

STRENGTH-VOICE-POWER

ACTION!

POLITICAL ACTION FROM MILWAUKEE AREA LABOR COUNCIL

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TWO DECADES OF DUPLICITY

ISN'T THAT ENOUGH?

SEE PAGES 4 AND 5 FOR AN INVESTIGATIVE EXPOSE OF SCOTT WALKER'S HISTORY OF LYING TACTICS.

About our illustration -- "The Picture of Dorian Gray" is a famous story by Oscar Wilde about a handsome public figure who retains his looks over time while a portrait hidden in his attic reveals the actual blossoming ugliness of his corruption. It struck caricaturist Mike Konopacki as an apt metaphor for the career of Walker.



Inside that outside money

EVEN THE TEA PARTY DOESN'T KNOW HOW OIL BARONS FUND IT

(c) By Dominique Paul Noth for ACTION!

THE INTERNET IS NEITHER LIBERAL nor conservative but the right-wing was dumb-struck in 2008. Barack Obama seized the initiative in social networking and new media organizing, burying traditional GOP corporate money with floods of small donations and stirring millions of web and cell phone addicts into collective action behind one leader's vision and policy.

Violently dismayed, the right started trolling Twitter, Facebook and other social sites. The technologically savvy started thinking about all those email lonely-hearts they found, unhappy chatters, small isolated bloggers longing to become Fox News darlings -- all hardly of one mind but all feeling abandoned.

There were clusters of Republicans angry at having lost; anti-tax advocates who felt the GOP had abandoned them; religious families who feared the Democrats would be worse than what they had gone through.

Dismay to exploit

THERE WERE CLUMPS OF DISGRUNTLED libertarians believing any social policy meddling; pseudo-intellectuals wanting attention; anti-intellectuals who reveled in their ignorance; believers in 19th century American values; evangelicals and fundamentalists (not always the same by any means), Christian-supremacists (also not the same), haters of Muslims and any other religion; survivalists, gun-rights crusaders, deficit hawks, Glenn Beck fanatics -- and let's not ignore sincerely worried, hard-working people fearful of any government that thought it knew better -- just leave us alone! they seemed to chatter.

AND THEY ALSO FOUND RACISTS, both bridled and unbridled, hate mongers and knee-jerk deriders enlivened by Internet anonymity and AM noise volume. All



The money flowing to Ron Johnson's coffers is mostly not his -- nor even state voters. It's from corporate conduits backing Tea Party senate candidates.

made up a miniscule but avid part of America. All thought they reflected the fierce independence America had long cherished.

This mix of discontent seeking comfort on the Internet was also ripe for the picking.

Twitter into manipulation

TO THE SAVVY MARKETERS who have become experts at lobbying and funding, this could become the Twittering seeds to mold a new Tea Party, particularly since these objects tended to be more conservative, with more free time and better heeled than the average Republican. Another common bond -- they did not want anyone telling them what to do, even establishment Republicans.

To the manipulators that meant that if handled right (that is, deceptively) they wouldn't look too deeply at any community (meaning organization) willing to help.

While Obama created a leader-led revolution, this

one had to think it was headless, meaning leader-less.

FROM THIS ALCHEMY WAS BORN the funding mechanism and general philosophy trying to elect unknown, untested and sometimes pretty weird candidates to major public office. The leaderless would back the unknown and untested -- because the two camps were most alike.

The key to the enterprise was not letting the Tea Party regulars know who was running the show, who was quietly choosing candidates or providing the money.

A flood of money conduits

THE MECHANISM BECAME these cleverly named third-party groups to hide corporate roots while guiding the results. Link this emerging anger with other groups and thus create a network of high-sounding conglomerate names.

This juggernaut already includes Americans for Prosperity, American Justice Partnership, Crossroads, Citizens for a Sound Economy (morphed into Empower America, then FreedomWorks), American Future Fund, American Federation for Children, Club for Growth, the laughably named Patients United Now.

Americans for Prosperity may be the best known Tea Party funding mechanism, but money comes from the same cartels, multi-national corporations, anti-regulators, acid-rain deniers, oil company financiers, health industry lobbyists, the Republican stalwarts like Karl Rove, Dick Arney and Ed Gillespie, and the billionaire David Koch who indirectly runs Americans for Prosperity.

The Koch family, as you'll see, is quite a piece of work, ranked as the second-largest private industry in the US.

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We created ACTION! -- now YOU take action

WHY ARE WE DOING THIS? Why is the Milwaukee Area Labor Council talking to the entire Wisconsin community, not just unions, with ACTION! a brand new publication focused on the November 2 election?

Mainly it's fear of your frustration. Yes we are frustrated, too, at this economic tsunami that hit working families harder than anyone.

Real buying power is not just flat for the middle class, the new statistics indicate it has actually fallen. We are working harder for less return. The laws to protect those who work for a living have been so weakened over the decades that America is in danger of creating a permanent underclass of 10% unemployed.

ALL OF US CAN FIX IT, by rolling up our sleeves and fighting for good leadership. And frankly, if the leaders we want aren't working fast enough, we can kick-start them. But we can't kick-start those who make money off the status quo.

In 2008, we were unknowingly inches from the edge of a cliff, with an entrenched power elite that simply shrugged at our problems. But voters took enthusiastic steps to change direction and climb back.

THAT ENTHUSIASM DIDN'T KILL THE DRAGONS. They wrapped themselves around our flag and lay in wait. Now they hope their money and your frustration will keep you home Nov. 2, will curb your enthusiasm

and allow them to reverse all the real gains made since 2008.

We're in danger of waking up Nov. 3 and having to start all over to become America again. Let's take the US flag back now.

HERE ARE TWO FACTS THAT SHOULD WAKE YOU UP. The top 1% of wealthy Americans take home a quarter of the country's total income, an imbalance from decades of greed and grasp that have destroyed the fundamental fairness that should be the hallmark of a free society.

The other fact -- 1% may have the money to buy the ads and beat you up with their beliefs, but they don't have 99% of the votes that actually decide who runs the government. That's why they're screaming so loud. You may be frustrated, but they're scared.

BECAUSE REAL CHANGE IS HAPPENING despite the deep pit the US dug for itself -- and despite the junk most Americans hear. In Ronald Reagan's first two years in office, unemployment grew. By the end of Obama's first two years, we will have saved or created about four million jobs to counter the eight million lost under George Bush. We are no longer losing 700,000 jobs a month but gaining steadily. Do you think the other side would do anything near that if they got back in?

We've stopped combat missions in one of the two foreign wars that bled our financial and human treasure. Would they have? We're slowing the growth of health care costs while adding coverage for 15 million and eliminating seniors' donut hole in prescription drugs. Would they have?

WE'VE RETURNED THE US AUTO INDUSTRY to profitability, are fixing the infrastructure, ended middleman profits in student loans, are now using our resources to build our own country while attacking that inherited deficit. They tried to block all of the above. Yet the party of no thinks you are too tired or complacent to take them on.

YES, BIG PROBLEMS REMAIN. There is no silver bullet. There is especially no magic wand if you believe the government should do nothing because it can't do everything. That's what our enemies want to bring back.

What is the key to this election? Turnout. We want it. They don't. That alone tells you a lot.

SO USE ACTION! Wave its stories and opinions in front of everyone you meet. Mainly, get everyone you know out to vote. All people -- blue collar, white collar, every collar -- have a crucial stake in this election. We're talking to you. You talk to them. Renew your hope and enthusiasm. Or be prepared to start fighting all over again from ground zero.

Feingold thinks! And he thinks about us

The other guy only has money to dupe with dead ideas

IT'S NOT JUST THAT RON JOHNSON is the ideal Tea Party cipher, it's that his slick TV handlers are trying to concoct Feingold-Lite.

Do you remember? Feingold burst on the Wisconsin political scene in 1992 with a series of self-disparaging TV ads, a debunking of political platitudes and a fun tour of things Wisconsin. He was authentic -- a serious intellectual "policy wonk" capable of making fun of himself, a true small-town Wisconsinite devoted for all these decades to holding listening sessions every year in all 72 Wisconsin counties and annually showing up on Labor Day afternoon for the labor festival in Janesville.

This year (to show how crazy-partisan this contest has become in the media), that devotion to Wisconsin rituals led the GOP to suggest he was ducking Obama's Milwaukee Laborfest appearance. Quite a laugh because Feingold has always shown up at Milwaukee's Laborfest in the morning before heading to Janesville, and did so again. But even for an afternoon with the president he wasn't going to break his standing commitment to his hometown.

As strong for state business as for its people

JOHNSON SHOULD KNOW Feingold has always worked as hard for Wisconsin businesses as for Wisconsin workers. On Sept. 16, the senator took time off from the campaign trail to join Sen. Kohl in testifying before the US International Trade Commission on behalf of Wisconsin's pulp and paper industry, supporting allegations that China and Indonesia have dumped and subsidized coated paper in the world market, causing plant closings in Wisconsin.

Feingold noted how economic damage to Wisconsin's paper industry ripples through the economy. He called for further action to stop this practice.

But Johnson thinks the US should emulate China and has said as much. He praised Communist China in interviews for how that country runs its economy. He supports free trade, says



Feingold on morning radio during Milwaukee's Laborfest

that China has more "certainty" in its economy -- illegal dumping will do that -- and says the 50,000 plus jobs that Wisconsin lost due to free trade with China during George Bush's presidency was "creative destruction."

IN CONTRAST, FEINGOLD was one of a handful of bipartisan senators in those Bush years that opposed a policy that rewarded multinational corporations looking for cheap labor and no environmental standards. It's a view adopted by new president Obama, who for years has called Feingold the nation's best senator, even though they sometimes disagree on tactics.

Pundits agree: Feingold's the true maverick

FEINGOLD REMAINS THE TRUE MAVERICK in national and Wisconsin politics, a stubborn thinker who has sometimes infuriated the Democratic Party. He votes with Democrats on a lot of issues. He supported full bore the federal stimulus, he came around on health care reform though he wanted more options -- but he opposed Obama's Wall

Street reform regulations for an unusual reason: He didn't think they were tough enough. No wonder big business hates him.

His maverick ways caused long-time political reporter Craig Gilbert to conclude in the Journal Sentinel Sept. 19: "Feingold has voted with his party less often than most other Senate Democrats, and in some years less often than almost everyone on his side of the aisle. That includes times when he has voted to the right of his party as well as times when he had voted to the left of it."

FEINGOLD WAS A FORCE to reckon with even as a UW-Madison and then Harvard law student working his way through college and then entering private practice (oh yes, Johnson's ads lie; he has worked in the private sector) before devoting his life to public service. First elected to the Senate in 1992 he has won tough battles every six years largely because of his effectiveness and acumen on legislative issues and the intricacies of government. And

because of his backbone.

There are a lot of Democrats and even some Republicans who now wish they had his guts with that lonely stand against the Iraq war and against the overly broad 2001 Patriot Act -- worries about unfettered powers of the government that have sadly come to pass. There is also his willingness to work with the other party -- and yet he famously balked when they tried to run their games on his cooperation.

That streak of Wisconsin progressivism runs deep, including support of gun rights. He's hardly the tired career politician Johnson tries to paint in commercials.

Feingold's big flaw: Doesn't suffer fools gladly

TOUGH AS HE IS, he has also proven flexible to good arguments but unlikely to suffer fools gladly. Which may put him at a disadvantage against Johnson, who does say some crazy things.

In fact, that whole "career politician" critique has backfired, especially when you recall Johnson on TV with Liz Cheney criticizing career politicians, forgetting that was what her father assuredly was.

Of course, there are bad, tired "career politicians" in both parties but there are also models of people dedicated to their communities and unflagging after decades of commitment. Feingold is the dictionary definition of that commitment. The effort by an unknown out-of-touch businessman from Oshkosh to paint him as jaded angered many in both parties. They may not always like Feingold's conclusions but they respect his deep process, and they wonder if Johnson's political hires think Wisconsin voters can be so easily duped.

JOHNSON WOULD BE COMIC RELIEF, except for the amount of money and slick ads being poured four to one against Feingold and the blatant effort to capitalize on general anger over the slow pace of recovery from a disaster created by a GOP majority.

Now it's not a laughing matter. Feingold will need full bore Wisconsin at his back - the Independents, the Republicans, the Democrats, students, the workers, the retirees. They're the ones who could lose the most and who best appreciate his tireless thinking man's service.

Meet the big money buying votes

Continued from Page 1

KANSAS-BASED KOCH Industries operates oil refineries, Lycra fibers Brawny paper towels, Dixie cups, Georgia-Pacific lumber. The family has contributed more than \$100 million over three decades to dozens of its causes (34 groups in 208 alone) reflecting evolving libertarian platforms more than Republican traditionalism, -- causes like denying any human role in global warming and espousing an end to federal regulatory agencies.

David Koch has not really moved from libertarian ideas formed in the 1970s but, tired of losing, he no longer openly champions abolishing the FBI and CIA and in 2010 was the largest single contributor to the Republican Governors Association.

Billions doubled for ads

THE MONEY INVOLVED from all this is genuinely staggering. While 2008 was a presidential race in which ad spending reached \$2.1 billion, analysts Borrell Associates says 2010 will reach \$4.2 billion! More than double -- all in a mid-term election!

Corporate and lobbying money aimed at stopping Obama, by accepting Tea Party candidates into the GOP fold regardless of ideological differences, has become a major part of the cash involved. Media Matters cites the \$50 million that Rove-Gillespie have pledged through soft-money American Crossroads GPS.

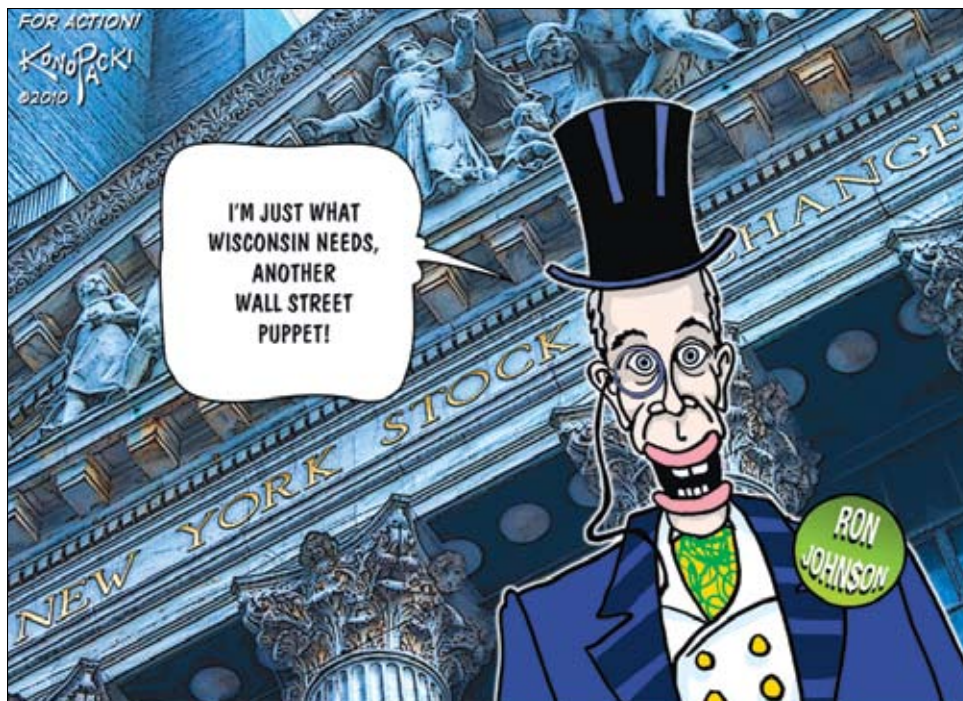
But then the media watchdog added in the US Chamber of Commerce (\$75 million), Americans for Prosperity (\$45 million), the Club for Growth (\$24 million at a minimum), the National Rifle Association (\$20 million), FreedomWorks (\$10 million) and a host of less prominent Republican groups -- "an eye-popping \$400 million in 'independent expenditures' - the Federal Election Commission's term for almost-unrestricted political campaign spending that can be impossible to trace back to its sources."

How donors hide

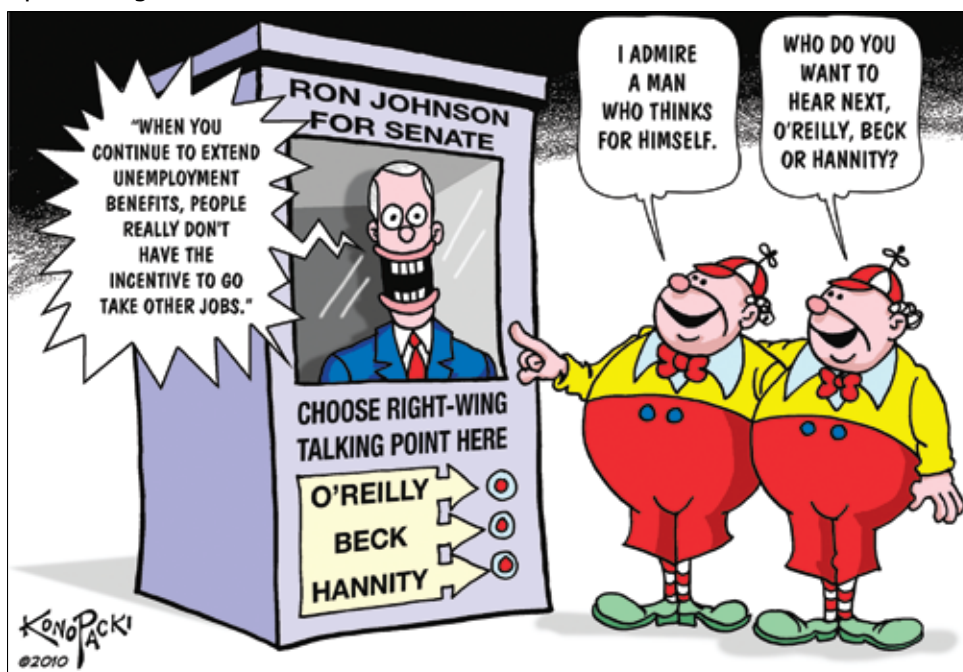
MOST OF THESE GROUPS -- and some such as Concerned Taxpayers of America and Citizens for a Working America may not even be groups, just one big donor -- can hide who is giving thanks to the Supreme Court's Citizens United ruling that tends to equalize big money and free speech. Such rulings further enable a raft of advocacy groups that -- mainly on the GOP side so far -- have become the big players because of the anonymity they afford donors. This lack of transparency prompts outcries from campaign watchdogs.

Even combinations of progressive groups fighting on the other side and seeking to exploit the same rules have to rely on fewer and smaller individual donations, by most accounts. They can't keep up with the corporate big money involved. While one, the Greater Wisconsin Committee, has spent \$1.2 million going after Scott Walker, according to reports, it can't begin to compete with the \$2.2 million (and still growing) money attacking Tom Barrett from the Koch-supported Republican Governors Association and the American Justice Partnership.

THE GOP STILL CAN'T MATCH Obama's power in small, fully reported donations on the Internet but it can thrive in a year he's not running. How? By relying on these third-party rules. The New York Times complained that this left its reporters "only scattered clues that can be gleaned about the financing, like the two \$1 million contri-



The campaign money flows in from outside corporations. The sound-bites are direct from the right-wing blogs and Fox News. Some in the public may have been fooled by the manipulated sources of this manufactured anger, but nationally known cartoonists, who have joined this ACTION! expose, were quick to pick up on the games and create visual fun.



butions from Louisiana companies tied to Harold Simmons, a Texas billionaire and longtime Republican donor who helped finance Swift Boat Veterans for Truth."

The journalists revealing these funding maneuvers by big business are hardly a liberal conglomerate, incidentally. Revelations have come from the Wall Street Journal as well as the New Yorker.

But not from News Corp. The parent of Fox News, part of the Murdoch empire, has actually split \$2 million between the US Chamber of Commerce and the Republican Governors Association specifically to support these "anti" campaigns.

Media rakes in profits

WHILE NOT ALL COMPANIES cross the boundaries of objective journalism so blatantly, most local and electronic media don't have a clue or frankly don't much care --- and from a venal standpoint it's understandable when you consider how much money the beleaguered and struggling media conglomerates are making from political advertising this year.

So neither they nor the Tea Party regulars nor much of the public were asking the obvious questions -- even in stories about Wisconsin.

IT WAS BETTER TO PRETEND the Tea Party was a spontaneous outgrowth of discontent. But in the early days, when only a handful of Tea-people gathered on a street corner, how did Fox News know to send a camera?

Coverage was steered

WHO THEN ORGANIZED the larger rallies, paid for the conventions in tourist locations, excited the media into attention, created and distributed the placards, including those grotesque characterizations of Obama? (It turns out American for Prosperity made some of those signs look hand-made to fool the viewers.)

The creation of Tea Party attention took a lot of organization and money. Hidden money.



WHO FUNDED THE TEXAS gathering of 500 Tea Party activists, giving media time to bloggers previously ignored when they called Obama "the cokehead in chief"? Why did the media not question the big money behind the clearly erroneous Tea Party charge that there were death panels in the health care bill? (It's an even more pertinent question today since Pew Research reveals that most Americans actually wanted the government to do more about health care than is in the Obama bill.)

But only now does it come out that such meetings including some of the so-called spontaneous parties in Wisconsin were concocted and funded by the very lobbyists and oil company moguls that so many in the Tea Party believe they are fighting.

Muddy beliefs

(THERE IS TOTAL CONFUSION about what the Tea Party actually supports. Polls indicate that a majority of Tea Party members think the free trade deals the US made hurt the country -- and so do most union members the Tea Party slogans blame. They oppose many of the principles their chosen candidates expound, such as ending Social Security and the Department of Education or allowing halting oil spills in the Gulf as the price of doing business.)

The trick has long been keeping the corporate funding hidden from its victims.

That was revealed recently when one of those active secret moneymen, "Bush brain" Rove (who has backed Rand Paul in Kentucky and Sharron Angle in Nevada), complained that the Tea Party had chosen the unelectable Christine O'Donnell as the GOP standard bearer in Delaware. He was immediately slapped down as an establishment father figure by Tea Party activists, including Sarah Palin.

OF COURSE, THEY WERE BITING the hand that fed them but no one, not the GOP or even the candidates, are in control of this movement. It's a tradition in America that populism, inspired by anger or a sense of lost power, can be hijacked, but never so clandestinely thanks to master puppeteers understanding the invisible strings of the Internet.

Leaderless is a two-edged sword - but this time the sharp if headless point is likely to stab the Tea Party believers along with the voters they are trying to herd. Their candidates in Wisconsin and elsewhere know darn well where the money and the real power come from. So they will never be beholden to any ground troops.

Watchdogs for two decades have

(c) By Dominique Paul Noth
for ACTION!

"WALKER - UNFIT." Such was the editorial headline from a newspaper in a conservative community judging Scott Walker's leadership abilities.

The newspaper had backed his opponent in an earlier editorial, but complimented both candidates for their refusal to slam each other on the campaign trail. Now it was retracting that compliment -- to put it mildly. It had just seen Walker's latest campaign brochure, which not only attacked the newspaper for its endorsement but slamed his opponent with a "blatant mudslinging spree," and deliberate "caricature." Not only had Walker harshly flip-flopped from previous niceties before the media, his followers had even tried to seize and hide copies of the paper with the endorsement of his opponent.

Broke campaign laws

ON THE SAME DAY as the "Unfit" editorial, the newspaper's front page reported how Walker owned up to facing a disciplinary hearing and violating election rules, incidents he blamed on "overzealous" supporters. Walker said no candidate could be expected "to control" such people.

He ducked questions about his own role by saying he didn't want to get into a "dog race" of which candidate accused the other of more violations and noted he had "not filed one single grievance" against another candidate. It was a neat sidestep since, of course, no other candidate had ever been accused of violations.

"In our opinion," the editorial said, "no one who responds to opposition by distorting (if not assassinating) the character of his opponent and making pouty accusations deserves" to be elected.

That editorial -- and the election Walker lost handily -- occurred in 1988

Barrett rules Walker on job focus

IT MAY HAVE LOOKED LIKE A PEP RALLY when Tom Barrett preceded President Obama at Laborfest's Miller Stage. But Barrett surprised the assembly by seriously discussing the hard uphill race ahead for governor. "The Republicans are measuring the drapes in the governor's mansion," he said, "so I need your help."

HE'S THE VICTOR IF JOBS ARE THE KEY ISSUE - and he was talking to working people particularly unhappy about the pace of the recovery. He didn't duck. He laid the facts of job creation directly in front of them, and is likely to pound away on that until Nov. 2.

SCOTT WALKER'S INDIFFERENCE to job creation, he noted, can't be reversed in a last-minute push to seem concerned in the governor's race. While Barrett has produced a specific comprehensive 67-page plan to create jobs as governor, Walker in the last month of the campaign produced a puff piece on job creation released in extremely large type so it would run just one page longer than Barrett's detailed vision. This childish ploy brought a pointed Barrett response: "Anyone can pluck numbers out of thin air and make grandiose promises, but Walker can't run from his record of failure."

The record, as the press has noted, is that "county government has played virtually no role in the attraction of economic development and jobs in recent years." At the height of our economic collapse, Walker eliminated the county's economic and community development division and its director position (restored this September by the County Board). He also did not fight Barrett's dynamic takeover of the county-run workforce investment board, which now is advancing job creation on several fronts.

Walker's county-owned dominant portions of the Park East Corridor lie fallow or buried in rubble while Barrett's city-owned portions thrive with the additions of Manpower, Flatiron and other developments.

BARRETT HAS ALSO LED the remarkable conversion of the Menomonee Valley into the home for 4,000 jobs with new businesses. And while Barrett led efforts for regional cooperation on job creation, Walker described the cooperation as "putting lip-

A timeline of Walker's misdeeds as Milwaukee County Executive, tricks he longs to carry into the governor's office, can be found at One Wisconsin Now's Scott Walker Failure Files, www.ScottWalkerFailureFiles.com



when sophomore Walker, active in campus and Westside Republican politics at Marquette University, ran for student body president before dropping out of school less than two years later.

Wild oats or pattern?

TODAY'S CONSERVATIVE TALK radio hosts seem to want to lock up for life those 21 year olds whose hijinks and moral compass run afoul of the law. Not here. Wisdom suggests patience, since many young miscreants straighten out with maturity and lead productive, even exemplary lives,

Similarly, we know many college dropouts who go on to fine public and private service careers and even go back to school. Those intrusive government regulations that Walker opposes also support the strict privacy that allows him to hide his grades and disciplinary records from prying eyes, so both he and the university can dismiss inquiries from the Democratic Party or the general public about why he never completed his degree or pursued one at another university.

BUT SOMETIMES THE CHILD is father to the adult. Walker's misbehavior in college, quickly exposed by the Marquette Tribune (overseen by faculty

advisors at a Jesuit university), could be dismissed as youthful prankishness - except that the next 22 years reveal adherence to the same sidestepping games and mendacity.

Dirty tricks continue

His career has continued the troubling patterns of dirty tricks and glib evasion disguised by a boyish appearance and reputation as a preacher's son.

OVERZEALOUS FOLLOWERS were blamed then -- but also are today, when his own political hire impersonated a liberal to dupe a cell phone user or inflated type size to make Walker's jobs plan seem longer than Tom Barrett's. (See sidebar below) Can't be blamed, Walker tells the media. An overzealous supporter is to blame. Who can control these guys?

What's forgivable as a college sophomore becomes dangerous in a county executive, and frightening to contemplate in a state's chief executive.

Even slicker today

THE 43 YEAR OLD WALKER is surely far slicker and cleverer than the callous Republican stereotype so easily nailed by the Marquette Tribune.

("He attended every class in a three-piece suit," recalled one prof. "It was like teaching Alex Keaton.")



Barrett greeted the Laborfest crowd and then immediately plunged into his plans to create jobs after he's elected Wisconsin governor on November 2.

stick on a pig."

Mid-September brought yet another flip-flop by Walker about a Barrett cost-reducing measure Walker had originally supported.

Walkers's hypocritical assault was on Barrett's proposal to save Wisconsin taxpayers \$339 million by combining state and local employees in the same health care purchasing pool, an idea Walker had originally embraced back in June when Barrett first outlined it. The Republican even in September told newspapers that "we should allow local governments to enroll their employees in the state health plan."

Yes, the pace of recovery can be frustratingly slow for voters, and anger at anyone in authority may be natural, but Barrett is asking Wisconsin to look at who is actually doing something and who is not. It's not just campaigning to point out recent history, and it's not just rhetoric to note the enormous difference between Barrett's actions and Walker's indifference.

But some tactics remain darkly visible -- including revisionist history. But now revisionism can be day to day.

WITNESS THE RECENT MENTAL health meltdown and how quickly in the face of public anger and newspaper investigation he dropped his opposition to a new center and finally fired his hand-picked chief who had run the place for years despite the complaints. Lost in his political desperation over losing a governor's race was any "no tax" pledge since the new center will cost the taxpayers 10 times more than acting promptly when problems overflowed years ago.

WITNESS HIS "WE'RE GOOD friends" approach turning to darkness when internal polls showed his primary opponent creeping up on him. Only then came Walker ads sliming the guy as more liberal in his days in Congress than Nancy Pelosi (ironically over a vote that Democrat Tom Barrett, also then in Congress, took the side Walker seems to advocate today).

His view of social ills

Shortly after his Marquette debacle, Walker gave an interview to the university yearbook that told the story of that first race quite differently than research reveals. He lost, he suggested, because he focused on "personalities and egos," implying mistakes more about tactics than blatantly breaking the rules.

HIS KEY GOALS IN POLITICS, he revealed back then, still remained to address "problematic societal issues." Perhaps he wasn't forecasting indifference to Milwaukee County's responsibility to protect the sick and mentally ill from sexual assault and suffering. But the attitudinal roots were there that this was one of those problematical "societal issues" -- government oversight intruding into business freedom.

Perhaps he didn't mean it shouldn't be government's role to keep people from being killed by collapsing infrastructure. But it does seem a political winner these days whenever he can sell himself as a fiscal conservative even at the cost of jobs and safety.

THERE IS A LARGER conservative (and liberal) commitment in a democratic society to caring for the less fortunate, but Walker can shuffle that away with his rabid faithful under the guise of saving money. It is a mantra of his campaign philosophy even when such actions actually cost more money than basic good management would. Now he longs to apply that approach to the entire state.

When spending can't be laid at Walker's door, he has changed his tune. Then his political ideology can suddenly mouth better service for the unfortunate. That's another key lesson in his political career, though perhaps not what the Jesuits intended to teach.

AS COUNTY EXECUTIVE he demeans the federal stimulus in the campaign but uses \$132 million to plug holes he created in his budget. That allows him to

Report continues on Page 5

BEHIND ACTION!

Paid for by Milwaukee Co Labor COPE, Sheila Cochran, Treasurer, as an in-kind contribution to the candidates listed. Milwaukee Area Labor Council AFL-CIO, 633 S. Hawley Rd., Milwaukee WI 53214.

Credits

Original Art: Mike Konopacki and Paul Noth. Design Elements: League of Young Voters under Robert (Biko) Baker.

Research & Articles: Dominique Paul Noth. Comments? action@milwaukeeelabor.org

exposed Walker's deceptive tactics



Continued from Page 4

take credit for saving the remaining bus service he had already thinned to the breaking point.

He slams others for takeovers his ineptitude at management forced upon them (the county call center, the House of Corrections, the applauded health care program, GAMP) or actually begs the state to take over the courts. (Imagine what he must contemplate eliminating as governor!)

Those slippery ethics

THAT LARGER CONSERVATIVE (and Christian) ethic about stepping up for the less fortunate -- it doesn't prevent Walker from defining the less fortunate as suits his purposes. So Walker steps in when cutbacks affect and anger the older, white, suburban voters he counts on for support, so he can move to restore just their parks and pools, as one of Walker's Wauwatosa neighbors reminded me. The cuts in bus service, central city parks and pools don't affect his votes so he can ignore those howls of dismay from the truly poor and desperate.

PERHAPS IF THE POOR would vote for him, his tactics might change. Perhaps if the rich spent more time in the courthouse, senior centers and parks, the community wouldn't face some \$225 to \$300 million in deferred infrastructure maintenance.

In one old interview at Marquette, Walker said, "I really think there's a reason why God put all these political thoughts in my head," though many observers would doubt God wants that responsibility.

Nowhere in those interviews was there acknowledgement of rule-busting, Nixon-era politics or the political viciousness insiders at the time remember. In a Marquette interview when he was in the race for county executive in 2002, Walker attempted to muddy even further.

'Others' were partisan

He lost in 1988 because his opponent, John Quigley, "and his supporters were active in liberal issues and made student government into a partisan one," a viewpoint that provokes laughter today from one former classmate. When Walker said in that interview the race was a "good lesson," the colleague remarked, "I think he meant he wouldn't get caught the next time."

SO PATTERNS ARE SUBTLER TODAY, or at least smarter. Be civil on camera but smear behind the scenes, but not -- ever again -- in a way so easily exposed as the Tribune did.

Lie boldly and say you were misun-

derstood -- it does seem to happen again and again, especially with issues Walker once supported that simply would not fly with his most strident Tea Party supporters.

Back to 1993, when Peggy Rosenzweig left to run successfully for state senate, Walker won that special election for her Wauwatosa-Waukesha seat. It was his first win and he continued to serve in the Assembly where he was a loyal backbencher to Tommy Thompson.



HE WANTS TODAY'S VOTERS to forget he supported no-bid transit competition to speed rail choice along. He backed budgets that doubled costs to the taxpayer. And he voted for BadgerCare and its concept of helping workers and their families get basic health care.

Caught in debate lie

SO IT WAS ASTOUNDINGLY bald-faced in August when in a public debate he said he would pare BadgerCare Plus because it was meant to be a temporary bridge (he well knew it wasn't), was rife with fraud (it isn't), supposed to be a "temporary safety net as they went from welfare into the workforce" (never so).

Editorialists jumped all over him for



deliberate misstatements Barrett laid a political nasty on him -- more telling because it was true ("he'll say anything to try to get elected").

Walker's defense was that the debate format required "short answers" -- short now becoming code for falsehood.

IN 1990, JUST BEFORE he left Marquette University without a degree, Walker entered state politics. We he the sacrificial lamb for the GOP, as one fellow legislator suggests? Or did he truly

believe as his supporters said that the Milwaukee Assembly district that ran right up to his hometown of Wauwatosa was winnable?

First partisan loss

THE ROADBLOCK WAS the occupant, a Democrat and an MU grad with considerable political skill and following. Her name was Gwen Moore. She stands today as the only public official to have beat Walker in an election, and she whumped him with 73% of the vote. It was his only partisan race in Milwaukee County.

He retreated to work at the Red Cross in the years when Elizabeth (Liddy) Dole (GOP activist and spouse of Bob) was its president, later accused of using the charitable institution as a refuge for Republican political failures. Which the young Walker definitely was.

Today, many elections later, Walker does cover his tracks better. Yet a blow by blow timeline reveals the same devices, particularly closing the barn door after the damage has been done and finding others to blame.

WERE THE STUDENT JOURNALISTS at Marquette that much better than today's professional breed? Or is his current escape a reflection on today's mass media, too busy pursuing the



same sort of readers whose votes Walker pursues?

But now a crucial statewide election is upon us, and that mass media is finally asking the questions they should have asked years ago, and discovering answers even more unsettling because of their long delay in pursuing investigative truth.

Since he is based in Madison, political cartoonist Mike Konopacki is familiar with state politics while achieving a national reputation. Aside from examining Walker's past through the Oscar Wilde image on our cover, he has lampooned the would-be governor for ACTION! using a famous Batman villain, Two-Face.





Tom Barrett, Governor



Russ Feingold, US Senate



Gwen Moore, US House



Tom Nelson, Lieutenant Governor



Jim Sullivan, Senate 5



Chris Larson, Senate 7



Scott Hassett, Attorney General

The Republican Party Presents A

TITANIC

Solution to America's Economic Disaster

DEREGULATION
PRIVATIZATION
TAX CUTS FOR THE RICH
UNION BUSTING

The Ultimate In
TRICKLE-DOWN
Economics

White Elephant Line



Beth Coggs, Assembly 10



Dave Cullen, Assembly 13



Fred Kessler, Assembly 12



Tom Michalski, Assembly 21



Sandy Pasch, Assembly 22



Jon Richards, Assembly 19



Christine Sinicki, Assembly 21



JoCasta Zamarripa, Assembly 8



Tim Carpenter, Senate 3

Block by block, tide turns



Wielding a death-head drinking cup, Rep. Gwen Moore amused hundreds at an outdoor Labor2010 rally supporting Feingold and Barrett. "When you go to the doors, tell them to stop drinking that poisonous tea!" she urged. "Remind them to look at their families' real progress in health care and how every working family has already gained from the federal stimulus and other recovery projects. And warn them not to be fooled again -- just as we're starting to climb back from those horrible economic policies. Don't drink that poison unless you want to go back!"

LEFT: Basking in rising poll numbers after his televised debates with right-wing clone Ron Johnson, Sen. Russ Feingold reminded a Labor2010 crowd of one of his most effective points -- his tireless emphasis as an incumbent on US jobs. While Johnson dwelled on how the company he inherited from his wife's family relied on China and how he supports all current and pending free trade pacts, "the last thing we need in the senate is a manufacturer who wants outsourced jobs more than American ones," Feingold said.



As November 2 looms, organized labor's successful GOTV (get out the vote) has been joined by progressive groups not limited by rules to union households.

Above in the Third Ward, Organizing for America, the outgrowth of Obama's 2008 volunteers, trains citizens in election action. **At right**, union volunteers sign up hundreds in the weekly Labor 2010 neighborhood walks.



VOTE: GENERAL ELECTION
Championship Round: **Tuesday, Nov. 2nd**

Re-Elect Democrat Gwen Moore for Congress

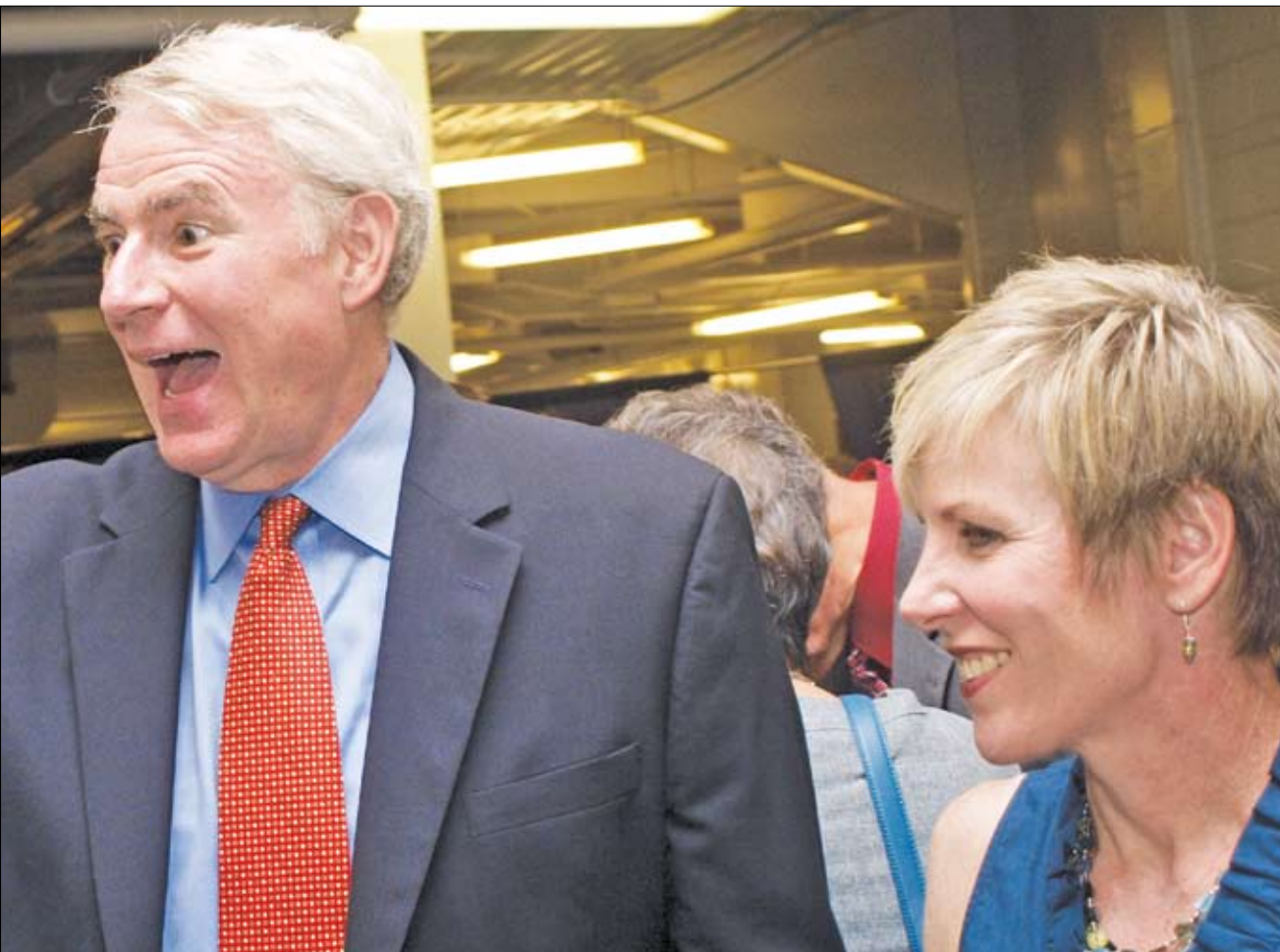
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Paid for by Moore for Congress, Ellen Bravo, Treasurer





Tom and Kris Barrett greet supporters at a recent fund-raiser.

A tale of two wives on campaign trail

FOR THOSE OF US WHO DARE ANSWER the telephone or watch television during an election season, the days before the Wisconsin primary brought quite different encounters with the families of candidates for governor.

The one I could justify -- and not just because I have long liked Tom Barrett -- was the rare but powerful appearance of his wife in a TV commercial, the first time Barrett's team deliberately used his beat-down outside the State Fair in a political context.

EVERYONE KNOWS THE STORY - how Barrett saw a beefy guy trying to rip a baby away from its grandmother. After asking a family member to watch his own kids, Barrett stepped forward to try to ease the situation and stop the violence. And suddenly the guy pulled a metal tire iron from under his shirt and beat Milwaukee's mayor to the ground and within an inch of his life despite Barrett's efforts to protect himself.

News footage, which made up much of Kris Barrett's TV ad, revealed the aftermath, a bloody Barrett with broken teeth and permanent damage to one hand.

THE BULK OF THE COMMERCIAL WAS HEARTFELT and a straight account of family reaction, and I had always been curious about that. Here was a moment we've all been through and here was how he behaved. I've been to the State Fair with my family and like many others I wondered what I would have done. Wade right in and try to calm an obviously violent situation? Protect total strangers? I'm pretty sure I would have looked around for a policeman, or rushed away with my family and later tried to call 911.

Tom Barrett didn't. He went right in. His wife held her emotions in check, she is no professional spokesman, but even a year later you could tell this was staggering to his loved ones. They may be proud of him, but they sure don't have to like what happened. Still, she noted, "There's people with the kind of character who don't think about circumstances, about what might happen to them. They just respond. And I don't think he ever thought about it."

NOT JUST ON TV BUT IN PERSON in a long career covering politicians, I've seen the reaction to trouble and violence. It takes a certain amount of hard-nosed wading in just to run for public office, and leaders of both major parties have acquitted themselves well, revealing something of their personal traits. I recall Ronald Reagan's humor after being shot and nearly dying. I recall an unpublicized moment I witnessed several years ago at the Pfister Hotel when a former vice president, Al Gore, leaped forward to help a falling TV cameraman while the rest of us media types stood frozen (or maybe wondering how such a big man like

Gore could move forward so fast). But I've also seen politicians flinch at violence, or look around for an aide. I even saw one candidate, who shall go nameless, duck out a side door.

So the human side of the Barrett moment always struck me as something worth hearing more about. I had no problem with the campaign inserting something everyone was talking about anyway into a political race.

A FEW DAYS LATER, IN A TIMING hard to shake off as coincidence, particularly since Barrett's TV commercial had such a powerful immediate impact, I answered the home phone to find a robocall from another wife rarely visible in a campaign context. And it was bizarre and trivial by comparison. Tonette Walker was on the phone complaining, of all things, about something perfectly natural, how one Democrat was giving a million dollars of his campaign donations to another Democrat, Tom Barrett.

Was she going to complain that the well-heeled Jim Sensenbrenner hadn't done the same for her husband?

No, it turned out. The purpose of the call was to state that Jim Doyle gave the money to Barrett to "get" her husband. Yes, it was all about Scott, she said. The donation was aimed at derailing Walker by helping Mark Neumann as a candidate.

IT WAS HARD NOT TO LAUGH. (It would also have been useless because the recorded voice wouldn't hear the ridicule.) I had just recently been talking to the Barrett camp, and off the record they were far more worried about Walker's opponent. Neumann may have been a conservative clone on key issues but he was also a wild card in political terms.

They were even chafing to expose Walker, aware that Neumann would have taken off the table the Milwaukeean vs. Milwaukeean thing and added the unknown element of Northern Wisconsin where Neumann had stronger following. (Don't just believe this liberal writer -- look at the county by county map after that GOP primary.)

SO ONCE AGAIN, THROUGH HIS WIFE'S ROBOCALL, Walker was trying to deflect attention from reality, and maybe a little bit to counter the truly moving story of Barrett leaving State Fair.

WE ELECT GOVERNORS ON THE ISSUES AND THE IDEOLOGY. If we elected on moral character, on who steps forward instinctively to help people and who ducks and weaves, this wouldn't even be a race.

The author, Dominique Paul Noth, writes for ACTION! and is editor of the Labor Press and a longtime journalist on the Wisconsin political scene.



Senator Jim Sullivan

Sullivan restores sanity to Senate District 5

WHY DOES INCUMBENT Jim Sullivan feel he has a target on his back? Partly because of the stridency of his opponent, Leah Vukmir, and her inside track with loud and dominant conservative talk radio. They all suggest Senate District 5 "belongs" to the Republican Party and that Democrat Sullivan is the alien interloper.

Actually he fits the dynamic and changing district like a glove. If you want to speak of alien encounters, recall the 2002 partisan primary. The exciting Wisconsin race was on the Democratic side, a gubernatorial donnybrook among Jim Doyle, Tom Barrett and Kathleen Falk. History says the moderate Republicans that dominated District 5 did cross over to choose among them.

THAT ALLOWED MISCHIEF. Voters woke up to find moderate and highly regarded Republican Peggy Rosenzweig bumped out by an extreme right-winger whose views soon alienated members of his own party in Madison.

Sullivan's election over Tom Reynolds in 2006 was largely regarded in both camps as a breath of fresh air and sanity for the Wauwatosa-Waukesha district. What Vukmir is clearly saying now is she wants to take it all back to the Reynolds dark side. She wants to move up from tenure in the Assembly to try to knock off Sullivan.

When she raps the "do-nothing" state legislature, she neglects to point out she was a do-nothing for twice as long as Sullivan -- and even when the GOP had control. Her campaign platform is straight from a tired playbook -- eliminate regulations and taxes on businesses, fight any health-care reforms from D.C.

SHE REPEATS A MYTH refuted in 21st century statistics that Wisconsin's tax burden on Wisconsin's families is among the highest in the nation (we're actually in the middle among states). She wants out-of-state health insurers to be exempt from some laws affecting employers. If she can find a business creating good jobs, she wants to eliminate any laws preventing that -- well, who doesn't?

SULLIVAN IS OFFERING A STRAIGHTFORWARD alternative, asking if voters want "a common-sense moderate, someone who can work across the aisle and think independently?" In four years he certainly has, thinking through legislation rather than serving as a knee-jerk party line vote.

As member of the Wisconsin Tech Council, he has taken the lead for the emerging biotechnology industry. He helped pass the CORE Jobs Act - a comprehensive targeting of tax breaks and incentives to local businesses that create good-paying jobs in home communities.

IN PURSUIT OF THOUSANDS OF SUCH JOBS, he's backed improving the Zoo Interchange and developing UWM engineering school plans on County Grounds. He was named legislator of the year by both fire and police associations in the state for fighting to preserve their jobs.

Now 42, a lawyer and former Wauwatosa alderman, he served in the Naval Reserve before being elected to the senate. Job creation, improved public infrastructure and "reasonable cuts" to the state budget are key platforms.

THIS DISTRICT RACE HAS BECOME a battleground for control of the state senate, but the political realities have changed. At first, Vukmir expected to be a shoo-in, but now that facts are mounting up about Scott Walker's competence, the climate has changed to a tossup, and Democrats are freshly motivated not only by the strength of their candidates but also by Vukmir's annoying stridency and fading momentum.

It's still a remarkably tight race, but no party owns this district or ever will.