaigning Monday, Daley was greeted by an overflow crowd of 1,100 supporters as he made his second foray in two days into Mayor Byrne's Northwest Side turf.

Daley, buoyed by the enthusiastic reception at the White Eagle Restaurant, 6845 N. Milwaukee, attacked Ald. Roman C. Pucinski (41st) for alleging that outsiders were busied in to an event there Sunday.

"Pucinski said these people are not from the Northwest Side," Daley challenged the crowd. The supporters responded by jumping to their feet and yelling, "No!"

"We need to remind him that these Turn to Page 28
I want to ask you an important favor.

I'd like you to join me in supporting Mayor Jane Byrne in the February 22nd Democratic Primary for Mayor of Chicago.

Let me explain:

I am taking this unusual step of contacting you directly because I feel so strongly about Jane Byrne and the need to re-elect her.

Quite frankly, I admire her personal courage. I remember how she stood with me in a difficult campaign in 1980. As a widow, raising a family, Jane Byrne overcame great personal hardship to become an effective Democratic leader and public servant.

But more importantly, Jane Byrne has a solid record of performance and concern for the minority community.

- Mayor Byrne signed the city's first affirmative action plan in 1981. Since 1979, almost 8,000 black people have been hired by the city - or 45% of all new city employees hired. Nearly 30% of all city employees are now black.

- Mayor Byrne kept her promise to appoint a black woman, Ruth Love as the Superintendent of Schools.

- Mayor Byrne promised to increase the minority membership of the Chicago School Board; she kept that promise by increasing minority representation to seven of the eleven members.

- Mayor Byrne has appointed blacks to head five city departments and increased black representation on city boards and commissions.

- Under Jane Byrne the Department of Human Services, the Mayor's Office of Employment and Training, the Department of Public Safety, the Health Systems Agency and the Commission on Human Relations are all headed by blacks.

Mayor Byrne's Fair Housing Counseling Program has handled hundreds of complaints and helped people get decent housing.

- The number of blacks in the police and fire departments is up substantially under Mayor Byrne.

- Mayor Byrne moved to Cabrini-Green to bring public attention to the serious problems in our public housing projects. Serious crime in the project went down 21%.

Mayor Byrne has worked hard to make our neighborhoods safer, the streets cleaner and to insure decent public housing and equality and fairness in hiring practices.

I believe Jane Byrne has shown that she has the compassion and courage to fight for the black community. She has also proved that she is tough enough to handle a difficult job.

Jane Byrne brought Chicago back from the brink of bankruptcy. Today Chicago is working again, the fight against crime has been stepped up, education is improving and Jane is fighting for jobs for the black community.

Jane Byrne has opened up city government to the black community. I ask you to consider her outstanding record. I know Jane and know what she has accomplished. That's why I'm personally asking you to vote for her on February 22nd.

Sincerely,

Senator Edward M. Kennedy

P.S. Jane Byrne knows real economic growth will mean more jobs for Chicago's black community.

I would deeply appreciate it if you would get two or three of your friends or relatives to join us in supporting Mayor Byrne.
Cranston calls for huge Washington vote
by Adrienne Raiford

There are 419 Black mayors in America and Harold Washington can be the 420th, provided that people get out and vote.

Encouraging words for U.S. Rep. Harold Washington couldn't have come from a more valuable source — Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif), the first announced Democratic presidential contender.

Cranston expressed to the Secretary of Commerce in the history of California, Cranston, 68, has a reputation in the U.S. Senate for swaying votes and raising money better than anyone in the Democratic party. And that is exactly what Cranston plans to do for Washington.

Sunday at a fundraiser and unveiling of four 30-second television commercials for Washington, Cranston announced that he has promised to raise at least $25,000 for the Washington campaign and delivered $5,000 of that sum.

In an exclusive interview with the Chicago Defender, Cranston enroute to O'Hare Airport where the senator planned to head South to Houston, Dallas and Atlanta, he explained why he endorsed Washington.

Cranston points to Washington's record on support for child nutrition, social security programs for the aged, the Voting Rights Act and programs to guide an ailing city to recovery. And Washington-like Cranston—is against the M-X missile.

"The election of Harold Washington, I believe, can help advance the cause of nuclear peace, just as it will advance the causes of equality and social and economic justice," Cranston said.

The senator explained that the M-X missile system would cost Chicagoans alone between $750 million to $1.1 billion — enough for 14,000 to 27,000 industrial jobs.

He added that "One Trident submarine would cost the same as a year's operation of the Chicago school system. "You and I know that the mayor of Chicago cannot negotiate with Russians to achieve a nuclear freeze," he said. "But the mayor of our nation's third largest city can, and if Harold Washington is elected mayor, he will help forge a national unity on this issue."

Asked if he thought a Black man could run this city, Cranston asserted, "They said the same thing about Tom Bradley (mayor of Los Angeles) and Andrew Young (mayor of Atlanta). They said the businesses and corporations won't talk to them. But they won, and the businesses and corporations talked with them. Cranston calls questions like these "rooted in prejudice. The same prejudice that caused a similar question to be asked of John Kennedy," he said.

"If Harold Washington were white, the question wouldn't have been asked. It's time that we in America got beyond statements in favor of equality and go on with the job of providing equality for all our citizens."

The senator said he believes that Washington will be "all of the city."

"What this city needs is reconciliation."

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Backed Daley will cost Mondale, black leaders say

By Mitchell Loein

WALTER MONDALE'S intervention in the Chicago mayoral race on the side of State's Atty. Richard M. Daley is causing problems for the former vice president at a time when he is attempting to attract support for a presidential bid.

Fifty black leaders have sent Mondale a Mailgram calling for endorsement of Daley over U.S. Rep. Harold Washington (D., Ill.) in their bid to unseat Mayor Jane Byrne "a source of great dismay to us."

The Mailgram hints that blacks may be less enthusiastic about Mondale in his bid for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984 as a result of the endorsement.

"[Washington's] potential support and participation may be a critical factor in your own, stated, political ambitions," said the Mailgram, which was sent Wednesday night.

MONDALE IS URGED in the message to at least "detach" himself from the Daley campaign, if not, "at a maximum," endorse Washington.

"Of course we're concerned," said Maxine Isaac, a Mondale spokeswoman. "The signatures to the letter are all good friends of Mondale."

Mondale issued a statement saying that he committed himself to Daley's mayoral candidacy "last year, long before Harold Washington entered the race."

AMONG THE signatories are Gary, Ind., Mayor Richard Hatcher, vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee; U.S. Rep. Mickey Leland (D., Tex.), chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus; the Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, who served with Mondale in the administration of President Jimmy Carter; the Rev. Jesse Jackson, head of Operation PUSH; and national labor leader Addie Wyatt of Chicago, who is also Democratic national committeewoman from Illinois.

PUSH spokesman Frank Watkins said a similar message will be sent to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D., Mass.) for his endorsement of Byrne's re-election, but there is more concern about the Mondale involvement because of his promise to campaign for Daley here the week of Feb. 6.
Chicago Mayoral Race Gains G.O.P.'s Interest

By ANDREW H. MALCOLM
Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Feb. 24 — The 48-day campaign in the general election for Mayor of Chicago informally opened here today with Bernard Epton, a Republican, planning his own upset attempt against Representative Harold Washington, who upset the city's regular Democratic machine Tuesday.

Mr. Epton, a 61-year-old former state legislator, plunged into this city's heavily Democratic South Side seeking Democrats disenchanted with the election of the 68-year-old Mr. Washington, who is black.

Mr. Epton has rejected race as an issue in the April 12 balloting, but he said a majority of the 1.27 million residents in Tuesday's three-way Democratic mayoral primary had voted for a loser. Mr. Washington won 37 percent of the vote. Richard M. Daley, the county prosecutor, and Mayor Jane M. Byrne split the rest, receiving few black votes.

Heavyweight Republican Support

Mr. Epton, once seen as a sure-fire loser in a city that has not elected a Republican Mayor since 1927, also began to receive heavyweight help from his party. James Fletcher, who managed Gov. James R. Thompson's first successful election, has become Mr. Epton's campaign manager, and Senator Paul Laxalt, the new Republican national chairman, will speak next week at a $200-a-plate fund-raising dinner for Mr. Epton.

The Republican still faces an uphill struggle in this city of three million residents and nearly 1.6 million registered voters. Mr. Daley and Mrs. Byrne have vowed to support Mr. Washington.

But public support and private support can be two different things in the corridors of Chicago's racially divided politics that has depended so much on diligent precinct workers trekking door to door to nail down support for party candidates. Mr. Epton must receive large numbers of votes from disenchanted Democrats and see large numbers of others stay home on Election Day.

At a news conference today, Mr. Washington professed confidence that the public support was genuine. "I expect," Mr. Washington said, "without reservation that the committeemen will support me throughout the city."

And Mr. Washington appealed to other camps within his city's Democratic Party, which has historically dissolved into regional and ethnic duchies without the unifying influence of a strong Mayor. "To those who have opposed us," the Congressman said, "we open our arms and offer you to join our movement."

Today, Mr. Washington urged the press not to play up the racial aspect of the campaign in this city that has become 40 percent black. "I'm aware of the makeup of this city," he said, "I'm aware of the traditions this city has followed so far as race relations are concerned."

Later, he added, "That's a very volatile situation and to continue to beat that horse is very dangerous. It's not just a question of being elected Mayor. It's a question of the city being able to be moved under anyone."

"We know the level of prejudice in this city," he added, "We don't have to talk about it. When you describe it in juxtaposition with a political campaign, you're bringing out more selective and lesser elements. And I think it's rather dangerous."

A major concern of Democratic Party workers here is the entrenched system of political patronage. Mr. Washington, the son of a Democratic precinct captain, maintained today that he would destroy the political party patronage system first assembled by Mayor Anton Cermak in the 1930's.

"It is extralegal," Mr. Washington said, "grafted on through the genius of Anton Cermak, brought to masterful fruition by the recent Mayor Daley and ending under the reign of Harold Washington." He was referring to Richard J. Daley, the father Richard M. Daley.

Reporters asked Mr. Washington about endorsing Presidential candidates. He used the question to criticize former Vice President Walter F. Mondale, who endorsed Mr. Daley. "Mr. Mondale has some explaining to do," Mr. Washington said, "some serious explanations." He noted that he and his district's workers produced a 93 percent vote for the 1976 Carter-Mondale ticket.
Ogilvie rejects GOP draft for mayor

FORMER GOV. RICHARD B. Ogilvie, mentioned recently as a possible 1984 primary challenger for the seat of Sen. Charles H. Percy, reportedly isn't so much interested in running for the Senate as he is in making himself unavailable for a GOP draft to run for mayor of Chicago. Because the Republican record of futility in mayoral races, party leaders are seeking a "name" candidate of Ogilvie's stature to run for mayor. But Ogilvie gets along too well with Mayor Byrne to tangle with her.

Ogilvie in Byrne camp; debates in jeopardy

Epton stunned by defection

By David Axelrod and Mitchell Loric

FORMER REPUBLICAN Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie is bolting his party during the Chicago mayoral election to head one of the campaign committees of Democratic Mayor Jane Byrne.

State Rep. Bernard Epton (R., Chicago), who was urged by Republican Party leaders, including Ogilvie, to run for mayor, said he was "sort of stunned" to learn of Ogilvie's defection into the high-profile position as head of Lawyers for Byrne.

"I would have thought he would have played a lower-key role," Epton said. "Maybe, I'll pick up prominent Democrats."

Epton recalled that Ogilvie called and urged him to run for mayor.

"He said I would be an excellent candidate. He said, unfortunately, he couldn't be for me this time. He had already made a commitment."

Candidates haggle over format details

By David Axelrod

THE THREE major Democratic candidates for mayor said Tuesday they still hope to debate, but they continued to wrangle over details, raising doubts about whether the encounters will ever be staged.

With the cancellation of the Chicago Sun-Times debate, which had been scheduled for Jan. 18, attention turned to other possible joint appearances, but no resolution was reached among Mayor Jane Byrne, State's Atty. Richard Daley and U.S. Rep. Harold Washington (D., Ill.).

Meanwhile, Erwin Chemerinsky, a De Paul University law professor who had served as Washington's debate coordinator until he was replaced by the campaign staff on Monday, resigned Tuesday, charging that the Washington staff had broken a commitment by backing out of the Jan. 18 debate.

Chemerinsky said Washington had agreed to the Sun-Times debate on city finances and city services with the knowledge that Daley had balked at making that debate contingent on other appearances.

"I'VE QUIT the campaign because they (the
Preliminaries pointing to fireworks at debates

By David Axelrod
Political writer

IF THE MAYORAL debates are even half as heated as the discussions leading up to them, the public is in for quite a show.

Not since the Americans and North Vietnamese haggled over the shape of the negotiating table in Paris have there been such maddeningly painstaking preliminary discussions.

The posturing is a reflection of the seriousness with which the candidates view these encounters. They feel debates, if televised on several stations as expected, could have a major effect on the outcome of the Feb. 22 primary.

That is why Mayor Jane Byrne, State's Atty. Richard Daley and U.S. Rep. Harold Washington (D., Ill.) are trying to secure an advantage through the debate format that is chosen.

Byrne, a virtuoso performer in debates, initially sought multiple forums as a means of propelling her candidacy. However, her enthusiasm may have diminished in recent months as her popularity and standing in her polls increased.

IF THERE are debates, she would like to see them opened to all subjects, because as an incumbent mayor, she is likely to have the best in-depth knowledge about the workings of city government and would be better equipped to handle questions on a wide range of subjects.

The mayor also hopes to exclude reporters from the panel, leaving the questioning to audiences at a series of neighborhood debates. Such questions are bound to be more general.

Daley at first appeared bent on skipping the debates entirely: Only after six weeks of reflection, during which he was the target of criticism for his reticence, did he agree to debates.

HE WOULD LIKE to limit the debates to such subjects as city finances and services, areas in which Byrne, who has raised taxes, would be most vulnerable; economic development and job creation; and public safety, his own area of expertise.

Daley also prefers a panel of media questioners and a more structured format, for just the reasons Byrne did not.

Washington, who has less money than his well-heeled opponents to spend on television advertising, wants the maximum exposure he can get, so he, too, favors several debates.

But he has switched strategies in recent days on the format he prefers.

When negotiations began, Washington's team opted for the format Daley suggested, with the subject matter limited to specific topics. Last week, however, the campaign reversed itself and decided that a freewheeling format would better suit the congressman, a skillful debater.

Daley's negotiators outflanked his opponents in late December by arranging two debates on specific subjects, one on city finances and one on economic development, without firmly committing their candidate to additional debates.

Washington and Byrne tried to reverse that this week and to raise new questions about Daley's willingness to debate by insisting on two additional, open-ended forums as the price for their participation in a Jan. 18 encounter to be sponsored by the Chicago Sun-Times.

But the Sun-Times, irked by the tactics Washington and Byrne employed, canceled the debate.

That may suit the mayor, who escaped a well-publicized discussion of city finances. And Daley was not displeased, because he may be in a position to skip the debates now without accepting blame.

Only Washington appears to have gained little by pulling out of the debate, antagonizing one of the city's major newspapers in the process and losing an opportunity for major television exposure.
Washington agrees to debate Epton
—'2 or 3 times'

Continued from Page 3

Democratic presidential hopeful Walter F. Mondale because Mondale endorsed Cook County State’s Attorney Richard M. Daley in the primary.

By Lillian Williams

Democratic mayoral nominee Harold Washington on Thursday accepted his Republican opponent’s challenge to debate but said the number of face-offs should be limited to two or three.

Republican Bernard E. Epton earlier in the day proposed eight debates before the April 12 election, clearly hoping that televised debates would boost his campaign as Democratic debates helped Washington before Tuesday’s primary.

Washington said eight debates would be “excessive” and that after two or three, the candidates “will probably have run the course.”

The Democratic congressman set the tone for a spirited mayoral contest at his first press conference after his primary victory. His remarks included:

- A repudiation of the Democratic Party’s long-standing influence on city government. “My only concern with the Democratic Party is that it no longer be in a position to control city government,” he said.
- A reiteration of his promise to end patronage hiring. Epton has said he is not against patronage if it is properly administered.
- A hint that he might withhold support from Democrat

He also said he would not fire city employees “willy-nilly,” although he did indicate major Cabinet changes.

He said his transition team, headed by Edwin C. “Bill” Berry, who also headed his campaign steering committee, has begun a citywide search for new department heads. During his campaign to unseat Byrne, Washington repeatedly said he would not appoint an all-black Cabinet but would increase the number of minority members.

During a TV appearance and later at the press conference, Washington said Mondale “has some explaining to do” over his endorsement of Daley.

“You make your choices,” Washington said, referring to Mondale’s explanation that he had a debt to Daley.

About Jackson, Washington said, “He won’t have any (administration) role. He has none in my campaign... I am my own man, even my dad could tell you that.” Sun-Times columnist Roger Simon also quoted Jackson in Thursday editorials saying he would not seek a role in a Washington administration.
Epton fires his first shot at Washington

BERNARD EPTON, the Republican mayoral candidate, for the first time criticized his Democratic opponent, Harold Washington (D-Ill.), hitting him on several issues Friday.

Epton said Washington's long history in the Democratic machine made his promised break with the organization suspect. "I have to question" Washington's vow that he will end the patronage system, Epton said.

He also said the voters should take into consideration Washington's failure to file income tax returns for four years in the late 1960s, a misdemeanor charge which Washington did not contest. "My past record and his past record are both issues," Epton said.

Epton said Washington's recent proposal that CTA fares be lowered suggested that the Democratic candidate "isn't a very fiscally individual." 

EPTON FIRST TOOK issue with Washington's promotion of Police Supt. Richard Brzezek, saying Washington "jumped the gun." But later Epton expressed doubt that he believes he would retain Brzezek in light of the police superintendent's remark Thursday that the city wouldn't be safe under Washington.

Epton said he was "appalled" at the remark and said, "The city is safe under Mayor Washington or Mayor Epton."

Brzezek's comments also drew from Wash. Epton, who spent most of the day in private interviews with media representatives but said during a TV taping that the comment was "hysterical" and should "fade away."

Responding to Brzezek's assertion that he would resign rather than work for him, Washington said Brzezek is "reacting badly, very badly."

During taping of WMAQ-TV's "City Desk" program, Washington rejected Brzezek's comment that the city would be "unsafe" under Washington as "tragic." "I just feel compassion for the man," he said on the program, which will be aired at 11 a.m. Sunday. "It's fortunate that it was ever said."

BUT AT AN IMPROMPTU news conference later, Washington said of Brzezek, "He's a disgruntled person who was on the losing side, acted unfairly by campaigning for the mayor and lying about crime statistics. I would suggest he take a tranquilizer and relax." 

By advocates reported Friday that they had been the targets of death threats.

Epton's campaign headquarters at 28 S. Michigan Ave. received a phone call at 11 a.m. Friday from an anonymous male who said, "I'm gonna blow that — up at 3 p.m."

Officers from the police bomb squad searched the headquarters, found nothing dangerous, and did not evacuate the premises. Neither police nor campaign workers took the threat seriously. Two loose screws in a back-door lock which at first caused concern among campaign workers were dismissed by police as unrelated to the threat.

BUT THE THREAT apparently caused Epton to re-evaluate the need for police protection, which he had at first refused when it was offered, saying, "I'd rather see the police men on the streets."

After the threat Friday, Epton said he wanted a "minimal amount" of police protection, mainly for his family.

During the taping of the WMAQ radio show "Chicago News Conference," to be broadcast at 9 p.m. Sunday, Washington was especially critical of Epton's published charge that Washington's aides reported a false death threat so the candidate could receive police protection.

Washington said he has received a series of death threats since his campaign began, including one that he would be "assassinated" at the mayoral candidates' debate in Clemente High School on Jan. 31.

ONE POINT OF AGREEMENT between the two candidates Friday was the state income tax, which both believe must be increased. Epton said he would, if elected, "go hat in hand to Springfield" to get more money for the city.

Washington previously has said he believes such an increase in the tax is needed.

Epton said he would also ask President Reagan for aid, "though he hasn't called me all day."

He said that he has no pre-election plans to meet with city department heads, evaluate them or review their budgets, but he estimated that $10 million could be cut easily from the city payroll.

Even more budget cuts may be needed, Epton said, if he succeeds in increasing the Economic Development Commission budget tenfold as he intends to do if elected. The EDC, he maintains, would attract businesses to Chicago and help revitalize the city.

He called for major changes in the system school to improve public education. But he split again with Washington over the idea of an elected school board, which Washington favors but which represents as a system that would bring politics even more prominently into the school system.

Democratic mayoral nominee Harold Washington sheds his eyes from lights while waiting for a TV interview to begin Friday.

EPTON AND Washington were at odds over the future of ChicagoFest, the popular lakefront festival with which Mayor Jane Byrne was so prominently identified. Epton said he doubted that he would continue it if elected, but said he might reconsider if he is assured that the festival would make money. "I see nothing wrong" with entertaining "if we make a profit" and if jobs are created, he said.

Washington, however, said he sees the continuation of ChicagoFest, but said he wants it financed by private enterprise with city "sponsorship" that would not include city money.

Washington also said that Festivals, Inc., the Wisconsin-based consulting firm that stages many of the city's special events, should not be allowed to continue in that role. He said he would have to study the festival programs more closely before deciding whether to support Chicago City Council approval of a Festivals, Inc. contract that comes before the council March 9.

BOTH EPTON AND Washington were cautious about the attitudes toward the proposed 1992 World's Fair here. Washington said he would reserve judgment on city participation in the fair until he more closely studied its financial aspects.

Epton, in a taped for WIND radio's "For the Record," to air Sunday at 10:30 p.m., said his support of the fair would depend on how much tax money would be needed for it.

In a symbolic vein, Washington said that if he were elected he would not use the Cadillac limousine purchased by Byrne. "It's vulgar," Washington said, adding that he would pay for an Oldsmobile, such as he now uses in his campaign.

Washington also rejected a request by Epton that he sign a statement rejecting racism in the campaign. He said he knows Epton is not a racist and doesn't need a signed statement to ascertain that.

FINALLY, WASHINGTON conceded that Rev. Jesse Jackson, head of Operation PUSH, is a major supporter of his campaign and said he would not disavow that support.

But, he said, Jackson "is not going to run city government. I'm going to run city government."
Epton says his party finally offers help

By Linnet Myers

BERNARD EPTON, the Republican mayoral nominee, met with representatives of the Republican National Committee on Thursday in hopes of obtaining $200,000 for his campaign.

"I told them I'm glad to see someone finally found me from the committee," Epton said after the meeting. "They said they were here to help."

He said he received pledges of money and personnel, although no specific amount was discussed.

Also Thursday, Epton met with Donald Rumfleld, prominent Republican figure and president of G.D. Searle & Co., a Skokie pharmaceutical company. "He offered to do everything possible to help me physically and financially," said the nominee, who added that he was "thrilled" to speak to Rumfleld after trying to reach him for several weeks.

Epton said he hopes to get $200,000 for his campaign from local contributions and an additional $200,000 from the national Republican organization before the April 12 election.

SINCE HAROLD Washington's upset victory Tuesday, Democratic mayoral primary, Epton said his campaign office has been flooded with calls from volunteers and offers of money.

"Louis Kaspe, the Chicago GOP chairman, said Thursday that the heightened interest in Epton's candidacy has prompted an unprecedented number of inquiries from city Republican committeemen, particularly from the Northwest and Southwest Sides.

Epton said he intends to include both Democrats and independents in his campaign, but he conceded that he has not heard from any Democratic committeemen yet.

"I'm a very fortunate man," Epton said, not only because of his growing support but because his fifth grandchild, Abraham, was born Thursday to his son, Mark, and daughter-in-law, Amy, of Oakland, Calif.

AT A FUNDRAISER for Illinois Secretary of State Jim Edgar Thursday night at 1000 Lake Shore Dr., Edgar proudly introduced Epton, saying he "definitely has a shot at it (the mayor's office)."

Edgar said the divisive Democratic primary weakened the machine organization, and some Democratic ward committeemen had privately told him that they don't know if they can deliver the vote for Washington.

Some Republican party regulars at Edgar's fundraiser were optimistic about Epton's chances. "We have a fantastic chance if we organize ourselves properly," said Bonnie Hickey, president of the National Federation of Republican Women of Chicago.

Epton said her club would give Epton a $1,000 contribution next week.

EARLIER THURSDAY, Epton talked to enthusiastic members of the Women's National Republican Club of Cook County and joked about his new-found popularity.

"Oh boy, has it changed ... the press has surrounded me, I have difficulty even going to the washroom," he said.

"I'm going to be the next mayor of Chicago," Epton told the luncheon meeting of the women's group, sitting in headquarters of the Cook County Republican Central Committee at 127 N. Dearborn St.

"Chicago's going to be a better city than we ever had."

Epton told the cheering women he was going to "rebuild and renovate" the city.

IN A QUESTION-and-answer session, Epton said he expects to get black support at the polls and that if Washington "is counting on all their (blacks) votes, I think he'll have a rude awakening."

Epton reiterated that race will not be an issue in the campaign and he denounced the news media for bringing up the issue. "You do more to create the tension by your repeated questions," he replied to a question. "It should be thoroughly laid to rest.

Epton said Thursday he planned to begin putting out issue papers and statements of his plans to administer the city—sometime next week. The statements will cover a variety of issues such as unemployment, crime, schools and economic matters, he said.

"I had no one to talk to for six weeks and now I'm talking to everybody," he said.
Words I might have to eat: “Bernard Epton has as much chance of being elected mayor as I have of growing a full head of hair before the end of this broadcast.”

That sentence popped out on TV Tuesday night after we interviewed Epton, the forgotten man in the primary election.

It was an example of the kind of knee-jerk thinking that comes from years of watching the Chicago Machine roll over token Republican opposition in mayoral elections.

But in recent years, most of the etched-in-granite rules of Chicago politics have been shattered.

THE RULES SAY that Epton doesn’t have much of a chance because he is going up against the Machine.

But how important is the Machine’s support anymore? Byrne went up against the Machine four years ago and beat it. Then she took it over and Harold Washington went up against her and the Machine and won.

The rules say that big money will beat little money in a Chicago election.

But Jane Byrne won an election four years ago while spending $135,000 and lost one this week with a $10 million campaign fund. Washington won while spending only a fraction of that.

The rules say that this is a town of Democrats, that there hasn’t been a Republican mayor in more than half a century, that no Republican candidate has a prayer of winning a mayoral election.

But even no-name Republicans got 35 percent of the vote against a power like the late Mayor Daley. And Republican Ben Adamowski once pulled within a few percentage points of Daley. Only a large black vote saved Daley that time.

And it did consider, while prematurely dismissing Epton’s chances, was the obvious. It’s right there in the election results.

Yes, Washington won the primary. But 64 percent of the voters preferred somebody else. Washington’s 36 percent wasn’t exactly a mandate.

And it’s also obvious that the voting was along racial lines. Washington received most of the black vote. Byrne and Richie Daley split most of the white vote.

HAD ONLY BYRNE run against Washington, she surely would have won. Had only Daley run against Washington, he surely would have won. The reason Washington won with little more than a third of the vote was neatly summed up by an Irish-American judge, as he glibly sipped a beer after the votes were counted: “The Irish are the same here as we are in the old country. Two Irish went at each other’s throats and they both lost.”

Now most Democratic ward bosses and other politicians are saying that the Machine will rally around Washington, accept him as its candidate and bring out the vote for him the way it has for other candidates.

But can the Machine do it?

In the closing days of the campaign, the Machine’s precinct captains were knocking on the doors of bungalows and telling the white residents, “You’d better vote for Byrne or a black is going to win.”

Are these same precinct captains going to go back to those bungalows and say, “I’d really appreciate it if you would vote for that black fellow I was warning you about”?

My guess is that any precinct captain who offers a Southwest or Northwest Side voter a new garbage can for a Harold Washington vote will be wearing the garbage can like a hat.

If Tuesday’s primary, and the primary four years ago, have proved anything, it is that Chicago voters don’t pay much attention to what the Machine says. The city’s black voters ignored the Machine and went their own way. Daley’s supporters ignored the Machine and went their way, too. And Byrne probably received more votes as a result of her TV commercials than she did from the Machine’s support.

SO THE WARD-BOSSES might still wear their pinky rings and smoke up a joint with their cigars, but they can no longer tell Chicago voters what to do.

The most disciplined ward in Chicago is the Daley family’s 11th. But one of the Daley precinct captains told me, “There’s no way we’re going to tell the people in Bridgeport they’ve got to support Washington. You know how they feel in Bridgeport.”

And in Marquette Park, Jefferson Park, Edison Park, Cragin, Brighton Park, Beverly, Edgebrook and most of the city’s other white neighborhoods.

Washington can be sure of the black vote and a scattering of white votes that gave him his 36 percent.

But the question is, will his personality and campaign programs be enough to persuade enough of the voters who went for Byrne and Daley that they should ignore his color and now go for him? We’re talking about well over 100,000 white voters in a town that has never been known for its liberal leanings.

EPTON HAS BEEN a forgotten figure. But now he’s going to have campaign funds. He’ll have competent campaign workers. And, despite his low-key manner, he’s no dummy. He has a quick wit, political experience and a good record as a legislator.

Yes, it is ridiculous to think that a Republican can be elected mayor of Chicago.

It’s just as ridiculous as the thought that an unknown little blond named Jane could beat Mike Bilandic and the Chicago Machine. And that a black named Washington could beat Byrne, Daley and the Chicago Machine.

The only rule in Chicago politics now is that anything can happen—and it probably will.
Black Politics in the 1980s

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