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# FOCUS

The monthly magazine of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies®

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**POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®**

**Perspective**

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# Leadership and After-Dinner Questions

On April 4, the Joint Center had the most exhilarating experience of its 20-year history. We had 1,300 of our dearest and nearest friends over to dinner at the Washington Hilton Hotel to kick off the celebration of our 20th anniversary. President and Mrs. Bush, Governor L. Douglas Wilder, Xerox CEO David Kearns, and Vernon Jordan were among those kind enough to help us mark the occasion.

One always has high hopes and deep anxieties over affairs like this—keep the program on schedule, don't let the food be served cold or late. Perhaps most of all, you pray that the affair doesn't turn out to be just another Washington dinner. Well, none of that happened to the Joint Center. In fact, the evening turned out to be one of Washington's most memorable occasions—an ecumenical affair with pleasant blends of politics, race relations, media events, and international and domestic policy.

There was President Bush standing behind the "Blue Goose" (the portable White House podium) saying, "I would use this bully pulpit to condemn in the strongest terms racism, bigotry, and hate." These words—strong by GOP standards—were addressed to a leadership audience concerned about the advancement of black Americans. The words stood in stark contrast to the Reagan administration's tepid commitment to civil and human rights.

By declaring that he accepts the challenge of having his administration live up to the "highest ideals of the civil rights movement," Mr. Bush appeared to signal that his presidency is returning to a concern for civil rights—the measure of which will probably be gauged this year when civil rights legislation is presented to him for signature.

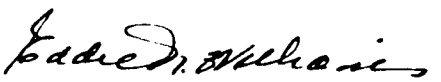
President Bush never stood in greater contrast to his predecessor, Ronald Reagan, than when he agreed to meet black leaders early in his administration and when he actually used the presidency as a bully pulpit against bigotry, racism, and hate. It is difficult to imagine Reagan exclaiming, as Bush did at our dinner, that he foresees the day when a black man or woman will occupy the White House as president.

Bush's words may be more prophetic than he knows. Following him on our 20th anniversary dinner program was Virginia's L. Douglas Wilder, the first black elected governor, who spoke of individual freedom, fiscal responsibility, and the emergence of a new American mainstream. These "mainstream" words excited the media and titillated political analysts. Some people speculated aloud that perhaps Mr. Wilder isn't finished making history.

All wasn't politics at the dinner. David Kearns, chairman and CEO of one of the nation's biggest companies, spoke of his commitment to the education of disadvantaged youth. At a time when newspaper headlines are full of "junk bond" deals and other forms of fraud, Kearns' brand of corporate leadership was most welcome.

All these good words said over steak and salmon on a pleasant spring evening, however, begged some inevitable questions. For example, isn't it odd that while George Bush was embracing civil rights, his attorney general was counseling him to veto the Civil Rights Act of 1990? As Gov. Wilder espouses fiscal integrity, how do we rescue America's poor, who are mainly minorities? And how many of Mr. Kearns' corporate counterparts will join him as he works to equip young Americans with a competitive education? These are but a few of the questions that would rush to the fore in any forum that included President Bush, Governor Wilder, and Chairman Kearns.

As gratifying as the Joint Center's dinner was, it's asking these tough after-dinner questions that makes us a think tank of the first order. And it's helping to answer them that will justify the public support we receive over the *next* 20 years. ■



PRESIDENT

FOCUS

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# Assessing the Peace Dividend

## *Those Debating How to Reduce the Size of the Military In Light of Dramatic Changes in Eastern Europe, Should Consider How Blacks in Uniform Will Be Affected*

*by Edwin Dorn*

Over the next few years, the Department of Defense (DoD) could close or restructure some 90 military bases in the United States, curtail dozens of weapons projects and cut active duty forces by as many as 300,000 people. These trends, if continued throughout the decade, would save hundreds of billions of dollars.

Political leaders already have begun to debate how those savings will be used. National Urban League President John Jacob suggests spending $150 billion on a "Marshall Plan" for the nation's cities; House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.) recommends deficit reduction; Senator Phil Gramm (R-Tex.) wants a tax cut; and President Bush proposes to reallocate about $800 million from the DoD budget to help Panama and Nicaragua. Indeed, growing enthusiasm about the peace dividend has itself created new pressure to bring down the defense budget.

This enthusiasm, nevertheless, needs to be tempered by three considerations. First, the Bush administration will strongly oppose rapid reductions. Second, some of the highly touted "savings" are simply the result of adjustments in earlier, unrealistically high DoD spending projections. Third, military spending reductions will have unsettling effects, at least in the short run, on many Americans whose livelihood is tied to defense. Personnel cuts, for example, would be felt quite sharply among minorities.

### Defense Policy for a Changing World

Much of the pressure to cut the defense budget stems from the dramatic developments in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. In December 1988, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev announced major unilateral reductions in Soviet conventional forces. During 1989, hard-line communist regimes in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and East Germany were replaced by governments promising more open economic and political systems and better relations with Western Europe. While these developments are generally viewed in the West as welcome, they also have created new uncertainties. Ethnic clashes have broken out in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl has been slow to renounce claims to portions of the old German empire that now belong to Poland.

Observers disagree on what all this should mean for American defense spending. CIA Director William Webster has stated that changes in Eastern Europe are "irreversible," an assessment which, if correct, would diminish NATO's security concerns considerably and permit the U.S. to reduce its military presence in Western Europe. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney is less sanguine; he argues that precipitous U.S. military reductions are not warranted until the situation in Europe becomes clearer and more stable.

In any case, it is Cheney's cautious assessment that is reflected in the administration's FY 1991 budget, which asks Congress to authorize $295.1 billion for the Defense Department, several billion dollars more than Congress authorized for FY 1989 or 1990. (This figure does not include approximately $10 billion for defense-related activities outside DoD, e.g., the Energy Department's nuclear weapons program.)

Among those pressing for much larger reductions is the Defense Budget Task Force, a private group that includes several former high-level national security policy makers. In its March 1990 report, "Restructuring the US Military: Defense Needs in the 21st Century," the Task Force argues that "the Warsaw Pact has virtually disintegrated, with unilateral Soviet troop reductions under way and formerly subservient Soviet allies demanding the withdrawal of all Soviet troops." The Task Force goes on to recommend a 50 percent reduction in the defense budget between 1991 and the year 2000.

That reduction would yield huge savings, if compared with the spending proposal of DoD in April 1989. But DoD's spending projections probably were unrealistically high to begin with. Congress would not have authorized all the funds, even without the recent turn of events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Political leaders should be careful, therefore, not to exaggerate the size of the peace dividend. To the extent that DoD's earlier spending plans were pie-in-the-sky, so are the projected savings.

*(Continued on page 4)*

Mr. Dorn is a deputy director of research at the Joint Center.

## *Assessing the Peace Dividend*

*(Continued from page 3)*

### Cutting the Force

In the end, *how* DoD saves (or spends) money is almost as important as *how much* it saves. The most flexible part of the defense budget is the "current account," which includes spending on personnel, operations, and maintenance. Personnel is one of the most expensive items in the defense budget, and DoD can cut those outlays quickly through a reduction in force.

Right now, the heads of the military services and key members of Congress are locked in a debate over how much to reduce the force, how quickly to reduce it and, most importantly, whether DoD's plans take full account of the changing global situation. The armed services are beginning to think about major cuts but want to stretch them out over a long period. For example, in early April, Army Secretary Michael Stone and Army Chief of Staff General Carl Vuono announced plans to reduce Army personnel by 184,000, from 764,000 to 580,000; most of those reductions would occur between 1992 and 1997. The Army's plan may have been a response to House Armed Services Committee Chairman Les Aspin (D-Wisc.), who told Vuono in March that the Army's earlier restructuring plans were not deep enough or quick enough to satisfy Congress.

If Congress opts for a rapid reduction for all four services, the total active-duty military could lose about 300,000 people by 1994. This would be a reduction of 14 percent, from 2.1 to 1.8 million, over a very short period.

While the Defense Department could realize major savings by cutting personnel, a dollar saved from that portion of DoD's budget is not necessarily a dollar saved by the federal government. All veterans are entitled to unemployment benefits, and officers are entitled to severance pay. These costs would reduce the amount of money that can be saved in the short term, even with large personnel cuts.

### The Teeth and the Tail

Since black Americans are statistically overrepresented in the active-duty military, they will be overrepresented in any large-scale force reductions. Blacks are 20 percent of the armed forces, so crude projections suggest that cutting forces by 300,000 would displace about 60,000 black men and women. The actual effects may be greater than that, because blacks comprise more than 28 percent of the Army, the service likely to undergo the largest and most rapid cuts.

Further, in relation to their overall 20 percent representation in the active forces, blacks are most prominent in those military specialties—support, supply, and administration—that are likely to experience the sharpest reductions. By comparison, they are not as overrepresented in combat jobs and are actually underrepresented in the more technical specialties.

The uneven distribution of blacks and Hispanics among the "high tech" military specialties is largely a result of the education they received before enlisting. During reductions, the armed services try to hang on to people in technical and combat slots (the military's "teeth") because they are expensive to train and hard to replace. Personnel in support jobs (the "tail") are more vulnerable.

Unfortunately, the skills that are not highly valued by the military are not highly valued by civilian employers, either. Thus, it is likely that many black and Hispanic veterans will suffer periods of unemployment while they search for a niche in the civilian economy; this would add to the already high unemployment rates in minority communities.

A smaller military also will mean fewer new recruits. Blacks join the armed forces in large numbers partly because the services offer opportunities unavailable in the civilian world. Unless the U.S. labor market improves greatly over the next few years, reduced access to the military will mean reduced options for tens of thousands of young black men and women.

### Recommendations

As political leaders stake claims on the peace dividend, they should pay close attention to the shape they give it. Four recommendations follow.

First, political leaders should be cautious about supporting precipitous personnel reductions. There are sound military reasons to move slowly, especially with regard to U.S. conventional forces in Europe. Those forces offer a stabilizing, reassuring presence in an otherwise rapidly changing environment.

Second, DoD should be discouraged from starting huge *discretionary* procurement programs. New weapons systems carry long-range commitments, some of which are not readily apparent in annual defense budgets. An aircraft carrier might show up as a four billion dollar item in an authorization request, for example; but that figure does not include the carrier's 100 planes (about $40 million each), the dozen ships that escort it, a crew of 6,000 people, or the cost of operating and maintaining it for 20 to 30 years.

Third, Congress should be encouraged to support transition programs that help veterans prepare for the civilian labor force. The Congressional Black Caucus's alternative budget provides for this. Its proposal could be the basis for a broadly based conversion program that helps veterans as well as civilian workers at defense plants affected by military cutbacks. In this regard, organizations offering job training and placement services should work with DoD to tailor programs.

Most importantly, black Americans should contribute to a comprehensive reassessment of the nation's defense needs. The 1990s may turn out to be as profound as the decade following World War II in redefining this country's role in the world. We need new metaphors to replace "cold war" and "iron curtain," new doctrines to replace containment, and a new vision of America's place in the world. ■

# POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®


## Inside This Issue:

- **A federal court finds that Mississippi continues to run a dual university system for blacks and whites**
- **Five-term Representative George Crockett retires from Congress, leaving a legacy of 50 years of activism**
- **New Jersey Governor James Florio is pushing for a ban on assault weapons**

**Across the Nation: Leander Shaw will become chief justice of the Florida Supreme Court; Congressman Gus Savage wins in Illinois; Paul Bather and Al Brown are running for Congress in Kentucky; Howard Lee has been selected to be a state senator in North Carolina**

## Mississippi Must Speed Up the Desegregation of Its Universities

**Mississippi, one of several southern states whose college desegregation plans are still being challenged, must dismantle its dual system of higher education in order to comply with a February decision by a panel of the U.S. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals. In simple terms, the state's system of higher education must enroll more black students at its historically white campuses and more white students at its historically black campuses. The court found that Mississippi's open admissions policy, in place since 1962, has been inadequate to achieve these goals.**

Plaintiffs in the 14-year-old lawsuit, *Ayers* v. *Allaine*, contend that the state continues to maintain separate and unequal universities for whites and blacks in violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The suit charges that disparities in funding and lack of integration have persisted among the state's eight public institutions. Progress in reversing decades of segregation and funding inequities has been limited. The Mississippi university system includes five historically white schools—the University of Mississippi, Mississippi State, Southern Mississippi, Delta State, and Mississippi University for Women; and three historically black schools—Alcorn State, Jackson State, and Mississippi Valley State.

In explaining the persistence of the disparities, administrators at black institutions complain that white students reject their schools because they have poorly maintained buildings and limited curricula as compared with the state's white schools, whose administrators decry the lack of resources to aggressively recruit black students and black faculty. In short, educators at all the institutions say that to further desegregate, they need more money.

**Responding to the circuit court ruling, Mississippi's 12-member College Board, including its four black members, voted unanimously to appeal. The Board, which allocated $191.9 million among the eight institutions in 1989-90, says that its recent efforts to equalize funding and increase enrollments show it is doing all it can. Even so, about 70 percent of the funding for that academic year went to the three largest historically white universities. Furthermore, the funding inequities of earlier years, which resulted in deteriorated buildings and inadequate programs at black campuses, have not been corrected.**

**State commissioner of higher education, RAY CLEESE, claims that Mississippi "is leading the South in efforts to bring minority students into the mainstream on our campuses." The Black Mississippian Council for Higher Education, nevertheless, expresses disappointment at the Board's action. The Council sees the Board's refusal to acknowledge inequities as a delaying tactic. And black State Sen. DOUGLAS ANDERSON, from the city of Jackson, warns that "if the state of Mississippi continues with its tradition, it will delay any changes as long as possible."**

The Council and other groups have offered recommendations to the College Board for improving the university system, including: an increase in financial support for historically black universities to compensate for past inequi-

ties; stronger efforts to enroll blacks at white institutions; tuition breaks and more scholarship dollars for minorities; and an expansion in the number of graduate programs, faculty, and facilities at black schools. Recently the circuit vacated the panel's February ruling and decided that the entire circuit will rehear the case in June. Legislative remedies already being informally discussed include pooled funding, restructuring, and establishment of a central administration for the entire university system.

**Meanwhile, Louisiana, next door, is watching Mississippi closely to see how this suit is resolved. Louisiana has had an open-admissions policy at its public universities since 1964, but as in Mississippi, segregation has persisted. A federal district court panel has ruled that Louisiana is not doing enough to desegregate its 18-campus system. The state maintains racially-identifiable campuses of different institutions in the same city. For example, the New Orleans campus of black Southern University and the white University of New Orleans, a branch of Louisiana State University, face each other across the same street. Under a consent decree with the Justice Department entered in 1981, Louisiana had agreed to spend up to $100 million over a five-year period to enhance historically black Southern and Grambling universities. However, in 1987 the Justice Department reopened the case, charging that a dual system still existed and not enough money had been spent to equalize the universities.**

Whether and how the Bush administration will pursue higher education cases like Mississippi's and Louisiana's, however, is far from clear. Early indications suggest that the new administration is tacitly following in the footsteps of President Reagan, whose administration did as much as possible to dismantle federal oversight of civil rights programs at state universities. In 1988, the Education Department chose to release four Southern states from 15 years of court-ordered desegregation review of their public universities, even though racial disparities among those schools had demonstrably worsened throughout the decade.

## *The "Judge" Retires from Congress*

**On March 28, Detroit Congressman GEORGE W. CROCKETT JR., known affectionately to his friends as the "judge," announced that he will retire from Congress, capping an illustrious 50-year career of activism and public service. City Councilwoman BARBARA ROSE COLLINS is the front runner in a growing field of candidates to replace Crockett in his 13th congressional district seat.**

Crockett was first elected to Congress in 1980 to succeed **CHARLES DIGGS,** the first chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, and quickly rose to become chairman of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs. He used that position to oppose former president **RONALD REAGAN'S** support for the Nicaraguan contra rebels. In December 1989, Crockett, who represents a poor inner-city district, became the first member of Congress to call for the decriminalization of drugs, calling this "the only solution." He has also been an ardent opponent of the South African system of apartheid.

Born in Jacksonville, Florida, in 1909, Crockett was educated at Morehouse College in Atlanta. After earning a law degree from the University of Michigan in 1934, he came to national attention as a pioneering labor and civil rights lawyer. He became the first black lawyer at the U.S. Labor Department in 1943 and was later appointed hearing examiner of the Fair Employment Practices Commission, another black first. In 1944, he founded and directed the Fair Employment Practices Department of the United Auto Workers union.

In 1952, at the height of the McCarthy era, Crockett spent four months in federal prison for his aggressive courtroom defense of 11 members of the Communist party charged with attempting to overthrow the U.S. government in the Foley Square episode. United Auto Workers President **DOUGLAS FRASER** credits Crockett with being "a civil rights activist before civil rights was very popular." After leaving the U.A.W., Crockett served from 1966 to 1978 as a judge in Detroit Recorder's Court, where he gained a reputation for upholding the rights of those accused of crimes.

**Now that Crockett is leaving Congress, his successor will have large shoes to fill. The August 7 Democratic primary in the predominantly black and heavily Democratic 13th district is likely to be crowded. Councilwoman Collins, who has already expressed an interest, came in second to Crockett in the 1988 Democratic primary. There she brought in 40 percent of the vote, just eight points behind Crockett. Three others who have indicated their intent to run are State Rep. JUANITA WATKINS, attorney MICHAEL PATTERSON, and CHARLES VINCENT, chief of general gynecology at Wayne State/Hutzel University Hospital. Several black state legislators may join the contest as well. Those seeking the seat face the prospect of the underpopulated district's being drastically redrawn, as Michigan is projected to lose two congressional seats in post-1990 Census redistricting.**

# New Jersey Governor Seeks to Ban Assault Weapons

On the morning of January 17, 1989, **PATRICK E. PURDY** opened fire on the Cleveland Elementary school yard in Stockton, California, with a Chinese-made AK-47 semiautomatic assault rifle. When the firing stopped, five children lay dead, and 28 other children and one teacher were wounded. In response to the senseless slaughter, the California state assembly enacted the nation's first statewide ban on assault weapons, which was signed by Governor **GEORGE DEUKMEJIAN** on May 24, 1989.

**Following California's lead, New Jersey's Democratic Governor JAMES FLORIO is attempting to get his state's legislature to enact a similar law that would virtually eliminate semiautomatic assault weapons in New Jersey. He calls these guns, which are often used in drug-related slayings, "weapons of war." Florio's proposal for an assault weapon ban, senate bill S.166, is being sponsored by State Sen. JOHN F. RUSSO. The bill would require current owners of such guns to either sell them to buyers who live out of state, make them inoperable, or turn them in to authorities. These requirements must be met by the first day of the fourth month after the bill becomes law. Handgun Control, a public interest group that claims one million members, estimates that there are 200 million privately owned firearms in the U.S.; of these, 60 to 70 million are handguns and about *one million* are assault weapons. So far, 30 city and county governments have banned these guns. A nearly identical bill passed the state senate last year but was blocked by opponents in the state house.**

Florio faces a tough battle, as the senate has been deluged by a letter writing and telephone campaign in opposition to S.166. The New Jersey measure is strongly opposed by gun enthusiasts and organizations like the National Rifle Association and the Coalition of New Jersey Sportsmen. Opponents protest the state's denying them ownership of such weapons as well as the lack of compensation for the guns currently owned by hobbyists. Although Florio has the support of all 21 county prosecutors and other law enforcement officials, the senate vote is expected to be close.

# Child Care Bill Passed—Veto Expected

**By the year 2000, 70 percent of all preschool-age youngsters in the nation will have working mothers, according to projections by the National Academy of Sciences' National Research Council. Recognizing the implications of this trend led Congress to begin drawing up daycare measures in 1988 and resulted in the passage of the Early Childhood Education and Development Act (H.R.3) by the House of Representatives on March 29 this year. If signed into law, the bill will expand and improve daycare for low-income children and have a $27 billion five-year price tag. Marian Wright Edelman, president of the Children's Defense Fund, characterized the bill as "a significant step closer to providing families the help they so urgently need."**

Low-income families above the poverty level would pay for daycare on a sliding scale. Roughly a third of the measure's $10.5 billion in program spending would go toward expanding the successful Head Start program, allowing year-long, full-time attendance for already eligible children. The bill gives great latitude to parents in choosing daycare providers, and is especially designed to aid the "working poor." For the first time, the bill would bring into the Head Start program children whose families are above the poverty line but who earn less than $15,900.

**The remaining two-thirds of the program funding is earmarked for state governments to create, expand, and improve daycare centers and after-school "latchkey" programs and to provide low-income working parents with vouchers to pay for the service of their choice. This two-thirds includes $2.1 billion which would go to school-based programs and another $2.9 billion for private and church-based programs. The earned-income tax credits provisions contained in the bill would cost $18.5 billion (including lost tax revenues) and would be available to every family with children that earns less than $20,270 a year.**

The Senate version, the Act for Better Child Care Services (S.5), passed last June, would make state compliance with federal health and safety standards mandatory, but would give states more leeway than the House bill in deciding income eligibility levels for vouchers and other benefits. So far, no conference committee has been set up to work out the differences between the House and Senate versions of the bill.

**Bush administration officials have called H.R.3 a case of "fiscal irresponsibility," and the White House has made it known that it will veto the measure. The bill did earn substantial Republican support in the House, but the final tally of 265-145 falls 25 votes short of the two-thirds majority needed to override a presidential veto. Whether the needed votes can be found by the time the President sees the bill is unclear.**

# Across the Nation

**FLORIDA: When he is sworn in on July 1, LEANDER SHAW will become the first black jurist to serve as chief justice of the Florida Supreme Court. Appointed to the court in 1983 by then-governor (now U.S. senator) BOB GRAHAM, a Democrat, Shaw was unanimously elected this March by the other six justices to head the state's highest judicial panel for a two-year rotating term. (State supreme court justices serve for six-year terms.)** Justice Shaw, 59, was born in Virginia and received his law degree from Howard University. He began his legal career in 1957 as a law professor at Florida A&M University. He has served in the Florida legal system as an assistant public defender, division head in charge of capital crimes in the office of the state attorney general, and district court appellate judge.

Shaw says he plans no dramatic changes. However, he is deputy chairperson of the 27-member state Racial and Ethnic Bias Study Commission which is holding public hearings to determine the extent of racism in the state's legal system.

**Whether Shaw can complete his term as chief justice depends on the results of a yes-no merit retention question that will appear on the ballot this November. Since Shaw's term as a member of the court expires this year, Florida voters must decide whether he can remain on the bench for a second six-year term. Anti-abortion groups have targeted him for defeat because he joined the court majority that struck down the state's 1989 parental-consent abortion law. The controversial law required that unmarried minors obtain parental consent before undergoing an abortion. In its decision, the court ruled that a woman, adult or minor, may choose abortion within the first trimester of pregnancy.**

**ILLINOIS: Five-term U.S. Rep. GUS SAVAGE (D-Ill.) won his March 20 primary, gaining 51 percent of the vote against challenger MELVIN REYNOLDS' 43 percent. ERNEST WASHINGTON JR., a supporter of LYNDON LAROUCHE, received just over five percent of the votes. Since the 2nd district, on Chicago's South Side, is 66 percent black and overwhelmingly Democratic, winning the primary is tantamount to reelection for Savage.**

The primary fight was bitter. Reynolds, a former administrator at the University of Illinois and a Rhodes scholar, hoped to benefit from Savage's record of missing critical congressional votes, including the 1989 vote to raise the minimum wage. Savage was also charged with sexually harassing a 28-year-old Peace Corps worker while on an official visit to Zaire. Reynolds, who was endorsed by both the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Chicago Sun-Times*, came closer to victory in this second attempt to defeat Savage than in 1988, when he received only 14 percent of the vote in a four-candidate primary.

**Savage countered Reynolds' charge that he was an embarrassment to the district by claiming the white media were out to get him. Shortly before the primary election, Savage was endorsed at a Chicago rally by fellow Congressional Black Caucus members, Reps. WILLIAM GRAY (D-Pa.) and CHARLES RANGEL (D-N.Y.). A firestorm of controversy followed these endorsements when, in a speech during the rally, Savage criticized Reynolds for accepting large individual contributions from officials of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee. This remark, made after Gray and Rangel had left the rally, has been widely construed as anti-Semitic and will likely haunt Savage in coming years.**

**KENTUCKY: A black Democrat and a black Republican are gunning for 10-term Congressman ROMANO MAZZOLI's job. Former Jefferson County Treasurer PAUL C. BATHER, a black Democrat who has been a Louisville alderman since 1986, is opposing Mazzoli in the May 29 Democratic primary. Black GOP businessman AL BROWN is also vying for Mazzoli's seat. The 3rd congressional district includes Louisville and some of its suburbs.**

Mazzoli is considered more vulnerable than ever before. He is perceived as distancing himself from his constituency by becoming more conservative in recent years, a change reflected in his opposition to abortion and his support for Reagan's massive federal budget cuts. He has also alienated Louisville's business community by not aggressively pursuing federal funding for the city's airport expansion and riverfront construction projects. In Congress, an angry House Democratic leadership removed him from his chairmanship of the Immigration, Refugees, and International Law Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee because he had sided with House Republicans on a number of key votes.

**Mazzoli's opposition to busing students to achieve school desegregation could hurt him with black voters. Although the 3rd district is only 18 percent black, the majority of the district's vote comes from Louisville, which is 30 percent black. Mazzoli's Democratic challenger, Bather, is an advocate of U.S. aid to the African National Congress and supports restrictions on assault weapons and handguns. He may be helped by the fact that the primary is a three-candidate race. Some of Mazzoli's white support may be diverted to JEFFREY HUTTER, a white executive with the Humana Heart Institute. Hutter ran against Mazzoli in the 1988 primary and won 39 percent of the vote.**

**The winner of the Democratic primary could face black Republican businessman Al Brown, who has already raised more than $100,000 for his campaign. Brown, the founder of a business consulting firm, will be opposed in his party's primary by white businessman TIM HARDY.**

**NORTH CAROLINA: In March, black businessman HOWARD N. LEE was sworn in as a state senator. The former mayor of Chapel Hill was chosen by the 16th District Democratic Senatorial Select Committee to fill the unexpired term of WANDA HUNT who assumed the post of assistant chief of the state's Child Support Enforcement Program.** When he was elected mayor in 1969, Lee became the first black person to govern a predominantly white Southern town, a position he held until 1975. Chapel Hill, where the University of North Carolina is located, was only 10 percent black at the time.

From 1977 to 1981, Lee served under former Governor **JAMES B. HUNT** as secretary of the Department of Natural Resources and Community Development. He failed, however, in his 1984 bid for Congress, and was defeated in the Democratic primary for the 4th district by the then incumbent **IKE ANDREWS.**

**In November, Lee will face Republicans MAX GARDNER REECE, a pharmacist from Pittsboro, and WILLIAM BOYD, a car dealer from Asheboro, in the general election to secure a full two-year term in the senate. Since much of the district is rural, two of its four counties are heavily Republican, and less than 20 percent of its population is black, Lee will have a tough race. "This is the most significant political challenge I have ever faced," says Lee. "Our campaign message must be broad enough so that it doesn't turn off conservative Democrats. At the same time, we must attract some Republican voters." Lee's recent appointment increases to four the number of blacks in the state's 50-member senate.**

# New Brands of Racism on the Rise

## *While Racial Violence Continues to Endanger Americans, White Supremacist Groups Are Now Turning to the Pulpit, the Media, and Politics*

*by Jan Douglass and Leonard Zeskind*

Last September, Joseph McDonald, a 24-year-old black man, was driving from the parking lot of a pizza parlor in El Cajon, California, with his wife and their young son when three white men blocked his car with theirs and shouted racist epithets. One came at McDonald with a large stick wrapped in a snake skin, another with a 2-by-2 wooden post. Fearing for the safety of his family, McDonald grabbed a tire iron from the trunk of his car to defend himself, swinging wildly while the three men rushed him, beating and kicking him.

McDonald had moved to California from his native Alabama to escape the dangers of racial violence, but such violence has been spreading like a cancer to every part of the country. Unfortunately, local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies are not adequately addressing the problem. A 1987 report on racial violence, "The Response of the Criminal Justice System to Bias Crime," prepared by Peter Finn and Taylor McNeil for the Justice Department's National Institute of Justice, concludes:

> There is plenty of documentation...that the problem is widespread, and considerable evidence that it is increasing.... For the most part, the criminal justice system—like the rest of society—has not recognized the seriousness of the hate violence problem.

While much of the violence, as Finn and McNeil document, seems to be carried out by "free-lance" haters, there is no question but that these people are emblematic of the white supremacist movement. This movement embraces hundreds of organizations, publications, churches, and social groups. Some elements consist of a single person with a post office box and a newsletter. Others, like the Liberty Lobby, are multimillion dollar enterprises with well developed infrastructures. While it is fragmented, the movement is held together by a belief in the innate superiority of "white" people and a desire to re-engineer society to ensure their absolute control.

Since its resurgence in the 1980s, the supremacist movement has begun to show signs that it is changing from a hard-core cadre operating on the margins of the right wing to one adopting mainstream political methods. Whatever form it assumes, it seriously threatens gains made in racial understanding and cooperation since the 1960s.

Ms. Douglass is deputy director for affiliate programs at the National Black Child Development Institute in Washington, D.C., and a board member of the Atlanta-based Center for Democratic Renewal. Mr. Zeskind is the director of research at the Center for Democratic Renewal.

### Resurgent White Supremacy

The victories of the civil rights movement in the Sixties left the Klan and other racist groups fractured and spent. George Wallace's use of the American Independent Party to legitimize racist populism as a national political movement enabled him to garner 10 million votes for the presidency in 1968. By 1972 his movement had splintered into insignificance, but before long, alarming new groups began to form. The Posse Comitatus, considered a terrorist organization by the Justice Department, and the Aryan Nations, which has run a paramilitary camp, mushroomed in the Midwest and West. As early as 1975, David Duke, now a Louisiana state legislator, was leading a media-savvy Knights of the Ku Klux Klan into towns and cities across the country. Duke's new Klan wore business suits instead of white sheets and held its meetings in the glare of media floodlights instead of in torch-lit cow pastures.

By the beginning of the 1980s, a resurgent Right was making racism part of the mainstream by building a new coalition of disparate single-issue groups. Parts of that same coalition moved into the Republican party, leading attacks on civil rights laws, enforcement agencies, and government supported programs for the poor.

### Into the Mainstream

In the past, Klan and neo-Nazi strategy meant simply showing up in a town, sparking a racial confrontation, and disseminating raw racist propaganda. These groups therefore were recruiting new members from the already convinced. But they have recently been experimenting with a range of new strategies and tactics to move their message into the American mainstream.

In 1983, White Aryan Resistance leader Tom Metzger began producing half-hour, community-access cable television programs from his headquarters in Southern California. By 1987, he had produced over 45 different nationally syndicated "Race and Reason" programs. Most were talk show formats with other white supremacists.

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It was commercial television, however, that made the neo-Nazi skinheads a household word. Last year Metzger's associates broke a chair over Geraldo Rivera's nose, on camera, during a talk show taping session that became a media sensation overnight. The publicity allowed the neo-Nazi skinheads to expand into cities and small towns previously untouched by their activity. Metzger's creative use of television gave white supremacists a larger platform than Klan marches could ever give.

> *Duke's new Klan wore business suits instead of white sheets and held its meetings in the glare of media floodlights instead of in torch-lit cow pastures.*

While Metzger and his skinheads operate in an overtly racist subculture of social rebels, the church-based "Identity" movement has many of the trappings of conventional religious institutions. According to a study conducted by the National Council of Churches Identity is a racist faith with a complete theology: blacks and other people of color are believed to be "pre-Adamic"—and therefore subhuman. Jews are regarded as children of the devil. The doctrine goes on: racial integration is a sin, Armageddon will be a race war in the United States, for which whites must prepare by stockpiling weapons, food, etc. The faithful will be redeemed when the U.S. becomes a white Christian republic.

By presenting itself to the public as a church rather than appearing in sheets or swastika arm-bands, Identity is able to appeal to a broad constituency. According to Idaho State University sociologist James Aho, "the danger to society from Identity exists precisely because it recruits from the mainstream of society rather than its margins." At the same time, Identity theology is the spiritual glue that helps bind together large portions of the white supremacist movement, including Klan factions, Christian patriots, and neo-Nazis.

Pete Peters of Ft. Collins, Colorado, one of the chief proponents of Identity theology, runs a nationwide radio ministry where he typically sermonizes against racial integration and for white racial purity. In addition to these sermons, which go out to 21 AM and FM stations in 18 states, Peters runs a summer and winter Bible camp. In 1988, he displayed new political muscle by leading a successful drive to vote down a gay rights ordinance in Ft. Collins. And in April 1989 he led a delegation of Identity ministers to lobby Congress against gun control.

Perhaps the most successful expansion of the white supremacist constituency has been led by Willis Carto, through his Washington, D.C., based Liberty Lobby and its affiliated weekly tabloid, *Spotlight*. Washington columnist Jack Anderson exposed *Spotlight* and Carto as antisemitic and connected to neo-Nazis the world over. Carto sued Anderson for defamation but lost.

Although *Spotlight* articles have promoted the White Patriot Party, the American Nazi Party, and the Posse Comitatus, the 24-page weekly is usually devoid of the more obscene racism found in other movement periodicals. According to U.S. postal records, more than 110,000 people are paid subscribers of *Spotlight,* while another 50,000 copies are distributed free or sold over the counter, extending the tabloid's readership far beyond the white supremacist movement's estimated 20,000 hard-core activists.

While the Liberty Lobby has not yet ventured into the use of community access cable TV, it has expanded into radio. It controls "North American 1," a radio station that broadcasts nationally through satellite dish hook-ups popular in remote rural areas, and in August 1989, acquired control of a nationwide 147-station radio network. Most of the stations are small—103 are 5,000 watts or less. But if the Liberty Lobby can keep the network financially solvent, it may have a springboard for launching into bigger media markets.

### The Populist Party and David Duke

The most ambitious effort by Carto and *Spotlight* has been the formation of the Populist Party. Carto spent four years urging his followers to embrace a new populist agenda, which calls for abolition of the income tax, for states' rights with regard to public schools, and for what Carto refers to as universal freedom of choice with regard to property rights (in other words, reestablishing restrictive covenants to prevent the sale of homes to blacks and Jews.) These coded appeals to the resurrection of Jim Crow are only one step away from the neo-Nazi groups' appeal for an all-white Christian state, known among them as the Aryan Republic.

The Populist Party was launched in 1984, in time for the presidential campaign. Its first chairman was a former Invisible Empire Klan leader from Mississippi, Robert Weems. He was soon joined in the party's leadership by former Cincinnati Klansman Van Loman and by Jerrold Pope of the National States Rights Party. The Populist Party had pioneered a new approach for white supremacists: building bridges into mainstream communities through clever economic and political appeals. The group's literature claimed that it was the heir of George Wallace's 1968 anti-elite, white backlash vote. At a time of massive farm foreclosures in the Midwest, party organizers tried to win support among rural whites by offering to help save family farms.

Nevertheless, the Populist Party fared poorly in November 1984, running behind even the Libertarian Party, and fell into internal squabbling. When the party reorganized in 1986, it ran candidates as Democrats and Republicans as well as Populists and Independents. And in 1988 it made David Duke its presidential candidate.

Duke ran in the March 8 Super Tuesday primaries that year, appearing on the ballot as a Democrat in five states.

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# GOP Woos Blacks for Redistricting Alliances

## *As States Gear Up to Redistrict Legislative Jurisdictions, the GOP Claims Their Party and Blacks Can Gain More Seats by Joining Forces*

### *by Cheryl Miller*

The Republican party, which is in the minority in every chamber of every Southern legislature, is looking for black and Hispanic allies for upcoming redistricting fights. It is unlikely that Republicans, who currently make up only 25 percent of state legislators in the South, will win enough new seats in the 1990 elections to control the redistricting process in any state below the Mason-Dixon line. Understanding this, the GOP is seeking to build coalitions with minority politicians as a way of increasing the party's leverage in 1991 when new legislative districts are drawn.

The Republicans theorize that since approximately 90 percent of blacks continue to identify with the Democratic party, concentrating them in one district dilutes the Democratic strength in other districts. Thus, the "whiter" non-majority black districts are, as the theory goes, the greater the opportunities they offer for Republican electoral success. "Too often, congressional and legislative lines are drawn by Democratic-controlled state legislatures that maintain the power status quo and lock out others—primarily Republicans, minorities, and especially African-Americans," says Thelma Duggin, director of national outreach at the Republican National Committee. The GOP speculates that the 24 black members of Congress could double their number as a result of the redistricting process.

Republican officials claim that the experience after the 1980 census demonstrates that in redistricting, blacks and Republicans can pursue common interests. One cited example is the successful challenge of Georgia's 1981 congressional redistricting plan. As an outcome of the challenge, the black population of the 5th congressional district in Atlanta expanded to 65 percent while the white suburban, Republican population of the 4th district in adjacent DeKalb county also grew. As a result, Pat Swindall, a conservative Republican, was able to defeat the 4th's moderate Democratic incumbent Elliott Levitas in 1984. (Swindall was in turn beaten by Democrat Ben Jones in 1988.) The 5th district is now represented by black Democratic Rep. John Lewis.

There is other evidence, however, that argues against the minority-GOP alliance model. In 1984, civil rights lawyers successfully sued to expand the black make-up of Mississippi's 2nd congressional district from 54 percent to 58 percent. Two years later, black Democrat Mike Espy defeated sitting Republican Webb Franklin in the newly configured district. Furthermore, the GOP was ultimately unable to make any more electoral headway as a result of the concentration of blacks in the 2nd district. All of Mississippi's current members of Congress are Democrats.

To induce minorities to participate in a redistricting alliance, Ben Ginsberg, chief legal counsel of the Republican National Committee, announced at its March Southern Leadership Conference meeting that the Republican Party will provide, on request, software to help minority community organizations draw redistricting maps.

Ginsberg asserts that the technology of redistricting has been simplified to such an extent that advocacy organizations armed with personal computers and appropriate software can create their own redistricting plans to respond to those drawn by other groups and by state legislatures. The Republican party would make its software available to organizations like the NAACP, the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, as well as grass-roots groups. This overture is part of an announced effort by the Republican party to reach out more to blacks.

Sonia Jarvis, executive director of the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation located in Washington, D.C., says, "if the offer is without strings attached, we would be interested in looking at it. But we'd have problems with the offer if we are expected to use the software to come up with an intended result." She says that the decision to accept the GOP software should be made on a city-by-city basis because the appropriate coalitions for minorities vary in different jurisdictions.

It is not surprising that Democrats are skeptical of the GOP's extended hand. "Blacks shouldn't let the Republicans pull the wool over their eyes with lip service outreach," says Lottie Shackleford, vice president of the Democratic National Committee (DNC). The DNC has been operating its own technical assistance and training program to prepare black elected officials and community groups for the redistricting process.

"The offer of an alliance with the Republican party presents black politicians with a dilemma," says Milton Morris, director of research at the Joint Center. "If blacks move to expand the electoral opportunities of other black Democrats through redistricting, they actually may reduce their party's majorities in state legislatures." ■

Dr. Miller is a political science professor at the University of Maryland and a visiting scholar at the Joint Center.

## *New Brands of Racism on the Rise*

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Although he only garnered roughly 40,000 votes during the primary, 20,000 of those were from Louisiana, where he was best known. He campaigned all over the country against affirmative action, minority set-asides, crime, and taxes, but in the November general election, he only appeared on the ballot in 14 states.

The Populist Party still emerged with a sense of accomplishment. Duke gained a substantial national base of contributors, which he quickly plowed into a campaign for Louisiana representative. In February 1989, this time as a Republican, he was elected to the Louisiana House of Representatives from the 81st district in Metairie. According to a study by Dr. Lawrence Powell of Tulane University, Duke won some support from every stratum of Metairie's white population, but the core of his support was in the working-class district of Bucktown. There he was able to channel racial resentment and economic populism into a widespread electoral movement.

Duke's victory inspired Populist Party candidates to run for office in 1989 in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Tennessee, North Carolina, and California. But Duke's media savvy and charismatic personality are rare and it is unlikely that these other candidates can duplicate his success. They will nevertheless continue the drive to transform white supremacists from a small group of violent, white-robed terrorists to a sophisticated movement speaking the language of tax protest and white civil rights.

Duke officially announced his candidacy for the U.S. Senate from Louisiana on April 21, 1990. A poll conducted by the *Shreveport Journal* newspaper on March 9 showed Duke running a strong second behind three-term incumbent Democratic Senator J. Bennett Johnston. Duke polled 26 percent to Johnston's 32 percent. State Senator Ben Bagert got 17 percent and 25 percent were undecided. The open primary will be held on October 6.

### A Call to Action

It is essential that people of conscience remain informed of the dangers the white supremacist movement represents to our society. Action, too, is necessary. In 1983, the Center for Constitutional Rights, the National Anti-Klan Network (now the Center for Democratic Renewal), and others sued the U.S. Department of Justice for failure to prosecute cases of civil rights violations involving racist violence. The lawsuit was eventually dismissed, but the clamor of public opinion forced the Reagan administration to apply existing laws and prosecute violators.

Most of the racially motivated vandalism, arson, and assault complaints, however, never make it to federal court, where civil rights cases are litigated. As a result, human rights activists have begun pushing for state laws against hate crimes. California, Maryland, Massachusetts, and other states have passed legislation to increase penalties for crimes from vandalism to murder. The Hate Crime Statistics Act, signed by President Bush this month, requires the Justice Department to collect statistics on crimes motivated by race, religion, ethnicity, or sexual preference.

In North Carolina, a statewide organization, North Carolinians Against Racist and Religious Violence, was formed in 1984 to assist victims of bigoted violence as well as to organize public opposition to white supremacist activity. In dozens of other locales, *ad hoc* coalitions have formed to protest Klan marches and racist attacks.

Longer jail terms and stiffer penalties, however, do not deter white supremacists from running for political office and conducting other legal activities such as lobbying Congress, buying radio stations, or organizing Bible camp conferences. Here, public education efforts are crucial. In Kansas City, Missouri, after an acrimonious public debate about the Klan's right to use community-access cable TV, the mayor convened a commission on hate group activities. The commission's report proposed passage of a city ordinance against hate crimes and an increase in public education about racism and bigotry.

In 1981, the National Education Association developed anti-Klan curricula for use by middle school and high school students. Some law enforcement officials have been conducting special training sessions on bias crimes and community-based coalitions. Nevertheless, without a reinvigorated, multiracial movement for racial justice, the response to white supremacists will be incomplete. ■

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